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THE
HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

THE
HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIODS:

DRAWN UP FROM

BRUCKER'S

HISTORIA CRITICA PHILOSOPHIÆ.

BY

WILLIAM ENFIELD, LL.D.

"OPINIONUM COMMENTA DELET DIES, NATURÆ JUDICIA CONFIRMAT."—CIC.

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P R E F A C E.

IN a country, which has so long held a distinguished place in the Republic of Letters as Great Britain, it is surprising that so small a share of attention should hitherto have been paid to the subject of this work. While the events of civil history have been related in every possible variety of method and language, and have been made the frequent subject of philosophical discussion, a series of facts, less adapted, indeed, to impress the imagination, but by no means less instructive, has been almost entirely overlooked. A British student, who, in his search after truth, should be desirous of taking a general survey of the rise and progress of opinions on the more important subjects of speculation, and by a fair comparison of different systems to draw legitimate conclusions for himself, would seek in vain for the necessary information in any English work. The only treatise, which might seem to promise him much assistance on this subject, is *Stanley's History of Philosophy*: but, to say nothing of the uncouth and obscure style in which this work is written, he would find, upon examination, that the author's plan extended little further than to the history of the Grecian sects of philosophy; and that, in executing it, he has rather performed the office of an industrious compiler, than that of a judicious critic.

When, a few years ago, I first consulted Brucker's *History of Philosophy*,* it was merely in hopes of obtaining, from so extensive and elaborate a work, further satisfaction than I had hitherto been

* Edit. sec. Lips. 1767.

able to gain respecting the opinions of the ancients; and the only use I then proposed to make of the book was, to borrow from it some assistance in drawing up a Course of Lectures to young men on the pursuit of knowledge. But upon a careful perusal of this history, I found it a vast magazine of important facts, collected with indefatigable industry, digested with admirable perspicuity of method, and written with every appearance of candour and impartiality. I regretted that so valuable a fund of information should be accessible only to those who had learning, leisure, and perseverance, sufficient to read in Latin six closely-printed quarto volumes, containing, on the average, about a thousand pages each. I thought I could not render my countrymen better service than by taking upon myself to become, in this instance, their reader; and determined to undertake the task of communicating to them, in their vernacular tongue, the SUBSTANCE of this great, and, as it appeared to me, valuable work.

The task was not without difficulties. Having neither leisure, nor in many cases opportunity, to compare the history with the numerous authorities to which it refers, I was obliged, for the most part, to give my author implicit credit for fidelity and accuracy: this, however, I thought myself justified in doing, partly because, wherever I have consulted the originals, I have found the quotations and references sufficiently correct; but chiefly, on account of the high reputation which the author has obtained upon the continent: I have, nevertheless, thought it right to give his references, as far as my plan would permit, that they may be consulted by such readers as may wish to compare them with the work. In the selection of materials, I had no resource but to rely upon my own judgment. The only rule I have followed, has been to choose such particulars as were most likely to be generally interesting. Those who are inclined to enter into more minute inquiries, will of course consult the original authors; and for their convenience, a general list of references is given at the close of each chapter or section. In regard to language, I have found it wholly impracticable to follow my author. His style is so exceedingly verbose, that

it would have been impossible to have made this volume a translation of select parts, without omitting others equally important, and without, at the same time, rendering the work tedious to an English reader. Instead of *translating* the original, I have, therefore, endeavoured to give a faithful *representation* of its general meaning and spirit: to express these with perspicuity and precision has been, as far as respects style, my utmost aim.

Of the author's Abridgment of his great work, published, in a large octavo volume,* under the title of *Institutiones Historiæ Philosophicæ Usui Academicæ Juventutes adornatæ*, I have made as much use as was consistent with the different views which that abstract and this history were drawn up. The former appears to have been written almost entirely for the sake of academic students, and rather to assist their recollection in studying the subject, than to supersede the use of the larger history. The latter is designed to give those who may not have leisure or opportunity to peruse the original, an idea of its contents sufficiently complete to answer every purpose of interesting or useful information. If it be asked, whether the trouble of drawing up this history from the larger work might not have been spared by translating the author's own abridgment, my answer is, that such a translation would only have furnished the English reader with a dry sketch of leading incidents and opinions; whereas, in this work it is intended, not only to communicate information by a detail of facts, but to enliven the detail by anecdotes and reflections of various kinds. Few persons, I apprehend, would prefer the bare *outline* of a portrait, (though sketched in full size by the hand of a master,) to a *miniature picture*; which, at the same time that it sufficiently preserves the likeness, copies in some measure the expression and the colouring of the original.

For any occasional mistakes which the learned reader may detect in the course of this history, I have no other apology to make, than that I have endeavoured to render it as correct as I was able. With regard to the errors which may be charged upon

* Lips. 1756.

my author, I am inclined to speak with less diffidence. His work bears throughout such evident marks of diligent attention, cool judgment, and freedom from prejudice, as justly to entitle even his opinions to no small degree of respect; but as far as concerns facts, perhaps no historian ever had a better claim to confidence. No candid reader will, without the most careful inquiry, pronounce that statement of facts erroneous, which was the result of a course of investigation, in which the life of an industrious student was principally occupied for the long term of FIFTY YEARS.

The uses which may be made of the History of Philosophy are so fully enumerated in the author's PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS, as to leave me to add little upon the subject. I must not, however, omit to mention certain applications of this branch of knowledge, which, from causes into which it is of little consequence to inquire, Brucker has either barely hinted at, or wholly overlooked.

Experience is universally acknowledged to be the best preceptor. The History of Philosophy is a register of experiments to ascertain the strength of the human understanding. As far as they have been successful, they at once serve to guide and to encourage our future researches: and even those which have been unsuccessful, may perhaps prove of equal use in preventing the repetition of unprofitable labours. To infer from the diversity of opinions on metaphysical subjects, which, after ages of disputation, has subsisted, and still continues, among philosophers, that the whole field of metaphysics ought to be abandoned as barren ground, would be a rash and precipitate conclusion. But the dialectic combatants of the Grecian, Alexandrian, Arabian, and Christian schools have lived to little purpose, if they have not convinced the world, that by far the greater part of their ingenuity and industry was employed, either upon *mere words*, or upon *nugæ difficiles*, which have never yielded, and are never likely to yield, any substantial benefit to mankind.

With respect to those more important inquiries, which have been always interwoven with scholastic logomachies, such as con-

cern, for example, the origin of things, the nature of the Supreme Being, the distinct existence and duration of the human soul, the foundation of morals, and other similar subjects; although the different systems which are embraced with equal confidence by dogmatists of every sect, ought not to be pleaded as an argument for abandoning the search after truth, as altogether a hopeless pursuit, they ought, unquestionably, to teach every inquirer caution and diffidence, and every disputant candour and moderation. Perhaps, too, men's researches into these subjects have now been carried to such extent, and every argument upon them has been so thoroughly discussed, that it may be possible to determine, with sufficient precision, *how far* it is possible for the human faculties to proceed in the investigation of truth, and *why* it can proceed no further. Possibly, the time may not be far distant, when an end will be put to fruitless controversy, by distinctly ascertaining the limits of the human understanding. If this desirable point be ever attained, it is obvious that one of the means of accomplishing it must be, an accurate attention to the manner in which different sects in philosophy and religion have, from time to time, arisen, and to the various causes of diversity of opinion.

But, among the advantages which may be expected, from a comparison of the History of Philosophy with the present state of opinions, one of the principal is, that it will lead to the full discovery of the origin of many notions and practices, which have no other support than their antiquity, and consequently to much important reformation and improvement. The doctrines, the forms, and even the technical language of our public schools, may be easily traced back to the Scholastic age, and through this to the ancient Grecian sects, particularly to the Peripatetic school. It is impossible that the present state of knowledge should be fairly compared with ancient wisdom, without discovering the absolute necessity of enlarging the field of education beyond the utmost limits prescribed by our most enlightened ancestors. From the same comparison, similar effects may be confidently expected, with respect to religious tenets and institutions. When it is clearly un-

derstood (as from the present free discussion of these subjects it is likely soon to be) that many of the doctrines commonly received as of Divine authority, originated in the Pagan schools, and were thence transplanted, *at a very early period*, into the Christian church; more particularly, when it is generally known (and it is impossible it can be long concealed even from the lowest classes of the people) that the fundamental doctrine of the UNITY OF THE DIVINE NATURE has undergone corruptions, from which no established church in Christendom has ever yet been purged; it cannot fail to become an object of general attention to produce such a reform in religion, as shall free its public institutions from the incumbrance of Scholastic subtleties, and to render religion itself more interesting and efficacious, by making its forms more simple and intelligible.

It has not been without the hope of contributing, in some degree, towards the abolition of ancient errors, and the extension of useful knowledge, that I have drawn up this History of Philosophy.

W. E.

NORWICH, JUNE, 1791.

AN EPITOME
OF THE
HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY,
IN THREE PERIODS.

PERIOD THE FIRST,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES, TO THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC;
WHICH COMPREHENDS,

1. BARBARIC PHILOSOPHY, including that of all ancient Nations
among whom the Greek Language was not spoken.

1. EASTERN NATIONS.

(1.) HEBREWS, comprehending the posterity of Abraham to the Time of the Babylonish Captivity; after their return from which they were called Jews. Among their wise men, the most celebrated names are MOSES, Solomon, and Daniel. Their wisdom, derived from Divine Revelation, is not to be confounded with philosophical and speculative science.

(2.) CHALDEANS, the author of whose philosophy was Zoroaster. Belus was another celebrated teacher of wisdom among the Assyrians; but both his age and history are uncertain. Later than these lived Berosus, who first taught the Chaldean learning to the Greeks.

(3.) PERSIANS, among whom Zardhust, also called Zoroaster, was the founder of wisdom: he wrote a sacred book called Zend. Among the Persian Magi were Hystaspes and Hostanes.

(4.) INDIANS, whose wise men were called Gymnosophists and Brachmans. Among these were Buddas, Dandamis, and Calanus.

(5.) ARABIANS, among whom the Zabii, a sect of philosophers, and Lokman, an elegant writer of fables, are memorable.

(6.) PHENICIANS, to whom is ascribed the invention of letters. Moschus, Cadmus, and Sanchoniathon, are among their celebrated men.

2. SOUTHERN NATIONS.

(1.) EGYPTIANS, the founder of whose wisdom was Theut, or Thoth, whom the Greeks call Hermes and the Latins Mercury. After him arose a second Hermes, called also Trismegistus, to whom various books and inventions are ascribed.

(2.) ETHIOPIANS, whose wisdom seems to have been borrowed from the Egyptians. Atlas was one of their first astronomers.

3. WESTERN NATIONS.

(1.) CELTS, whose philosophers were called Druids. Under the general name of the Celtic nations were comprehended the Gauls, Britons, Germans, and Cambrians.

(2.) ETRURIANS and ROMANS: among the former flourished Tages, the inventor of augury; among the latter, Numa is improperly styled a philosopher.

4. NORTHERN NATIONS.

These include the Northern Scythians (distinct from the Celtic Scythians,) Thracians, Getæ, &c. Among whom Abaris, Anacharsis, Toxaris, and Zamolxis, obtained the praise of wisdom.

II. GRECIAN PHILOSOPHY; which was,

First, . . . FABULOUS, as taught by Prometheus, Linus, Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, Melampus, Amphion, Hesiod, Epimenides, and Homer.

Secondly, POLITICAL, chiefly adapted to the formation and improvement of states and the civilization of society. Among the authors of this philosophy were the legislators Zeleucus, Triptolemus, Draco, Solon, and Lycurgus; the Seven Wise Men of Greece, Thales, Chilo, Pittacus, Bias, Cleobulus, and Periander; and the fabulist, Æsop.

Thirdly, SECTARIAN, which owes its birth to Thales and Pythagoras, and was divided into two leading schools, the Ionic and Italic.

Of the IONIC SCHOOL were

1. THE IONIC SECT *proper*, whose founder Thales had, as his successors, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Diogenes Apolloniates, and Archelaus.

2. THE SOCRATIC SCHOOL, founded by SOCRATES; the principal of whose disciples were Xenophon, Æschines, Simon, Cebes, Aristippus, Phædo, Euclid, Plato, Antisthenes, Critus, and Alcibiades.

3. THE CYRENAIC SECT, of which ARISTIPPUS was the author: his followers were, his daughter Arete, Hegesias, Anicerris, Theodorus, and Bion.

4. THE MEGARIC, or ERISTIC SECT, formed by EUCLID of Megara; to whom succeeded Eubulides, Diodorus, and Stilpo, famous for their logical subtlety.

5. THE ELIAC, or ERETRIAC SCHOOL, raised by PHÆDO of Elis, who, though he closely adhered to the doctrine of Socrates, gave name to his school. His successors were Plistanus and Menedemus; the latter of whom, being a native of Eretria, transferred the school and name to his own country.

6. THE ACADEMIC SECT, of which PLATO was the founder. After his death, many of his disciples deviating from his doctrine, the school was divided into

(1.) *The Old Academy*, which strictly retained its tenets, and in which the chair of Plato was successively filled by SPEUSIPPUS, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, and Crantor.

- (2.) *The Middle Academy*, founded by ARCESILAUS, and continued by Lacydes, Evander, and Egesinus.
- (3.) *The New Academy*, of which CARNEADES was the author: he was succeeded by Clitomachus, Philo of Larissa, Charmidas, and Antiochus of Ascalon, the last preceptor of the Platonic school in Greece.

7. THE PERIPATETIC SECT, founded by ARISTOTLE; whose successors in the Lyceum were Theophrastus, Strato, Lycon, Aristo, Critolaus, and Diodorus. Among the Peripatetics, besides those who occupied the chair, were also Dicæarchus, Eudemus, and Demetrius Phalereus.

8. THE CYNIC SECT, of which the author was ANTISTHENES; whom Diogenes, Onesicritus, Crates, Metrocles, Menippus, and Menedemus, succeeded. In the list of Cynic philosophers must also be reckoned Hipparchia, the wife of Crates.

9. THE STOIC SECT, of which ZENO was the founder. His successors in the porch were Persæus, Aristo of Chios, Herillus, Sphærus, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Zeno of Tarsus, Diogenes the Babylonian, Antipater, Panætius, and Posidonius.

Of the ITALIC SCHOOL were

1. THE ITALIC SECT, *proper*: it was founded by PYTHAGORAS, a disciple of Pherecydes. The followers of Pythagoras were Aristæus, Mnesarchus, Alcmaeon, Ecphantus, Hippo, Empedocles, Epicharmus, Ocellus, Timæus, Archytas, Hippasus, Philolaus, and Eudoxus.

2. THE ELEATIC SECT, of which XENOPHANES was the author: his successors, Parmenides, Melissus, and Zeno, belonged to the *metaphysical* class of this sect; Leucippus, Democritus, Protagoras, Diagoras, and Anaxarchus, to the *physical*.

3. THE HERACLITEAN SECT, which was founded by HERACLITUS, and soon afterwards expired: Zeno and Hippocrates philosophised after the manner of Heraclitus, and other philosophers borrowed freely from his system.

4. THE EPICUREAN SECT, a branch of the Eleatic, had EPICURUS for its author; among whose followers were Metrodorus, Polyænus, Hermachus, Polystratus, Basilides, and Protarchus.

5. THE PYRRHONIC, or SCEPTIC SECT, the parent of which was PYRRHO: his doctrine was taught by Timon, the Phliasian; and, after some interval, was continued by Ptolemy, a Cyrenean, and at Alexandria by Ænesidemus.

The GRECIAN PHILOSOPHY, at length, passed from Greece and Italy:

1. INTO ASIA. Alexander, in his Asiatic expedition, was attended by many philosophers, particularly Callisthenes and Anaxarchus; several of whom he sent to hold conference with the wise men of the East, particularly the Persian Magi and the Indian Brachmans. The consequence was, that by means of the mythological cast of the Oriental theology, the Grecian and Oriental dogmas were blended together; and hence arose a new kind of doctrine in the East.

2. INTO EGYPT. After Alexander had conquered Egypt, he permitted the people, whom he collected from different countries in Alexandria, to profess their respective religious and philosophical tenets; whence these gradually became incorporated with those of the Greeks. This coalition

was afterwards greatly promoted by the encouragement which was given to learned men and philosophers of all nations and sects to settle at Alexandria. From this time, the names of almost all the Greek sects were heard in Egypt; but that which was chiefly prevalent was the Platonic. The remains of the Italian school of Pythagoras also fled into Egypt, and their institutions suited the taste of that superstitious nation. Thus an alliance gradually took place between the Egyptian, Platonic, and Pythagorean systems; and from this heterogeneous combination both philosophy and theology assumed a new form in Egypt. When, under Ptolemy Physcon, the philosophers were for a time driven from Egypt into Asia; but upon their return the Oriental philosophy was added to the mass, and the confusion of opinions was completed in the *Eclectic sect*.

PERIOD THE SECOND,

FROM THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC TO THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS,
WHICH COMPREHENDS,

First, THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ROMANS; concerning which
may be considered its State,

I. BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY; when it may be remarked, that the Grecian philosophy was not received without great difficulty. For when Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus, were sent to Rome on an embassy from the Athenians, and the Roman youths of distinction flocked together to hear the philosophers, it was thought necessary, after giving them an honourable dismissal, to pass a decree of the senate, that no philosophers should reside at Rome. When the same young men, however, were soon afterwards sent to Athens in a military capacity, they visited the schools of the philosophers, and became acquainted with their doctrines. This was first done by Scipio Africanus, Lelius, and Furius, whose example was soon followed by many others. Lucullus, who was instructed in philosophy by Antiochus the Ascalonite, erected a magnificent library at his house, which he opened for the use of the learned, and hereby enticed philosophers of all sects to settle at Rome. Sylla, after the siege of Athens, first brought to light the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and conveyed them to Rome. From the times of Lucullus and Sylla commences the epocha of the flourishing state of philosophy in Rome, during which there was scarcely any Grecian sect which had not its patrons and followers among the Romans. This was the case particularly with respect to

1. THE PYTHAGORIC SECT, to which Ennius, Cato the Censor, and Nigidius Figulus were adherents; after whom the Pythagoric discipline soon disappeared.
2. THE ACADEMIC, *Old, Middle, and New*: the Old having among its followers Lucullus, Brutus, Varro, and Piso; the Middle being espoused by Cicero, and the New by Philo.
3. THE STOIC SECT, to which, besides many other illustrious Romans, Balbus and Cato of Utica were addicted.

4. THE PERIPATETIC SECT; for, after the writings of Aristotle had been copied by Tyrannio, and commented upon by Andronicus the Rhodian, a Peripatetic philosopher, this sect also engaged much attention in Rome. Cato, Crassus, and Piso, received instructions from philosophers of this sect; and Cicero committed the charge of his son to Cratippus, a teacher of the Peripatetic philosophy at Athens.
5. THE EPICUREAN SECT, which was patronised by Torquatus, Velleius, Trebatius, Pansa, Atticus, Cassius, and others.
6. THE SCEPTIC SECT, which was indeed thought to be extinct in the time of Cicero; but was not without secret friends among the professed Academics, and was publicly revived at Alexandria by Ænesidemus.

II. FROM THE TIME OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN MONARCHY, when, though Roman liberty expired, the study of philosophy was not neglected. For with the poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Manilius, and Persius, and the historians, Livy, Tacitus, and Strabo, whose writings are enriched with many sentiments borrowed from the schools of philosophy, we find many professed philosophers:

1. PYTHAGORIC: for though the sect of the Pythagoreans soon failed, and, strictly speaking, was never afterwards revived, there were some philosophers who adopted Pythagoric dogmas, and followed the Pythagoric discipline; among whom were Nigidius, Anaxilaus, Sextius, Sotion, Moderatus, Nicomachus, and, above all the rest, Apollonius Tyanæus.
2. PLATONIC: to which class belonged Thrasyllus, Theon, Alcinoüs, Favorinus, Taurus, Apuleius, Atticus, Numenius, Maximus Tyrius, Plutarch, and Galen.
3. ECLECTIC, or LATER PLATONISTS: a body of philosophers, who raised a new edifice of opinions from materials collected from various philosophical and religious sects, not excepting the Christian. The seeds of this sect were sown in Egypt by POTAMO, an Alexandrian philosopher. It rose to full growth under AMMONIUS SACCÀ. Among his disciples were Longinus, Herennius, Origen, and Plotinus. Under PLOTINUS this sect became so flourishing, that he may be considered as a second father of the Alexandrian Eclectic school. The sect was supported in Egypt and Asia by Amelius, Porphyry, Maximus, Jamblichus, Ædesius, Eustathius, Chrysanthius, and Hierocles; and afterwards, at Athens, by Plutarch the son of Nestorius, Syrian, Proclus, Marinus, Isidore, and Damascius.
4. PERIPATETIC: who may be divided into two classes; The *first*, *Pure*, which from Andronicus to the time of Nero, preserved the peculiar characters of the sect, and kept it distinct from all others. To this class belonged, Sosigenes, Nicolaus Damascenus, Xenarchus, Athenæus, and Alexander Ægeus. The *second*, *Mixed*, which owed its origin to Ammonius the Peripatetic, who mixed Platonic and Stoic dogmas with those of his own sect. His example was followed by Eudemus,

Alexander Damascenus, Themistius, Olympiodorus, Simplicius, and others. Notwithstanding the attempts which were made by Alexander Aphrodiseus, Anatolius, and some others, to restore the purity of the Aristotelian doctrine, it remained in a corrupt state, till, in the seventh century, it passed over to the Arabian and Christian schools.

5. **CYNIC:** of whom the most memorable names are Musonius, Deme-
trius, Demonax, Crescens, Peregrinus, and Salustius.
6. **STOIC:** who flourished with peculiar distinction under the patron-
age of several of the emperors. The most celebrated Stoics
of this period are, Athenodorus, Cornutus, Musonius Rufus,
Chæremon, Seneca, Dio of Prusa, Euphrates, Epictetus, and
Sextus of Chæronea.
7. **EPICUREAN:** among whom Pliny, Lucian, and Diogenes Laertius,
are to be reckoned: some add Celsus, but without sufficient
reason.
8. **SCEPTIC:** of whom the principal are Ænesidemus and Sextus
Empiricus.

Secondly, THE ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

This philosophy, which sprung up a little before the Christian era, from the remains of the Zoroastrian doctrine, had many followers in various parts of Asia. Of these not a few passed over into Egypt, and contaminated not only the Pagan, but the Christian and Jewish schools; producing among the Jews the Cabbalistic mysteries, and among the Christians the Gnostic heresies. The Oriental philosophy, which first appeared in Chaldea and Persia, and was afterwards disseminated through other countries, bears so near a resemblance to that of Zoroaster, that it may be reasonably referred to this origin.

Thirdly, THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE JEWS, after their Return from the Babylonish Captivity: concerning which is to be considered,

I. THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY FROM THE END OF THE CAPTIVITY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM; during which period the things chiefly to be noted are:

1. That the Samaritans embraced a mixed system of religion, partly Jewish and partly Pagan, and received from the Oriental schools certain doctrines concerning emanations from the Divine nature; whence arose the heresy of Simon Magus.

2. That, by the help of allegory, an Egyptian colony of Jews incorporated Pagan philosophy, chiefly the Platonic mixed with Oriental dogmas, with the mystical interpretation of their sacred law; and that among the first of these corrupters of Jewish wisdom are to be ranked Philo and Aristobulus.

3. That the Cabala, or mystical interpretation of the law, was brought over from Egypt to Palestine by Simeon Shetach: and that after this there were learned men in Judea who studied Pagan philosophy, of which Josephus the historian is an example.

4. That the principal sects of the Jews were the Sadducees, the Karæ-

ites, the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Therapeutæ, whose origin, however, is uncertain: of their learned men some of the most eminent were, Jesus the son of Sirach, Philo, Hillel, and Shammai.

II. THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO MODERN TIMES: during which period the principal objects of attention are:

1. The learned men who having escaped the general destruction, erected schools at Jamnia, Tiberias, Bittera, Lydda, &c. The most celebrated doctors of the law, at that time, were Eliezer, Johannan, Jehudah Hakkadosh, and Akibha, the compilers of the Talmud. In Babylon, were the Jewish schools of Sorana, Naharda, and Pumbeditha; among the more celebrated preceptors of whom were the rabbis Ashe and Jose, the compilers of the later Talmud, called the Babylonian.

2. The traditionary mystical wisdom, called the CABBALA, which after the destruction of the Jewish state was studied and taught with great industry. The most famous Cabbalists were Akibha, the author of the book *Jezirah*, and Simeon Jochaides, who wrote the book *Sohar*. A disciple of the former was Simeon Ben Jochai; after whom, till the tenth century, we meet with few traces of the Cabbalistic philosophy, and Saadias Gaon is the only distinguished name. The Jews, at this time grievously persecuted by the Saracens, fled from the East into Europe, and many of them settled in Spain.

3. The revival of Talmudical, Cabbalistic, and Pagan learning among the Jews in Spain, by whom the writings of Aristotle were translated from Arabic versions into Hebrew. The most eminent Jew of this age was Maimonides.

III.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SARACENS, OR ARABIANS.

Before the publication of the ISLAMITIC LAW by Mahomet, philosophy had little or no existence among the Arabians. At the beginning of the Abbasidean dynasty, in the eighth century, the light of science began to dawn; and under Al-Mamon, in the ninth century, learning of every kind, and especially philosophy, flourished. Mesue Damascenus opened a school at Bagdat, and taught philosophy in the Syriac tongue. His disciple Honain also promoted the study of philosophy, which was greatly facilitated by the Christian libraries which came into the possession of the Saracens. The works of Galen and Aristotle were translated into Arabic. Public schools were instituted, and long flourished, at Bagdat, Bassora, and Bochara. Nor was philosophy, at this time, confined to the countries of the East; with the Saracenic empire, it extended to the western world. Numerous schools were founded, in which professors of philosophy were appointed. During the period of Arabian learning, the most eminent philosophers were Rasi, Essereph, Thophail, Averroës, Al-Ashari, Alkendi, Alfarabi, Avicenna, Avenzoar, Avenpace, Al-Gazel, Abulfaragius, &c.

IV.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIANS.

I. FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

The fathers of the Christian church, who were distinguished by philoso-

phical learning were, in the *second century*, Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Pantæus, and Hermias, who all favoured the Platonism which then prevailed; Tatian, who went over to the Gnostics; and Tertullian, who, though well skilled in ancient philosophy, rejected it altogether:—in the *third century*, Origen, who mixed the Eclectic philosophy of Alexandria with the Christian doctrine:—in the *fourth century*, Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Didymus, Augustine, Chalcidius:—in the *fifth century*, Synesius, and Pseudo-Dionysius, in the East; and in the West, Claudius Mammertus and Boëthius, who, after Origen, leaned towards the Eclectic sect, while Boëthius favoured the Peripatetic:—in the *sixth century*, Æneas Gaza, and Zecharias Scholasticus, who were inclined to the Eclectic philosophy; to whom may be added, Philoponus, who, though attached to the same system, turned his attention chiefly to the interpretation of Aristotle.

II. FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY TO THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS; · during which come under consideration,

1. *The philosophy of the GREEK or ORIENTAL Christians from the seventh century to the taking of Constantinople*; where the following things are chiefly to be remarked:—Alexandrian Platonism expired among the Pagans in the seventh century; and its remains were only found among the Christians, and chiefly among the monks. Out of the monasteries, the Aristotelian philosophy began to revive, through the labours of John of Damascus, who called in this philosophy to the aid of theology. He may not improperly be considered as the harbinger of the Scholastic philosophy. After his time barbarism prevailed; till, in the *ninth century*, under the Emperors Michael and Barda, learning was in some degree revived. The most celebrated names, at this period, in the East, were, Psellus the Elder, Leo the Philosopher, Photius, Nicetas, Nicephorus, Pachymerus, and Lapitha, all Peripatetics; and Psellus the Younger, an admirer of the Alexandrian philosophy.

2. *The philosophy of the WESTERN Christians from the seventh century to the twelfth*: during which period flourished, in the *seventh century*, Boëthius and Isidore;—in the *eighth*, Bede, Theodore Cilix, Alcuin, &c.;—in the *ninth*, Rabanus, Erigena, Eginhard, Adelard, Grimbald, &c.;—in the *tenth*, Bridferd, Dunstan, Remigius, Nanno, Gerbert, &c.; in the *eleventh*, Fulbert, Berengar, Lanfranc, Anselm, Hermannus, &c. and Roscelin, from whom arose the memorable controversy between the Nominalists and Realists. The wisdom of this period was almost wholly wasted in dialectic subtleties

3. THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY, which was a confused mass of notions compounded of Arabian and Aristotelian philosophy and polemic theology. Lanfranc, Roscelin, and others, have been called the fathers of this philosophy.

From the beginning of the *twelfth century* to the middle of the *thirteenth*, the more celebrated SCHOLASTICS were, Abelard, Lombard, Porretan, Comestor, John of Salisbury, and Pulleyn; between the middle of the thirteenth century and the year 1330, flourished Albert, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Roger Bacon, Ægidius, Duns Scotus; to these succeeded, before the revival of letters, Durand, Occam, Suisset, and Wessel.

The Scholastics were divided into various sects, such as Albertists, Thomists, Scotists, Occamists; but those of the Nominalists and Realists are most celebrated.

PERIOD THE THIRD,

FROM THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY;
IN WHICH WE FIND,

I. ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE AND CORRECT THE SECTARIAN PHILOSOPHY. These we owe to the restoration of learning, and particularly to the revival of the study of the Greek language.

1. After Raymund Lully, in the *thirteenth* century, had in vain pretended to improve philosophy by his inventive art; in the *fourteenth* and *fifteenth* centuries, many learned men arose, who, either by reviving a taste for classical studies, or by translating and commenting upon the writings of the ancient philosophers, or by satirising the Scholastic philosophy and its professors, prepared the way for the reformation of philosophy. Among these, some of the more celebrated names are Chrysoloras, Paleologus, Dante, Petrarch, Boccace, Aretin, Politian, Philelphus, Valla, Agricola, and Argyropulus.

2. The revival of learning, accompanied with the reformation of religion, produced a general inclination to restore the ancient honours of philosophy. Erasmus, Vives, Nizolius, and others, exposed to ridicule the false philosophy of the Scholastics; Luther, Melancthon, Faber, Agricola, Cameraarius, and others, contributed in various ways to the correction of philosophy in general.

3. Learned men arose, who formed the design of reviving the ancient Grecian sects, and arranged themselves, respectively, under the standards of the ancient masters. Particularly,

- (1.) THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY, mixed with the Pythagorean, was revived by Pletho, Bessario, and Ficinus: Picus added the *Cabbalistic* doctrine; and his footsteps were followed by Reuchlin, Venetus, Agrippa, and More; while Patricius, Gale, Cudworth, Burnet, and others, rejecting the Cabbalistic dreams, endeavoured to restore Alexandrian Platonism.
- (2.) THE ARISTOTELIAN PHILOSOPHY was taught, either *mixed* with the Scholastic, by Lobkowitz, Ricciolus, Honoratus Faber, and others; or *pure*, by Gaza, Trapezuntius, Scholarius, Pomponatius, Niphus, Cremoninus, Melancthon, Simon, Schegkius, Sherbius, Taurellus, Sonerus, Conringius, and many more.
- (3.) THE PARMENIDEAN PHILOSOPHY was restored by Telesius, who, meeting with much opposition, was ably defended by Campanella.
- (4.) THE IONIC PHILOSOPHY had a new advocate in Berigard; who, however, acknowledged that, both the Ionic and the Peripatetic systems were defective, and was hence inclined to scepticism.

- (5.) THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY found an able patron in Lipsius, who was closely followed by Scioppius and Gataker.
- (6.) THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY, after an unsuccessful attempt by Magnenus, was revived by Gassendi, who was followed by Bernier and Charleton.

II. ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE NEW METHODS OF PHILOSOPHISING, made by

1. MODERN SCEPTICS; of whom the most celebrated are Sanchez, Hernhaym, Vayer, Huet, and Bayle.

2. SCRIPTURAL PHILOSOPHERS, who, despairing of being able to arrive at truth by the light of reason, had recourse to the scriptures, particularly to the Mosaic cosmogony, and endeavoured upon this foundation to raise a new structure of philosophy. These are, chiefly, Alsted, Dickinson, Burnet, Whiston, Comenius, and Bayer.

3. THEOSOPHISTS, who boast that they derive their hidden wisdom, not from the exercise of the understanding in inquiries after truth, but from immediate Divine illumination. To this class of philosophers are to be referred, Paracelsus and his disciples, Fludd, Boehmen, Helmont, Poiret, and, according to some, the Rosicrusians.

4. PROFESSED ENEMIES OF PHILOSOPHY; of whom the principal are, besides the Sceptics and Theosophists, Pomponatius, Cremoninus, and Daniel Hoffman.

III. ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE PHILOSOPHY IN THE TRUE ECLECTIC METHOD; not such as was followed by the Alexandrian philosophers, but that which consists in rejecting prejudices of every kind; subjecting the opinions of former philosophers to the strict scrutiny of reason, and admitting no conclusions but such as may be clearly deduced from principles founded in the nature of things, and discovered by experience. Among modern Eclectic philosophers are,

1. THOSE WHO HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO IMPROVE PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL; of whom the principal are Bruno, Cardan, Bacon, Campanella, Hobbes, Des Cartes, Leibnitz, Thomas, and Wolfe.

2. THOSE WHO HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO IMPROVE PARTICULAR BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHY: as,

- (1.) *Logic and Metaphysics*; such as, Peter Ramus, Arnold, Spinoza and his followers, Mallebranche, Tschernhausen, Locke.
- (2.) *Morals and Jurisprudence*; as Montaigne, Charron, Scultet, Boden, Machiavel, Grotius, Selden, Puffendorf.
- (3.) *Natural Philosophy*; as Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, Gilbert, Boyle, Newton.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

IN an undertaking so extensive as the ensuing, it is necessary that the general object be at first clearly ascertained, and that the limits of the design be accurately defined. As this work is intended to be a history, not of literature or science in general, but of Philosophy, the reader should be previously informed in what sense the author understands the term; especially, as there are few words to which a greater variety of significations has been annexed.

What is now called Philosophy, was, in the infancy of human society, denominated Wisdom; and indeed every ingenious discovery, and useful art, was then honoured with this appellation.* The title of Wise Men was, at that time, frequently conferred upon persons who had little claim to such a distinction; and superstition very early bestowed it upon those who were entrusted with the direction of religious concerns;† although it cannot be doubted that they had often no other right to such pre-eminence than that which was founded upon ingenious imposture. Men of superior understanding, at length, detecting the fallacy of these pretensions, were induced to assert their own right of free inquiry, and prosecuted their researches after truth, if not with the success which they expected, at least with that liberal spirit which gave them a just claim to the title of Wise Men. The Wisdom which they in this manner acquired, many of them applied to purposes highly beneficial to mankind: whence the term Wisdom came, by degrees, to denote both the scientific study and the practical application of such truths as were adapted to promote the happiness of human life.

In process of time, when a race of self-created preceptors arose in Greece, who assumed the name of Sophists or Wise Men, their arrogant pretensions gave great offence to such as were capable of distinguishing between real and counterfeit wisdom, and led them to adopt an appellation more suitable to the character of men who modestly professed themselves to be in the pursuit rather than in the possession of truth and wisdom,—namely, that of Philosophers.

Cicero ascribes the invention of this term to Pythagoras, and thus relates the occasion upon which it was introduced.—Every one knows, that among the Greeks there were seven eminent men, who have since been universally denominated the Seven Wise Men of Greece; that, at a still earlier period, Lycurgus, and, even in the heroic ages, Ulysses and Nestor, were called Wise Men; and, in short, that this appellation has, from the most ancient times, been given to those who have devoted themselves to the contemplation of nature. This title continued in common

* Aristot. *Ethic. ad Nicom.* l. vi. c. 7.

† Strabo, l. xv. p. 501. Diog. Laert. l. i. sect. 1, 2.

use till the time of Pythagoras. It happened, whilst this great man was at Phlius, that Leon, the chief of the Phliasians, was exceedingly charmed with the ingenuity and eloquence with which he discoursed upon various topics, and asked him in what art he principally excelled: to which Pythagoras replied, that he did not profess himself master of any art, but that he was a PHILOSOPHER. Leon, struck with the novelty of the term, asked Pythagoras who were philosophers, and wherein they differed from other men. Pythagoras replied, that, as in the public games, whilst some are contending for glory, and others are buying and selling in pursuit of gain, there is always a third class, who attend merely as spectators; so, in human life, amidst the various characters of men, there is a select number, who, despising all other pursuits, assiduously apply themselves to the study of nature, and the search after wisdom: these, added Pythagoras, are the persons whom I call philosophers.*

This appellation, thus assumed merely through modesty, to intimate that even they who have made the greatest advances in knowledge, are rather to be considered as Lovers of Wisdom than as Wise Men, soon lost its original meaning, and was borne with as much haughtiness and vanity as if it had implied an exclusive right to the possession of wisdom. "Some there are," says Quintilian, "who, despising the occupation of an orator, have employed themselves in prescribing rules for the conduct of life: these have insolently assumed to themselves the title of the Sole Professors of Wisdom."†

At a later period the signification of the term Philosophy was extended so far, as to include not only all speculative science, but also skill in municipal law, the knowledge of medicine, the art of criticism, and the whole circle of polite literature. The term was even transferred to theology; the Christian religion was called sacred philosophy; and ecclesiastical doctors and monks were styled philosophers.

This brief account of the changes which this term has undergone in its meaning and use, may serve to show the necessity of fixing, with some degree of precision, the sense in which we understand the word, before we attempt to trace the rise and progress of Philosophy.

Philosophy may be defined, that Love of Wisdom, which incites to the pursuit of important and useful science. Philosophy discovers and teaches those principles by means of which happiness may be acquired, preserved, and increased; Wisdom applies these principles to the benefit of individuals, and of society. "Knowledge which is applicable to no useful purpose, cannot deserve the name of Wisdom:"

"Qui ipsi sibi sapiens prodesse nequit, nequicquam sapit." (a)

The sources of that knowledge of truth which leads to the possession of happiness are two,—Reason and Revelation. To instruct men in those truths which God hath communicated to mankind by revelation, is the province of theology. To teach them such truths, connected with their happiness, as are capable of being discovered by the powers of reason, is the province of philosophy. These two provinces are perfectly distinct, and ought to be kept separate, except where the one may occasionally serve to cast light upon the other.

The leading offices of philosophy may be easily deduced from the general idea of its object. For if the end to be attained be the permanent enjoy-

* Cic. Tuscul. Disp. l. v. c. 3.

† Quintil. Proœm. Instit.

(a) Ennius ap. Cic. Epist. Fam. l. vii. ep. 6.

ment of real good, it must unquestionably be the business of philosophy to investigate the nature of good, and the means by which it may be acquired, and so to form and improve the whole man, that he may arrive at the complete possession of true felicity. Consequently, the business of philosophy will be, to cultivate the understanding, and point out the manner in which it may best perform its operations; to correct and meliorate the will and affections, by discovering what objects are desirable, comparing their respective claims, and showing how they may be rendered most productive of happiness; to inquire into the causes of natural appearances, and hence arrive at the knowledge of the First Cause, under those characters and relations which are most interesting to mankind; to conduct men to such an acquaintance with the properties of natural bodies, and their reciprocal actions, as shall enable them to apply the objects around them to their own convenience; and finally, to assist them in investigating the principles of social virtue, and to provide them with such rules of conduct as arise from mutual convenience and interest, from the natural sentiments of justice and humanity, and from the voluntary engagements of civil society. Dialectics, physics, natural religion, ethics, and policy, are thus comprehended under the general term philosophy. How far this distribution agrees with the arrangements adopted by the ancients, and comprehends their several objects of philosophical discussion, will appear in the sequel.

From this explanation of the sense in which we understand the term philosophy, the reader will easily perceive what is to be expected from the present undertaking. A history of philosophy is a history of doctrines, and of men. As a history of doctrines, it lays open the origin of opinions, the changes which they have undergone, the distinct characters of different systems, and the leading points in which they agree or differ: it is, therefore, in fact, a history of the human understanding. As a history of men, it relates the principal incidents in the lives of the more eminent philosophers; remarks, particularly, those circumstances in their character or situation which may be supposed to have influenced their opinions; takes notice of their followers and their opponents, and describes the origin, progress, and decline of their respective sects.

In this manner we have undertaken to trace the history of philosophy, and philosophers, from the earliest records to the present time. The undertaking, we are sensible, is attended with many difficulties, and requires much industry and impartiality. That we might proceed in the execution of so extensive and arduous a design, with some probability of success, we have found it necessary to prescribe to ourselves certain rules and cautions, which we have invariably endeavoured to follow.

Wherever original authors were to be obtained, we have carefully examined them. In perusing these, we have considered, whether they deliver their own opinions, or merely relate the opinions of others; attending all along to the general phraseology, and particularly to the technical terms made use of by the sect which they founded, or to which they belonged. We have, in the first place, endeavoured to discover the general principles on which each system is built, and then to trace out the particular conclusions which have been deduced from these; always preferring that interpretation of any doubtful passage which best agrees with the fundamental principles and the spirit of the system. We have carefully remarked those personal circumstances, respecting any philosopher, which might serve to throw light upon his opinions; such, for example, as his country, his family, his education, his natural temper, his habits of life, his patrons,

friends, or enemies. In those cases, in which the founder of a sect has either left no writings behind him, or his works are lost, we have preferred the authority of his immediate followers, or of such as lived nearest his time, to the testimony of later writers. Well aware of the unpardonable liberties which have been taken, in imposing spurious books upon the world under the sanction of the most venerable names of antiquity, we have been constantly upon our guard against this kind of deception, and have rejected, without hesitation, such writings as bear the evident marks of imposture.* In comparing the proofs of questionable facts, we have endeavoured to weigh them fairly in the scale of probability; asserting or denying nothing with greater confidence than the nature of the evidence adduced will justify, and always suspending our judgment where we are uncertain; and where means of information are wanting, confessing our ignorance. We have been particularly careful not to ascribe modern ideas and opinions to the ancients, nor to torture their expressions into a meaning which probably never entered into their thoughts, in order to accommodate them to a modern hypothesis or system. Where we have found any doctrine imperfectly explained, or have met with any philosopher, who appears to have been himself defective in perspicuity of conception, or who, by making use of vague and indeterminate language, leaves his reader in uncertainty, we have rather chosen to let the veil of obscurity remain upon his system, than to substitute our own ideas in the room of the writer's, from the hope of making that clear, which the author himself has left obscure. In fine, we have not neglected to make use of every collateral aid, which chronology, ecclesiastical history, or general literature could afford.

By observing these rules and precautions, we trust we have been enabled, in some measure, to rise superior to the difficulties of our undertaking. After all, however, we cannot but exceedingly regret that our sources of information are so defective, and the materials which they supply so imperfect:—a circumstance which the reader will easily account for, when, besides the unavoidable injuries of time, he recollects how many famous libraries of ancient manuscripts have been destroyed by military plunder, or by the still more barbarous hand of religious bigotry. It is well known, that the celebrated collection which had been made by the Egyptian Ptolemies was consumed, through the ignorance and rashness of Julius Cæsar's soldiers; that the public library which had been formed at Rome, in the palace of the Cæsars, and was carefully preserved in a temple dedicated to Apollo, was destroyed by lightning; that Pope Gregory issued a general order for burning all the Heathen writings which remained at Rome;† that when Alexandria was taken by Omer, the Saracen caliph, its immense library, which had been accumulating for several centuries, in a place distinguished for the study of philosophy, was consigned to the flames, and furnished fuel for heating the baths of the city for the space of six months;‡ and that Al-Mamon, an Arabian, whose name is celebrated for the protection which he afforded to learning and learned men, in order to give greater value to the translations which were at that time made, under his patronage, from the Greek tongue, destroyed the original manuscripts as soon as the Arabic or Latin version was finished.§

The uses, to which an impartial and accurate inquiry into the rise and

* Vid. Fabricii *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiv. p. 131. † *Sarisberiensis Policrat.* l. ii. p. 123.

‡ *Abulphar. Hist. Dynast.* p. 114.

§ *Leo Africanus de Viris Illustr. Arab.* c. 1. apud Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiii. p. 260. Conf. *Schellhornii Annænit.* t. vii. p. 75.

progress of philosophy may be applied, and the advantages which are to be expected from it, are numerous and important.

The history of philosophy is, as we have said, the history of the human understanding, clearly showing the extent of its capacity, the causes of its perversion, and the means by which it may be recalled from its unprofitable wanderings, and successfully employed in subserviency to the happiness of mankind. Whilst it traces the origin and growth of useful knowledge, it also discovers the manner in which errors have arisen and been propagated, and exposes the injury which they have done to science, literature, and religion. It exhibits great and exalted minds as forsaking the path of truth, and adopting opinions at once the most absurd and the most pernicious: a representation which cannot fail to show the folly of placing an implicit confidence in the judgment of celebrated men, or of admitting any system as true before it has undergone an accurate examination. Nor is there any hazard, as some suppose, lest such a freedom from the shackles of authority should produce a contempt of truly wise and learned men, and cherish the humour of conceit and vanity: for, an acquaintance with the mistakes and failures of men, who have unsuccessfully employed great ingenuity and industry in the pursuit of truth, suggests a useful lesson of modesty and diffidence in our own inquiries, and of candour towards the mistakes of others. A clear detection of error, and of the sources whence it has sprung, furnishes facts to prove, that opinions which have no other foundation than weak misconception, a blind respect for authority or antiquity, or selfish attention to interest, may be embraced by multitudes as true; and that, on the other hand, truths, which have been long rejected as idle paradoxes or pernicious principles, may, at length, lift up their heads, and triumph over prejudice; whence will naturally arise enlargement of mind, and a manly freedom of thinking.

The history of philosophy may also be useful, as a faithful register of discoveries in the world of science, and as a skilful guide towards unknown regions, whither future adventurers may with advantage direct their course. It may serve to prevent the farther waste of precious time in speculations, which experience has shown to lie beyond the reach of the human faculties, and to give that prudent direction to philosophical industry, without which the boundaries of knowledge can never be enlarged. By showing how far science has been hitherto successfully prosecuted, and in what instances it has been treated injudiciously, inaccurately explained, or imperfectly explored, it instructs men what is to be avoided, and what yet remains to be done, in the pursuit of knowledge; puts them upon their guard against the repetition of attempts, which have already, in many instances, proved fruitless; enables them to distinguish new doctrines or discoveries from things already known and taught, and to strip off the plumes from imposing plagiarists, and assist them in the choice of a proper field of inquiry, and in the regulation of their future speculations.

An acquaintance with the history of philosophy, moreover, includes the knowledge of the general sources of science, of the names and characters of valuable authors, the subjects of their works, and the assistance which may be expected from them in scientific researches. The history of philosophy is, in this view, an important branch of the history of universal erudition, serving to introduce the young inquirer to an acquaintance with those silent preceptors, from whose instructions he may expect the daily increase of his intellectual stores.

In several distinct branches of science, the history of philosophy may afford much assistance. In theology, it may be of great use, in discover-

ing the origin of natural religion, and tracing the course of its stream, even when united with the foul current of gentile idolatry; in confirming the credit of sacred history by external testimony; in ascertaining the limits between the province of reason and that of revelation, and in reflecting light upon many passages in sacred writings. In ecclesiastical history, it enables us to account for the early introduction of metaphysical subtleties into the Christian system, as well as the consequent corruption of the simplicity of its doctrine, and to explain the origin of many obscure tenets and idle fictions, which have, at different periods, gained admission into the Church of Christ. In jurisprudence, it assists us in discovering the foundation of municipal law, by showing, that in every age of the world the principles of natural justice have been known, and that they have been admitted into every philosophical system, and received by every nation of the earth. It is particularly useful in the study of the civil law, many of the ideas and terms of which are borrowed from the Stoic philosophy. It might easily be shown, in like manner, that the history of philosophy casts light upon mathematics, medicine, and other sciences; but, in a matter so exceedingly obvious, a farther detail would be superfluous.

To these benefits, which may be expected to accrue from a history of opinions, may be added others, of great importance, arising from the history of philosophers and sects. Besides the biographical entertainment and instruction which such memoirs may afford, they must contain much useful information peculiar to this branch of learning. To observe by what means they who have been engaged in the pursuit and propagation of knowledge have accomplished their design; what obstacles they have overcome; in what instances, and from what causes, they have been imposed upon by the semblance of truth, and have embraced the shadow for the substance; into what mistakes they have fallen through prejudice, precipitation, or vanity; what inconveniences they have suffered from their misconceptions and errors, and what advantages they have derived from their wisdom, with other circumstances of a similar nature, cannot fail to suggest hints and reflections, which may be of great use in the prosecution of science.

Having said thus much to explain the nature of our design, the rules which we have prescribed to ourselves in the execution, and the advantages which are to be expected from a work of this kind, we have nothing further to add, in the way of introduction, than to give our readers a general view of our plan.

The whole history of philosophy we divide into Three Periods. The *first* period traces its rise and progress from the earliest times to the establishment of the Roman empire. The *second* period represents its state among the Heathens, whilst it flourished under the emperors, which brings the history down to the sixth century; and among the Jews, Saracens, and Christians, from the commencement of the Christian era to the time of the revival of letters. The *third* period relates the attempts which have since been made for the reformation and improvement of philosophy, and describes the various forms which it has assumed from the revival of letters to the present century. Thus the whole history of philosophy is conveniently divided into *ancient, middle, and modern*. In order to assist the memory, the utmost care has been taken to give each of these periods its distinct characters of time and place.

The First Period includes the Barbaric and the Grecian philosophy; the former comprehending all those nations, which before the time when the

Grecian philosophy passed over to the Romans, did not make use of the Greek language; the latter, all those countries in which that language was spoken.

We shall find, in treating of the Barbaric philosophy, that, as might be expected in the infancy of the world, it was simple in its nature and office, and was taught, without any laboured efforts of reasoning, merely by tradition. As knowledge advanced, philosophy assumed a more manly tone, and put on the habit of science; till, at length, it appeared with great dignity among the Greeks, the freedom of whose spirit and manners led them to lay open the mysteries of wisdom, and to make use of their own faculties in investigating new truths, and framing new systems.

Our survey of the state of philosophy among the barbaric nations takes its rise, with respect to time, from the first records of history, and follows, with respect to place, the natural order of East, South, West, and North; an order which was followed by the ancients, who divided the inhabitants of the world into four parts, calling the inhabitants of the east, Indians; those of the south, Ethiopians; those of the west, Celts; and those of the north, Scythians.* Among the eastern nations, our design will lead us to treat distinctly concerning the Hebrews, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Arabians or Sabeans, the Phœnicians, and the Indians: our account of the southern barbaric nations will include the people of Egypt and Libya; in the west, we shall take notice of the Celts or Gauls, the Germans, the Britons, and the ancient Romans; and in the north, we shall treat of the Scythians, Thracians, and other neighbouring nations.

The philosophy of Greece we shall find to have a double character. In its infancy, and in its juvenile state, we shall see it, like the barbaric philosophy, rather simple than artificial, rather empiric than theoretical, expressed in fable, and in moral and political maxims or rules of prudence. Afterwards, we shall find the Greek philosophy, improved by the ingenuity of many eminent men, becoming systematic, and branching out into a great number of sects, of which a particular account will be given in this part of our work. To preserve this period entire, we have subjoined an account of the fate of the Grecian philosophy in Egypt and in Asia.

The Second Period, from the beginning of the Roman Empire to the revival of letters, will open before us a field of philosophical history not less spacious than the former. It will exhibit the state of philosophy during the course of 1,200 years, among the Romans, the Orientalists, the Jews, the Saracens, and the Christians. With respect to the Romans, philosophy having met with much opposition when it was first introduced among them by the Greeks, did not obtain a firm footing till towards the close of the Republic. Under the Cæsars, philosophy almost entirely deserted Athens, its native seat, and took up its residence in Rome, where almost every Grecian sect flourished; till at length, that which had been formed in the Alexandrian school, by combination from the rest, called the Eclectic, became predominant. Among the Asiatics a new kind of philosophy sprung up, formed upon the doctrine, real or supposed, of the ancient Zoroastrian and Greek mythology. The nation of the Jews, after their return from their Babylonish captivity, though they chiefly devoted themselves to the study of their own law, were not strangers to the gentile philosophy, especially those of them who resided in Egypt; and in a subsequent period, in which the Aristotelian philosophy was predominant, they ranked themselves among the Peripatetics. The Arabians, who,

* Pompon. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 1. Strabonis Geogr. l. ii.

under the name of Saracens, in the seventh century, disturbed the Eastern empire, although at first exceedingly averse to inquiry, (Mahomet, their leader, having prudently denied the privilege of private judgment to the people whom he had destined to slavery,) became at last so much devoted to philosophy, according to the Peripatetic sect, that, during a long period of general darkness and confusion, they were almost the only nation who afforded her an asylum. Among the first Christians, who were industriously employed in disseminating the divine doctrine of their Master, the subtleties of gentile philosophy obtained little credit. But, very soon after the rise of Christianity, many persons who had been educated in the schools of the philosophers becoming converts to the Christian faith, the doctrines of the Grecian sects, and especially of Platonism, were interwoven with the simple truths of pure religion. As the Eclectic philosophy spread, Heathen and Christian doctrines were still more intimately blended, till at last both were almost entirely lost in the thick clouds of ignorance and barbarism, which covered the earth; except that the Aristotelian philosophy had a few followers among the Greeks, and Platonic Christianity was cherished in the cloisters of monks. About the beginning of the eleventh century, a new kind of philosophy sprung up, called the Scholastic, which, while it professed to follow the doctrine of Aristotle, corrupted every principle of sound reasoning, and hindered, instead of assisting, men in their inquiries after truth. At length, learning beginning to revive, and to be disseminated by the Greeks, who after the taking of Constantinople were dispersed through Europe, a happy opportunity was afforded for restoring philosophy to its ancient honours.

This resurrection of literature and science is the commencement of the Third Period of our history. In this part of our course we shall see the successful efforts of philosophy to rise above the unwholesome atmosphere of tyranny, superstition, and bigotry, into the pure regions of freedom and truth; we shall find the several ancient sects reviving, new and better methods of philosophising discovered, the chains of authority in some measure shaken off, and farther advances made in true philosophy, within the course of a single century, than had before been made in a thousand years.

To the general history of these three periods of philosophy will be added, by way of Appendix, a brief sketch of the progress and present state of philosophy in the Indies and among the Chinese.

BOOK I.

OF BARBARIC PHILOSOPHY.

CHAPTER I.

OF BARBARIC PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL.

THE term Barbarian was applied by the Greeks* to all those nations who spoke a language different from their own. We shall adopt the obvious division which arises from this signification of the term; and, in treating of the FIRST PERIOD of the history of philosophy *from the earliest records of the world to the beginning of the Roman Empire*, we shall first inquire into the state of philosophy, during that period, among barbaric nations, and then trace its rise and progress in the states of Greece.

It has long been a subject of dispute, whether philosophy first appeared among the Barbarians, or among the Greeks. The inhabitants of Greece, who were very early remarkable for literary and philosophical vanity, and soon learned to make use of an artificial method of philosophising, were unwilling to allow that philosophy had any existence in other countries, except where it had been borrowed from them. They could not persuade themselves, that the mere communication of precepts of wisdom in the simple form of tradition, and in languages harsh and dissonant compared with their own, could deserve to be called philosophising. On the other hand, the barbaric nations, in their turn, treated the Greeks as Barbarians, and looked upon them as children in philosophy. Plato, in his *Timæus*, introduces a Barbarian as instructing the wise Solon, and saying, “You Greeks are always children; there is not an old man among you: you have no such thing as grey-headed wisdom.” They were the more confirmed in this persuasion when they understood that the most learned men, and the most ancient philosophers among the Greeks, had either been Barbarians by birth, or instructed by Barbarians; † that Pythagoras, for example, was a Tuscan, Antisthenes a Phrygian, Orpheus a Thracian, Thales a Phœnician; and that Thales, Pythagoras, Plato, and others, had derived their knowledge from Chaldean and Egyptian priests.

Many of the Christian fathers espoused, in this dispute, the cause of the Barbarians, and maintained, with great vehemence, and with all the learning they could command, that the barbaric philosophy was the fountain of all the wisdom that had appeared among the Greeks, except so far as they been indebted, in the way of tradition, to divine revelation.

In this question, as it frequently happens in controversy, from a want of distinct ideas and an accurate use of terms, many things foreign to the argument were advanced. If the meaning of the term Philosophy had been correctly settled; if the infant state of knowledge had been distinguished from its more advanced age; and especially, if due attention had been paid to the essential difference between communicating doctrines by mere authority, and investigating the principles, relations, and causes of things by diligent study, the whole dispute would soon have been found to be nothing more than a logomachy.

* Ovid. *Trist.* l. v. el. 10. v. 37.

† Clem. Alex. *Stromata*, l. i. p. 302, 303.

For no one would assert, that the barbaric nations were wholly inattentive to wisdom, or strangers to every kind of knowledge, human or divine. On the other side, it cannot be questioned that they became possessed of knowledge rather by simple reflection than by scientific investigation, and that they transmitted it to posterity rather by tradition than by demonstration. Whereas, the Greeks, as soon as they began to be civilized, discovered a general propensity to inquiry, and made use of scientific rules and methods of reasoning. Hence it is easy to perceive, that though the improvement of philosophy is to be ascribed to the Greeks, its origin is to be sought for * among the barbaric nations.†

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS.

AMONG the barbaric nations (using the term barbaric in the sense before explained) the most ancient people, concerning whom any authentic records remain, are the Hebrews. We shall inquire into the state of philosophy among this people, from the earliest period of their history to the time of their return from their Babylonish captivity; after which, the Jewish philosophy will be more properly considered in connexion with the Grecian.

From the praises which are bestowed, in the Jewish history, upon some of their more illustrious ancestors, patriarchs, prophets, and princes, some have been induced to place them upon a level, in respect of speculative wisdom, with the philosophers of Greece, and even with those of modern times. But that this is a misconception, must be evident to every one who recollects the state of science, and of general civilization at that early period.

A better or more certain judgment concerning the wisdom of the ancient Hebrews cannot be formed, than from the monuments which they themselves, or their descendants, have left in the sacred Scriptures. Much greater credit, particularly in this instance, is due to domestic than to foreign testimony; for the Jewish historians had their information, concerning the ancient state of their nation, from records preserved with the utmost care by their ancestors; whereas other writers, in speaking of a people who had little intercourse with their neighbours, for want of a better guide than vague report, must necessarily have given a precipitate, and often an erroneous judgment.

We learn from the Scriptures, that among the ancient Hebrews there were many eminent men, who made use of the clear light of divine truth, with which they were favoured by Heaven, as their guide in the conduct of life. In practical and moral wisdom it cannot be doubted that they held a place of high distinction. Their wisdom, however, must not be confounded with philosophy, in the strict acceptation of the term. Blessed with a divine revelation, they have transmitted to posterity rays of sacred truth, which have been spread through the world; and they have hence obtained an

* Tatian. in *procœm. Clem. Al. Strom.* l. i. p. 302. Origen *adv. Celsum*, l. i. p. 5. Ed. Hoeshel.

† Consult also, upon the subject of this chapter, Beausobre *Hist. du Manicheisme*, p. ii. l. i. c. 2. Scaliger, *Exerc. li. contra Cardan.* p. 188. Bos *Animadv. ad Script.* c. ii. p. 12. Heuman. *Act. Phil.* v. ii. p. 204. Heurnii *Ant. Phil. Barb.* Ed. Lugd. Bat. 1600.

immortal name in an order of higher dignity than that of philosophers. Under the direction of genuine principles of religion, they pursued the plain path of simple virtue, without being led astray by vain curiosity into fruitless speculations. In the first ages of their history, their patriarchs were shepherds, who, by their domestic virtues, obtained great authority over the people among whom they lived, and seem to have had no other object of ambition, than that of providing for the safety and prosperity of their families. Joseph, the son of Jacob, and after him Moses, David, Solomon, Ezra, and other eminent men, were occupied in affairs of legislation and government, and, by the wisdom with which they conducted them, acquired high renown. Others, who were distinguished by the name of prophets, were employed in declaring to the people the will of God, in managing the affairs of religion, and in training up disciples for these sacred services. Among the Hebrews we are therefore to look for prudent statesmen, upright judges, and priests learned in the law; but not for philosophers, in the limited sense in which we understand the term. Much pains has indeed been taken, both by Jewish and Christian writers, to affix this character to several illustrious names in the ancient Hebrew nation, particularly Moses, Solomon, and Daniel; but it will not be difficult to prove that this has been attempted without sufficient reason.

Upon the authority of Philo,* and other Jewish writers, it is asserted by Clemens Alexandrinus,† Justin Martyr,‡ Origen,§ and other Christian fathers, that Moses reached the summit of human learning; and he is represented as having been a perfect master of astronomy, geometry, music, medicine, occult philosophy, and, in short, of the whole circle of the arts and sciences which were at that time known; and this opinion, like many others, has been received, without much examination, in later times. The principal arguments by which it has been supported are, that St. Stephen speaks of him|| as having been “learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;” that a general tradition to this purpose has prevailed among the Jews from the most ancient times; that in reducing Aaron’s golden calf to powder,¶ he showed great chemical skill; that his account of the creation discovers an extensive acquaintance with nature; and that his laws abound with moral wisdom. To this it has been added, that Moses, during the forty days in which he was upon the mount with God, besides the written code, received also an oral or traditionary law, since called the *Cabbala*, and that he taught this concealed doctrine to persons selected out of all the tribes of Israel, by whom they were transmitted to posterity. Some have even asserted that he wrote books, now lost, from which Pythagoras and Plato drew a great part of their doctrine: the authority of Eusebius has often been quoted in support of this assertion, in a passage** where he mentions, on the credit of Jewish tradition, several theological and philosophical tenets of Moses; and amongst the rest, his opinion concerning the immortality of the soul.

With respect to the evidence from testimony on this subject, it is easy to see that it may all be traced up to Philo, who will have little credit with those who remark, how exactly he has adapted his account of the opinions of Moses to the philosophy of the times in which he lived, and how egregiously he mistakes, in supposing learned men to have come from Greece, at a period when Greece was in a state of barbarism. The judgment of Clemens Alexandrinus, and other Christian fathers, upon this

* De Vita Mosis, p. 604. De Mundi opificio, p. 2. † Strom. l. i. p. 343.

‡ Quest. 25. ad Orthod. § Advers. Celsum, l. i. p. 14. || Acts vii. 22.

¶ Exod. xxxii. 20. Deut. ix. 21.

** Demon. Evang. l. iii. c. 2.

question, is of little weight; for they were induced to accommodate their idea of the wisdom of Moses to the model of the Greek philosophy, by an opinion, which they took up without examination from the Jews, that all the genuine wisdom which was found among the Heathens, had passed over to them from the Hebrews, and was originally derived from divine revelation. Little stress is to be laid upon the account given of Moses by St. Stephen, since the learning which he ascribes to him was only that of the Egyptians at the time when he flourished, which, as we shall afterwards see, was confined within very narrow limits. The skill which Moses discovered in the affair of Aaron's golden calf was probably not chemical, as many have supposed, but merely mechanical; for nothing further can with certainty be inferred from the Scripture account of this transaction, than that Moses ordered the calf, which had been made an object of idolatry, to be cut into small pieces, and thrown into an adjoining river, whence the Israelites were, at that time, supplied with water; probably, that, as often as they should fetch water from this stream, they might be reminded of their offence. In delivering laws and institutions to the Jews, Moses is to be considered, not as a philosopher, but in the higher character of minister and representative of Jehovah, by whose immediate authority their nation was governed. As to the traditionary law, which the Jewish writers supposed to have been the ground of their Cabbala, if it were not a mere invention of later times, it must have been given by divine revelation, and can furnish no argument in defence of the philosophy of Moses. Much less can any argument, for this purpose, be derived from writings which are confessedly lost, and which have not been proved to have ever existed.

SOLOMON, in the Jewish Scriptures, has the first place assigned him among the wise men of the East. But the later Jewish writers, not satisfied with this general encomium, have advanced the most extravagant assertions concerning his wisdom. They have not scrupled to say, that Aristotle pillaged his doctrine from the writings of Solomon. A bold assertion of this kind might have been endured from a people, whose vanity has always been equal to their ignorance; but that learned men of later times should adopt so absurd an opinion, is truly wonderful. Yet an English writer, of no mean name in the republic of letters,* has maintained, that Aristotle and Theophrastus learnt natural history; Hippocrates, medicine; the Stoics, ethics; and Pythagoras and Plato the symbolical philosophy, from Solomon. Others have supposed him to have known the use of the mariner's compass,† and to have been acquainted with the doctrine of the circulation of the blood,‡ and with other anatomical discoveries. And Pineda, a Jesuit,§ has gone so far as to ascribe to Solomon the perfect knowledge of every modern as well as ancient science. Upon all this it is sufficient to remark, that had Solomon been thus wonderfully enlightened, it must have been by divine revelation, and not by philosophy; and that the wisdom which is attributed to him in Scripture || was not speculative science, but that practical wisdom which was necessary to qualify him for the offices of government.

DANIEL takes the next place among the wise men of Israel. From the particulars related concerning him in the book which bears his name, some have concluded, that he was an eminent teacher of the Chaldean philosophy,

* Gale Phil. gener. sect. 8.

† Fuller's Sacred Miscell. b. iv. ch. 19.

‡ Corn. Bontekoe de Vit. hum. p. ii. sect. 10. Witsii Miscell. Sac. t. ii. ex. 13. sect. 24.

§ De Rebus Solom. Mogunt. 1613.

|| 1 Kings iii. 9—11. iv. 29.

and a great master of all the wisdom of the East. It has even been said that he was acquainted with the whole circle of Aristotelian learning.* All this, however, is founded upon mere conjecture; for we have no certain information concerning this prophet except from his own writings; and these only relate, in general terms, that he was well furnished with that kind of wisdom, which served to obtain him influence, and procure him esteem and confidence, in the court of Babylon, and that, besides this, he was endowed with miraculous powers from heaven.

In the history of the Jews, frequent mention is made of their prophets; and a great part of the Jewish Scriptures consists of prophecies: but these prophets appear in no other light than as good men supernaturally illuminated, for the purposes of instructing and admonishing the Jewish people, and predicting the great events which were to befall them. We are also informed, that there were, among the Hebrews, schools, in which the prophets presided, and gave instructions to their disciples; but we are not to imagine that these schools were colleges of philosophers, or, as some have done,† to apply our modern idea of academical life to these institutions. As the prophets were employed in delivering the will of God to the people, and in inculcating upon them the principles, and inspiring them with the sentiments of religion; by means of sacred hymns accompanied with music, so it was, doubtless, the business of the schools to train up young men who were devoted to the priesthood for the same offices. The account, which the sacred writings give of the schools of the prophets in Kirjath-jearim and Ramoth-Gilead,‡ is far from conveying any idea of a philosophical seat of learning. We do not mean to assert that the ancient Hebrews were destitute of learning;§ we only maintain that it was of a very different kind from that philosophy which we meet with in later ages. Their learned men were chiefly occupied in explaining the Mosaic law, and in inculcating principles of religion, and precepts of morality, drawn from the pure fountain of divine revelation. The sacred Odes or Psalms of David afford an excellent specimen of Hebrew learning. They every where breathe the spirit of sublime piety, but discover no traces of abstract philosophy.

We shall conclude our view of the state of philosophy among the Hebrews in the words of an eminent English writer:—"It is well known that the Hebrews never excelled in mathematical or philosophical learning, or liberal arts, nor were ever distinguished by any ingenious discoveries. Whence Apollonius passes this severe judgment upon them, that they are to be ranked among the most stupid Barbarians, and are perhaps the only people who have never produced any single invention. Their ancient institutions, called Schools of the Prophets, were not so much intended for the purpose of instruction in the circle of the sciences, after the manner of modern schools, as for that of training up youth for discharging the prophetic and priestly functions. No nation or country, upon the face of the earth, has abounded so much with prophets and inspired men: one might almost imagine that some divine virtue resided even in the soil and climate of Judea.||

* Horn. Hist. Phil. l. v. c. 20. Huet. Dem. Ev. Pr. iv. p. 278.

† Altingii Hist. Ebr. Acad. p. 281. ‡ 1 Sam. x. 5. xix. 18. 2 Kings ii. 3—5.

§ 1 Kings iv. 11.

|| T. Burnetii Archæologia, Phil. l. i. c. 7. Joseph. contr. Apion, l. ii.

Vidend. Albert. Fabricii Cod. Vet. T. Buddæi Hist. Phil. Hebr. Spencer. de Legibus Hebr. Dickinson. Phys. Vet. c. xx. Altingii Hist. Acad. Heb. Witsius de Prophetis. Hornii Hist. Phil. l. v. Galæi Phil. Gent. l. i. Maii Diss. de Phil. Job. Reeman. Ant. Lit. Ægypt. l. i. Baumgarten's notes on Ant. Univ. History, v. i. note 327.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHALDEANS.

AMONG the eastern nations, the most ancient people, next to the Hebrews, who appear to have been acquainted with philosophy, (using the term in its more relaxed sense,) are the Chaldeans. For, although the Egyptians have claimed the honour of being the more ancient nation, and contended that the Chaldeans were an Egyptian colony, and consequently derived all their learning from Egypt, there is reason to believe* that the kingdom of Babylon, of which Chaldea was a part, flourished before the Egyptian monarchy: whence it is probable, that, with respect to knowledge, the Egyptians were rather indebted to the Chaldeans, than the Chaldeans to the Egyptians. There is little room, however, to doubt that Chaldea had, from the most remote times, its own preceptors, and was not indebted for its wisdom† to any other country.

There were, it must be owned, amongst the Chaldeans themselves, fabulous accounts of the antiquity of their learning. When Alexander became possessed of Babylon, Aristotle, who was desirous of making the Asiatic expedition subservient to philosophy, requested Callisthenes to inform himself concerning the origin of science in Chaldea, for at that time the Chaldeans boasted that their ancestors had continued their astronomical observations through a period of 470,000 years.‡ Callisthenes, through the interest of Alexander, examined into the grounds of this report, and found that the Chaldean observations reached no farther backward than 1903 years. If this term be subtracted from 4383, the year of the Julian period in which Babylon was taken, these observations will appear to have commenced in the year of the Julian period 2480, or 2234 years before the Christian era. And even these are not mentioned by Ptolemy, who takes notice of no Chaldean observations prior to the Nabonasserian era which commenced in the 3967th of the Julian period, or before Christ 747 years. Nevertheless, the great antiquity of the Chaldean learning cannot be disputed. Aristotle,§ on the credit of the most ancient records, speaks of the Chaldean Magi as prior to the Egyptian priests, who, it is well known, cultivated learning before the time of Moses.

The history of the Chaldean or Babylonian philosophy is, from its great antiquity, necessarily involved in much uncertainty. The only remaining records, which can cast any light upon the subject, we owe, not to the Chaldeans themselves, but to other nations, chiefly the Greeks, whose genius was not adapted to the oriental learning, and whose vanity frequently led them into misrepresentations in their accounts of barbaric nations. Add to this, that, in consequence of the symbolical mode of instruction made use of by the Chaldeans, their doctrines have been transmitted to posterity under a veil of obscurity, which it is now become extremely difficult to remove. The difficulty was greatly increased by a race of philosophers, who, about the beginning of the Christian era, in order to obtain credit for certain wild and extravagant doctrines of their own, passed them upon the world as the ancient wisdom of the Chaldeans

* Pompon. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. i. c. 9. p. 21. ed. Gron. Plin. N. Hist. l. v. c. 9.

† Conf. Diodor. Sicul. l. ii.

‡ Porphyry. apud Simplic. Comment. in Aristot. de Cælo, l. ii. Cicero de Divin. l. i.

§ Apud Laert. l. i. sect. 8.

and Persians, in spurious books, which they ascribed to Zoroaster, or some other eastern philosopher. Thus the fictions of these impostors became confounded with the genuine dogmas of the ancient eastern nations. And the industry of modern critics has done little towards removing these difficulties; for either they have not attended to the causes of uncertainty which have been enumerated, or they have suffered themselves to be imposed upon by forged writings; or they have given credit to the fallacious pretences of the Arabian writers, who have boasted that they had, in their language, the exclusive possession of many valuable treasures of ancient learning. All that can be related, with any tolerable degree of probability, concerning the Chaldean philosophy, may be comprised within a small compass.

The Chaldean philosophers were the priests of the Babylonian nation, who instructed the people in the principles of religion, interpreted its laws, and conducted its ceremonies. They sustained the same character with the Persian Magi, afterwards to be noticed, and are often confounded with them by the Greek historians. Like the priests in most other ancient nations, they employed religion in subserviency to the ruling powers, and made use of imposture to serve the purposes of civil policy. This is confirmed by the general testimony of ancient history, and by the express authority of the historian Diodorus Siculus, who relates,* that they pretended to predict future events by divination, to explain prodigies, and interpret dreams, and to avert evils, or confer benefits, by means of augury and incantations. They retained, for many ages, a principal place among diviners. In the reign of Marcus Antoninus, when the emperor and his army, who were perishing with thirst, were suddenly relieved by a shower, the prodigy was ascribed to the power and skill of the Chaldean soothsayers.† No wonder that, as long as these Chaldean priests could perform such marvels, they retained their consequence in the courts of princes.

The principal instrument which these impostors employed in support of superstition was astrology. The Chaldeans were probably the first people who made regular observations upon the heavenly bodies.‡ This kind of knowledge was in such high estimation among them, that a distinct order of men was appointed for this purpose, and supported at the public expense;§ whence the appellation of Chaldean afterwards became synonymous with that of astronomer. But all their observations were applied to the single purpose of establishing the credit of judicial astrology; and they employed their pretended skill in this art in calculating nativities, foretelling the weather, predicting good and bad fortune,|| and other practices usual with impostors of this class. Teaching the vulgar that all human affairs are influenced by the stars, and professing to be acquainted with the nature and laws of this influence, and consequently to possess a power of prying into futurity, they encouraged much idle superstition, and many fraudulent practices. Hence other professors of these mischievous arts were afterwards called Chaldeans, and the arts themselves were called Babylonian arts. Among the Romans, these impostors were so troublesome, that it was found necessary, during the time of the Republic, to issue an edict,¶ requiring the Chaldeans, or mathematicians, (for they were

* L. ii. p. 81. Compare Dan. ii. 1, &c. Eccus. xlv. 3. Vid. Just. Mart. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 12

† Lamprid. in Heliogab. c. 9. Claudian. in vi. Consul. Honor.

‡ Cic. de Divin. l. i. Strabo, l. xv.

§ Arrian. Exp. l. vii. c. 16.

|| Sextus Empir. adv. Matth. l. v. sect. 2. Aulus Gellius, l. xiv. c. 1. Strabo, l. c.

¶ Valer. Maxim. l. i. c. 3. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. p. 622. Sueton. in Tiber.

commonly known by this latter appellation,) to depart from Rome and Italy within ten days; and afterwards, under the emperors, these sooth-sayers were put under the most severe interdiction.

Still farther to lay open the true character of the Chaldean philosophy, it must be remarked, that it consisted, not in a free and diligent examination of the nature of things, but in the bare transmission of certain settled opinions from father to son. Diodorus Siculus (who herein shows how little he himself was entitled to the character of a philosopher) commends the Chaldeans for having taken up their opinions upon the authority of their ancestors, and says, "that, in this respect, they acted much more wisely than the Greeks, who, addicting themselves to disputation, were ever ready to embrace new opinions, and thus obliged their disciples to wander through their whole lives in perpetual uncertainty."* Whether the Grecian method of proceeding, or the Chaldean, was most likely to lead to the discovery of truth, it can require no extraordinary sagacity to discover. But, for the purpose for which the Chaldean philosophy appears to have been chiefly instituted, no mode of philosophising could have been better chosen. Their mysteries were to be revealed only to a select few, and to be studiously concealed from the multitude, that a veil of sanctity might be cast over their doctrine, which would, by this means, be the more easily employed in the support of civil and religious tyranny.

Another circumstance, which greatly contributed to produce the same effect, was the care which was taken by the Chaldean priests to prevent the spread of religious and philosophical knowledge among the people. Instead of teaching their doctrines promiscuously to all who were disposed to receive it, after the manner of the Greeks, they confined it to a certain tribe and district. Instead of communicating important truths to the people in intelligible language, they gave forth their dogmas under the veil of symbols; hereby always reserving to themselves a power of varying the popular system, according to the exigencies of the times, or the pleasure of the ruling powers, without danger of detection. The implicit credit which, by these artifices, the Chaldean priests obtained among the people is particularly remarked by Juvenal.†

Chaldæis sed major erit fiducia: quicquid
Dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum
Ammonis, quoniam Delphis oracula cessant,
Et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.(a)

From this account of the Chaldeans, it is easy to perceive what title they had to the appellation of wise men. No one, who has a just idea of the nature and use of philosophy, can hesitate in dismissing them from the rank of philosophers, to their proper station among impostors. Whatever share of knowledge they possessed, it is evident that they applied it the purposes of superstition. Little regard is, therefore, due to the encomiums which some ancient writers, particularly Philo,‡ have passed upon this race of sages; and still less to the general admiration, which, at a very early period, they obtained in the East; for it is easy to perceive,

* L. ii. p. 81.

† Sat. vi. 552.

(a) More credit, yet, is to Chaldeans given;
What they foretel is deem'd the voice of Heaven:
Their answers as from Ammon's altar come;
Since now the Delphian oracles are dumb,
And mankind, ignorant of future fate,
Believes what fond astrologers relate.

DRYDEN.

‡ De Nominum Mutat. Op. p. 1046.

that this was the natural effect of the successful practice of the arts of imposture among an ignorant and credulous people.

*Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque
Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt. (a)*

It is not, however, to be inferred, from what * is known of the manner in which philosophy was taught and propagated by the Chaldeans, that there was among them no variety of opinions. We learn, from the authority of Strabo† and Pliny,‡ which is confirmed by the testimony of the Jewish prophets,§ that there were, in Assyria and Chaldea, different schools or sects. But the accounts which we have of these sects are so general and imperfect, that they will scarcely authorise us to do more than give it as a probable opinion that they differed from each other chiefly in the mode of practising the arts of divination and astrology, and that their knowledge of nature extended little farther than to the discovery of the supposed magical uses of certain natural bodies, particularly minerals and herbs. || Whatever were the tenets, or the institutions of each sect, they were implicitly transmitted from father to son; and it was seldom known that the followers of one sect revolted to another.

It is universally acknowledged by the ancients that ZOROASTER was the founder of the Chaldean philosophy. But learned industry has in vain attempted to draw aside the veil of obscurity, which covers this celebrated name. "The accounts which have been given of him," says Fabricius, ¶ "are so confused and contradictory, that it would be a task of much greater labour than profit to compare them." The uncertainty which necessarily arises from the remote antiquity of the Chaldean history has been greatly increased, in part by the absurd attempts of the Greek writers to trace a resemblance between their own learning and religion, and that of the eastern nations, and in part from the vanity of the Persians and Arabians, who have pretended to derive their religion from the Chaldean Zoroaster, and have supported the pretence by many extravagant fictions. No greater uncertainty, however, attends the history of Zoroaster than has attended that of other ancient heroes and wise men, who were the first authors of civilisation, or inventors of arts and sciences; with respect to whom it is now scarcely possible to separate the real incidents of their lives from the fables with which they are involved.

For this uncertainty several causes may be assigned. These renowned benefactors of mankind lived at a period in which ignorance and barbarism universally prevailed. To raise men from this savage state to rational and civilised life; to form them into communities; to afford them the protection of laws and government; and to furnish them with the conveniences and benefits arising from arts and sciences, were the important objects of their labours. The ignorant and superstitious multitude, from a sense of obligation to such benefactors, have readily admitted the claims which, for the sake of establishing their authority, they have made to supernatural powers, and, after their death, have delivered their names and actions to posterity, surrounded with all the fictitious lustre of imaginary divinity. Nor have there been wanting artful men, who have accommodated this superstitious humour in the multitude to their own benefit, or that of the state, by inventing many fables concerning these illustrious men, and by passing their

(a) Whate'er the mystic phrase hides from their sight,
The crowd of fools admire, with fond delight.

* Lucretius, l. i. v. 642. † L. xvi. p. 509. ‡ Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 26.

§ Dan. i. 20. ii. 2, 27; iv. 4. || Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxxvii. c. 10.

¶ Bibl. Græc. vol. i. p. 246, 247.

own opinions or writings upon the world under the sanction of their names. The uncertainty has been farther increased by the contention which has arisen among different nations concerning their descent, each claiming them as their own, and advancing every thing, whether true or false, which could serve to support the claim. From these causes, it has become impossible to distinguish truth from fiction, in reports which have flowed down to the present time through so long a channel of imposture. Many examples will occur in the course of this work which will serve to illustrate these remarks, but none more striking than that of Zoroaster.

Concerning Zoroaster, it is wholly uncertain whence the name is derived, or to how many eminent men it belonged. Some have maintained that there was but one Zoroaster, and that he was a Persian.* Others have said that there were six eminent founders of philosophy of this name. Ham the son of Noah, Moses, Osiris, Mithras, and others, both gods and men, have by different writers been asserted to have been the same with Zoroaster.† Many different opinions have also been advanced concerning the time in which he flourished. Aristotle and Pliny‡ fix his date at so remote a period as 6000 years before the death of Plato; Hermippus says that he lived 5000 years before the Trojan war: idle tales, which are, doubtless, to be classed with the report of the Chaldeans, concerning the antiquity of their astronomical observations. According to Laertius,§ he flourished 600 years before the Trojan war; according to Suidas,|| 500. If, in the midst of so much uncertainty, any thing can be advanced with the appearance of probability, it seems to be this; that there was a Zoroaster, a Perso-Median, who flourished about the time of Darius Hystaspes, and that besides him there was another Zoroaster, who lived in a much more remote period among the Babylonians, and taught them astronomy. The Greek and Arabian writers are agreed concerning the existence of the Persian Zoroaster; and the ancients unanimously ascribe to a philosopher, whom they call Zoroaster, the origin of the Chaldean astronomy, which is certainly of much earlier date than the time of Hystaspes: it seems therefore necessary to suppose a Chaldean Zoroaster distinct from the Persian. Concerning this Zoroaster, however, nothing more is known, than that he flourished towards the beginning of the Babylonish empire, and was the father of the Chaldean astrology and magic.¶

The magic which Zoroaster invented was probably nothing more than the performance of certain religious ceremonies, by means of which good demons were supposed to be prevailed upon to communicate supernatural properties and powers to herbs, stones, and other natural bodies, or to afford assistance, in other miraculous ways, to those who invoked them.** In war, it was supposed that, by the help of magic, the forces of an enemy might be routed, or an army struck with a general panic, as is said to have happened to Ninus in his war with the Bactrians.†† In this art the kings of Chaldea and Persia were instructed, as one of the most useful instruments of government among a people whose ignorance and credulity rendered them proper subjects of imposture. For “barbarous nations are naturally prone to superstition; and a weak, illiterate, and fickle multitude, when

* Hyde de Rel. Pers. c. 24. p. 308. Prideaux's Connexion, vol. i. p. 318.

† Vid. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. vol. i. p. 243. 246. Huet. Dem. Evang. pr. 4. c. 5. Kircher. Œdip. Egypt. p. 216.

‡ Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. c. 1. § Lib. i. sect. 2. || In voc. Zoroast.

¶ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 16. xi. 42. xxx. 1. Justin, l. i. c. 2. Recognitiones Clementis, l. iv. c. 27.

** Platon. Alcib. i. Ficin in Argument. Cratyl. Bayle, Zoroast.

†† Diod. Sic. l. ii. c. 6.

they are once brought under its dominion, will be more obedient to their priests than to their civil or military leaders.”* The Chaldean magic was then a very different thing from a knowledge of the real properties of bodies; and, though some acquaintance with the motions of the heavenly bodies was necessary for astrological calculations, it cannot be inferred, either from their magical or astrological arts, that the Chaldeans were eminent masters in any branch of natural science. All the writings which have been ascribed to the Chaldean Zoroaster are unquestionably spurious.

Among the Chaldean philosophers, we must not omit to mention Belus and Berosus.

Of Belus nothing farther is known, than that he promoted the study of astronomy among the Assyrians, probably with no other view than to encourage that faith in astrological predictions which he knew how to apply to political purposes. It is related,† that Semiramis erected a lofty tower to his memory, which the Chaldeans afterwards made use of as an astronomical observatory. After his death, Belus was honoured with a place among the divinities, and this was, probably, the origin of the fables which are found concerning him in the Grecian mythology.

The history of BEROSUS is of later date, and is better known. He lived before Manetho, who wrote concerning the affairs of Chaldea under Ptolemy Philadelphus; he probably flourished about the time of Alexander.‡ He was a Babylonian, a priest of Belus. Going into Asia Minor, he settled in the island of Cos, where he opened a school for teaching the Chaldean astrology, and obtained such reputation by his predictions,§ that his statue was erected at Athens. He published a history of the Chaldeans, which contained many memorials of ancient times; but this work, except a few fragments preserved by other writers,|| is lost. An impudent monk, Annius, of Viterbo in Tuscany, who employed himself in forging books which he ascribed to the ancients, obtruded upon the world a fictitious history of the Chaldeans, under the name of Berosus, which obtained greater credit among the learned than might have been expected.

Notwithstanding the obscurity with which antiquity has covered the Chaldean philosophy, it has been highly extolled, not only by the Orientalists and Greeks, but by Jewish and Christian writers. But, if we have recourse only to such authorities as are unquestionably genuine, we shall find little, in this branch of the barbaric philosophy, deserving of notice. The following brief detail includes the most interesting particulars which are known concerning the tenets, and the magical and astrological arts, of the ancient Chaldeans.

It appears, not only from the testimony of Diodorus,¶ but from other ancient authorities collected by Eusebius,** that the Chaldeans believed in God, the Lord and Parent of all, by whose providence the world is governed. And indeed, without this it is impossible to conceive how their religious rites should ever have arisen; for the immediate object of these rites was a supposed race of spiritual beings or demons, whose existence could not have been imagined without first conceiving the idea of a Supreme Being, the source of all intelligence. Accordingly we find in fact, that not only the Chaldeans, but the Egyptians, and the whole heathen world, from the most remote times, believed in a Supreme Deity,

* Plutarch. in Sertorio. † Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 69. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 26.

‡ Tatianus Adv. Græc. c. 58. p. 171. Ed. Par. Syncelli Chronicon, p. 14. 28. 40.

§ Vitruvius, l. ix. c. 4. || Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. vol. xiv. p. 175. ¶ Loc. cit.

** Prep. Evan. l. iv. c. 5.

the fountain of all the divinities which they supposed to preside over the several parts of the material world. This was the true origin of all religious worship, however idolatrous, not excepting even that which consisted in paying divine honours to the memory of dead men. Besides the Supreme Being, the Chaldeans supposed spiritual beings to exist, of several orders; gods, demons, heroes: these they probably divided into subordinate classes, as their practice of theurgy, or magic, required. The ancient eastern nations in general, and among the rest the Chaldeans, admitted the existence of certain evil spirits, clothed in a vehicle of grosser matter; and in subduing or counteracting these, they placed a great part of the efficacy of their religious incantations.*

These doctrines were the mysteries of the Chaldean religion communicated, as was usual among the ancients, only to the initiated. Their popular religion consisted in the worship of the sun, moon, planets, and stars, as divinities,† after the general practice of the East.‡

The religious system of the Chaldeans gave rise to two arts, for which they have long been celebrated, magic and astrology.

The magic of the Chaldeans, as appears from what has already been related, is not to be confounded with witchcraft, or a supposed intercourse with evil spirits: it consisted in the performance of certain religious ceremonies or incantations, which were supposed, through the interposition of good demons, to produce supernatural effects. Their astrology was wholly founded upon this chimerical principle, that the stars have an influence, either beneficial or malignant, upon the affairs of men, which may be discovered, and made the certain ground of prediction, in particular cases: the whole art consisted in applying astronomical observations to this fanciful purpose, and, by this means, imposing upon the credulity of the vulgar. Referring the reader for farther information concerning this visionary and pernicious art to those writers who have treated upon it more at large,§ we shall only add, upon this subject, the sensible reflection of Horace:||

Tu ne quæsieris (scire nefas) quem mihi, quem tibi
Finem Dii dederint, Leuconoë, neu Babylonios
Tentaris numeros: ut melius, quidquid erit, pati! (a)

Whilst the Chaldeans busied themselves in these and other arts of divination, true science was very little indebted to their labours. We have scarcely any remains of their astronomical observations and opinions. As to the latter, the loss is not much to be regretted, if we may judge from the following specimens. According to Plutarch and Vitruvius, who quote Berosus, it was their opinion that an eclipse of the moon happened when that part of its body which is destitute of fire is turned towards the earth.¶ From the same authority Seneca** gives it as a notion of the

* Plutarch. de Defectu Orac.

† Job, xxxi. 27. Diod. Sic. loc. cit. Herod. l. i. c. 181.

‡ Selden de Diis Syriis, Prol. c. 3.

§ Sextus Empir. Adv. Math. l. v. p. 339. Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 83. Manilius, l. ii. ver. 456. Jamblich. de Myster. sect. 8. c. 4. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 494. Vossius de Theolog. Gent. l. ii. c. 47.

|| L. i. Od. xi. 1.

(a) Ask not—'tis impious to inquire—what date
The limit of your life is fix'd by fate:
Nor vainly Babylonian numbers try;
But wisely wait your lot, to live or die.

¶ Plut. de Placit. Phil. l. ii. c. 29. Comp. Euseb. Prep. l. xv. c. 51. Vitruv. l. ix. c. 4.

** Quæst. Nat. l. iii. c. 29.

Chaldeans, that when all the planets shall meet in Cancer, the world will be consumed by fire, and that when they shall meet in Capricorn, it will be destroyed by an inundation. They thought the form of the earth to be that of a boat.*

The sum of the Chaldaic Cosmogony, as it is given by Berosus in his *Babylonica*, preserved by Syncellus,† divested of allegory, is, that in the beginning all things consisted of darkness and water; that Belus, or a divine power, dividing this humid mass, formed the world; and that the human mind is an emanation from the divine nature.‡

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PERSIANS.

CONCERNING the philosophy of the Persians, which comes next under our consideration, it is difficult to form a satisfactory judgment; for we have no information upon this subject but from the Greeks and Arabians; and the accounts we receive from both are liable to material objections. The Greeks had, indeed, sufficient opportunities for becoming acquainted with the affairs, the religion, and the tenets of this people: but their inveterate enmity against the Persians rendered them incapable of giving a fair representation of what they saw or heard, and their partiality to their own institutions led them to speak contemptuously of those of all barbarous nations. As to the Arabians, notwithstanding the credit which has been given them by several writers of distinguished erudition, particularly by Pococke, Prideaux, Beausobre, and Hyde, it must be confessed that difficulties of still greater magnitude embarrass their testimony. Not to urge that the Arabian writers were little qualified, either by natural temper or by education, for the arduous task of examining questions which time had involved in the deepest obscurity, it is most evident, that the shameful practice which, after the time of Mahomet, prevailed amongst the Arabians, of supporting their new religion at the expense of truth, and making use of every kind of falsehood, particularly that of imposing upon the world supposititious writings, in order to reconcile Jews and Christians to their system, renders their evidence, in all doubtful cases, exceedingly liable to suspicion. That this charge against the Arabian writers is not without foundation, will fully appear in the sequel, and cannot indeed be questioned by those who have read their works without prejudice, and observed what absurd fables they have endeavoured to pass upon the world, under the sanction of ancient names, for genuine history. It must not therefore be thought surprising if, even from such eminent modern writers as those above mentioned, we receive, with some degree of hesitation, accounts of the ancient Persians which are given wholly upon the credit of the Arabians, and presume to question, whether, in reporting these accounts, suffi-

* Diod. Sic. loc. cit.

† Chronic. p. 28.

‡ Vidend. Tribbeckovius de Phil. Mor. inter Barbaros, c. 4. Perizon. in Orig. Bab. Rhodigin. Antiq. Lect. 16. Voss. de Scient. Math. c. xxx. sect. 5. De Theol. Gent. l. ii. c. 47. Werenfels de Logomach. Erudit. c. vi. Buddæi Hist. Eccl. Per. v. ii. sect. 5. Patricius de Zoroast. Ursinus de Zor. &c. ed. Norimb. 1661. Hottinger, Hist. Or. p. 365. Herbelot, Bibl. Or. Voc. Zor. Kircher, Œdip. Ægypt. p. 216. Jonsius de Script. Hist. Phil. l. ii. Schroærus in Imp. Bab. Herbert, Relig. Gent. Pet. Fred. Arpe de Talismanibus. Anc. Univ. History, vol. iv. Diss. on Zoroaster. Prideaux Connexion, b. iv. Shuckford's Harmony, b. viii. Weidler, Hist. Astron. Naudæi, Apol. pro Viris magnis Magiæ suspectis, c. viii. Burnet, Archæol. Phil. l. i. c. 4.

cient attention has been paid to the nature of historical evidence. We perceive much occasion for this kind of suspicion in the writings of the learned Hyde, whose fondness for oriental learning seems to have led him to magnify slight conjectures and doubtful traditions into certain facts, and to have prevented him from making a judicious use of the immense mass of materials with which his erudition furnished him.* Having laid it down to ourselves as an invariable rule, not to admit any authority till we have carefully examined its foundation, we must be allowed not to give credit to modern reports, unless we find them supported by more solid evidence than that of the Arabians, and confirmed either by the concurrent testimony of the Greek writers, or by circumstances of probability derived from some other quarter. This is the only way in which we can possibly lay before our readers an impartial history of philosophy.

Philosophy was introduced, or rather revived and corrected, among the Persians, by ZARDUSHT, whom the Greek writers called ZOROASTER. The different accounts given of Zoroaster by the Greeks, and by the Arabians and Persians, can only be reconciled by supposing, as we have done, that the Chaldean and the Persian Zoroaster were different persons, and that the latter lived at a much later period than the former. From comparing these accounts,† it is probable that the latter was of Persian extraction, and was born in Media. What the Arabian writers report concerning his having been early instructed by the Jews seems to be a fiction invented to obtain credit among the Jews and Christians to the doctrines which they professed to have received from him. It is not, however, improbable, that he might have learned some things from the Israelites residing in Babylon, which might be of use to him in executing his design of correcting the doctrine of the Persian Magi, though it may not be easy to specify the particulars.

Several miracles are ascribed to Zoroaster, such as an artful impostor would naturally attempt, and would not perhaps find it difficult to perform. It is said, particularly, that he suffered melted metal to be poured upon his bosom, and held fire in his hand, without suffering any injury.‡ Having by these and other artifices established his credit, it is related that he undertook the revival and improvement of the religion of the ancient Magi, which had long before this time prevailed in Media and Persia, but which, in consequence of the massacre of the Magi (who after the death of Cambyses had usurped the government) had been interrupted, and almost entirely supplanted, by the worship of the stars, to which the Persians, with their king Darius, were addicted. Much is also said by the Arabian writers concerning the learning which Zoroaster acquired from the Indian Brachmans; concerning the influence which he obtained with Darius, and the success with which he propagated his system; and lastly, concerning his assassination, by Argaspis, king of the Eastern Scythia, at the siege of Bactria.§ But the silence of the Greeks, who were at this time well

* Comp. Bayle's Dict. Zoroaster. Works of the learned, 1701, p. 405. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. S. i. p. ii. c. 1. sect. 2. Not. ad Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 16. n. 28. Baumgarten, Notes on Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. iv. n. 75. Montfaucon, Antiq. t. ii. p. ii. l. iv. c. 6. Fabricii, Bibliogr. Ant. p. 31. A. Tierre in Monum. Vet. Antii. Renaudot, the author of *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, censures Hyde, for having preferred the testimony of one obscure and enigmatical author, who wrote only 120 years before his time, to the authority of all antiquity.

† Vid. Agathias, l. ii. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 304. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prep. Pr. iv. c. 5. Abulfeda apud Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 146. Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 293. Suidas in Zor.

‡ Hyde, p. 311. Prid. Conn. p. 214.

§ Hyde, c. 24. p. 313. Prideaux, p. 221. Bayle, Zor. Pococke, Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 146, &c.

acquainted with the affairs of Persia, and after Alexander's conquests must have become possessed of many Persian records, is a circumstance which casts a cloud of suspicion over these relations. Thus much, however, may be admitted as probable; that there was in Persia, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, a reformer, who, assuming the ancient name of Zoroaster, brought back the Persians from the worship of the stars to their ancient worship of fire, with some innovations both in doctrine and ceremonies. Perhaps too, it may be added, that he was acquainted with astronomy, with the medical art, and with other branches of learning, as far as they were at that time advanced in the East. Both the reality and the success of this attempt are confirmed by the testimony of Lucian, who relates, that in his time the ancient religion of the Magi flourished among the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Chorasmians, the Sacans, the Medes, and other barbarous nations.* And the reports of modern travellers give farther credit to this relation;† for we learn from them, that there is still, in the province of Carmania, a sect who adhere to the doctrines of Zoroaster, and worship fire according to the institutions of the ancient Magi.

To Zardusht, or the Persian Zoroaster, many writings are ascribed. One of these, called the *Zend*, is said to be still remaining among the followers of Zoroaster, and is esteemed of sacred authority. It is written in the Persian language, and consists of two parts, one of which contains their forms of devotion and order of ceremonies; the other, the precepts of religion and morality. A portion of this book, or of a compendium of it, called the *Sadder*, is read to the people, on every sacred day, by their priests.‡ There is, however, much reason to question whether this book be of such ancient date as the time of Zoroaster;§ probably it was written about the time when many Jews and Christians resided among the Persians, that is, about the fourth or fifth century. Many other works in astrology, physics, theology, &c. have been attributed to Zoroaster, but they are all lost, and it is probable that most of them were forged to serve the purposes of imposture.

Fragments of a work, entitled *The Oracles of Zoroaster*, are still extant. A small collection of these fragments, consisting of only sixty verses, was published|| by Pletho. Patricius afterwards made a much larger collection, containing 323 verses, with the commentaries of the Platonic philosophers.¶ Several other editions of these verses have been published, and much pains has been taken by various writers to explain them. Stanley has subjoined to his account of *The Lives of Philosophers* a correct translation of them. They are quoted with the highest respect by philosophers of the Alexandrian school as genuine remains of Chaldean wisdom. But they abound so much in the ideas and language peculiar to that school, that it is probable they were written by some Platonist, about the beginning of the second century; a period when nothing was more common than to attempt to support the falling credit of gentile philosophy by spurious writings.**

* In Longæv. Op. tom. ii. p. 818.

† See Prideaux, Connex. vol. i. p. 231.

‡ See a Latin version of the Sadder in Hyde, Rel. Pers. p. 431, &c.

§ Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 246.

|| Paris, An. 1538, 1589. Amst. 1689.

¶ Published at the end of his *Nova Philosophia de Universis*. Ferrar. 1591. Venet. 1593.

** Compare Stanley, p. 1176. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 247. 249. Mosheim. Not. ad Cudworth, p. 340. n. 54. Hyde, p. 386. Burnetii Archæologia, p. 28.

Hyde, Prideaux, and others, mention ancient books of Zoroaster, which are at this day extant among the Gheuri and other professors of the Zoroastrian superstition, and made use of in their sacred worship, copies from which have been brought over to England and France. A catalogue of these and other Persian MSS. lodged in the library

Besides Zoroaster, we have few eminent names remaining among the ancient Persian philosophers. The prince Hystaspes has been ranked in this class; and it is related,* that he ordered his son Darius to inscribe upon his tomb the title of Master of the Magi. It is probable that, after the usual manner of kings in ancient times, he united in himself the two characters of high priest and sovereign prince. Hostanes is also mentioned by Eusebius† as an eminent Persian philosopher, who borrowed his learning from the Egyptians; but it is, not without reason, suspected by Scaliger and Bochart, that the passage is surreptitious, and was inserted by Panodorus, a monk, in order to give the sanction of antiquity to the art of alchymy.

Though our information concerning the history of philosophy among the Persians, in the ages prior to the time of Zoroaster, is very imperfect, it is certain, from the united testimony of the Greeks and Arabians, that long before that time the Magi existed as a body, and were the official guardians of religion and learning. The religion which they taught consisted in the worship of the sun or fire; a practice which prevailed among the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and many other eastern nations.‡ The name under which the Persians worshipped the sun, or rather the invisible Deity, whom they supposed to be, in a peculiar manner, resident in this luminary, was Mithras. Both Herodotus§ and Strabo|| relate, that the Persians worshipped none of the gods but the sun; and it appears from comparing the inscriptions on several ancient Persian monuments yet remaining, that Mithras was the name of this divinity. Among these are the following: ¶ *Deo Soli invicto Mithræ*; and, *Omnipotenti deo Mithræ*. The historians just cited add, that the Persians sacrificed horses to the sun; a circumstance to which Ovid alludes when he says—**

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
Ne detur celeri victima tarda Deo.(a)

It may be conjectured that, in a more remote period, some eminent hero, or public benefactor, whose name was MITHRAS, had after his death been deified; for, in certain ancient Persian monuments, Mithras is represented as a mighty hunter, armed with a sword, having a *tiara* on his head, and riding a bull.†† Perhaps the Persians might conceive the soul of this hero to be resident in the sun, and might afterwards transfer their worship to the sun itself, under the name of Mithras: but, whatever be thought of this conjecture, it can scarcely be doubted that the sun, under this name, was an object of worship among the Persians.

of the king of France, was published by M. Anquetil du Perron, in his travels, and is copied in the *Journal de Savans* for July, 1762. But these books, written partly in the Zendic or sacred, and partly in the vulgar Persian language, are, for the most part, a narrative of miracles and revelations, by which Zoroaster is said to have established his religion, or a collection of precepts for religious ceremonies. Some of them indeed treat of fundamental doctrines of theology, taught among the worshippers of fire: but it is probable, from the tenets contained in these books, many of which seem to have been borrowed from the Jews and Mahometans, from the entire silence of Greek authors who wrote after the time of Alexander concerning these books, and from other considerations, that they were written at a later period, for the purpose of appeasing the resentment of their Mahometan persecutors.

* Ammianus Marcell. l. xxiii. c. 6. † Chron. l. i. p. 43.

‡ Vossius de Theol. Gent. l. ii. c. 2. Selden de Diis Syriis. pass. Herbert de Rel. Gent. c. 4. § L. i. c. 131. || L. xv.

¶ Spanhemius ad Jul. Cæs. p. 144. Van Dale, Diss. ix. ad ant. Marm. p. 16.

** Pastor. l. i. v. 383.

(a) The horse, renown'd for speed, the Persians slay,
A welcome victim to the God of day.

†† Van Dale, Marm. ant. Diss. i.

It has been disputed, whether the Persians worshipped the sun as immediately the supreme divinity, or considered him as the visible representation of a higher invisible power. The passages above referred to have been urged in proof of the former opinion : in support of the latter, are adduced the testimonies of Herodotus * and Xenophon, † who say, that the Persians looked upon lightnings as the ensigns of the supreme divinity; and of Strabo, ‡ who relates, that they called the whole circuit of the heavens God. The true solution of this difficulty probably is, that the vulgar paid their worship immediately to the sun, as the visible fountain of light and heat, whilst the more enlightened, conceiving of the Deity as the soul of the world, diffused through the whole circuit of the universe, imagined the sun to be the chief seat of this divine principle, and paid homage to that luminary as the representative of the invisible power. Whilst the multitude were contented with a sensible object of devotion, the Magi, and those whom they instructed in the mysteries of religion, considered the sun and fire merely as visible symbols of the animating principle of the universe.

Besides Mithras, the Persians worshipped, under opposite characters, OROMASDES and ARIMANIUS, the former as the author of all good, the latter as the author of all evil. Perhaps these divinities were originally, like Mithras, merely human beings; the one, a good prince, who had distinguished himself by rendering important services, military or civil, to his countrymen; the other, a tyrant, who had been the cause of grievous public calamities. § Arimanius was not called by the Persians a god, but an evil demon, and they always wrote his name with the letters inverted. || This rude and vulgar superstition, which had no other object than individual men, was afterwards corrected and improved by philosophy, till it was changed into the worship of two spiritual beings, the one the author of good, the other of evil. The system which supposes two such principles in nature seems to have been held by the Persian Magi before the time of Zoroaster; but how far they supposed them dependent upon the supreme divinity does not appear. Zoroaster, however, certainly taught the doctrine of their inferiority to the first parent of all things, ¶ and introduced many alterations into the religious system and ceremonies of the Magi, which are intimately connected with the history of philosophy.

The sacred fire, which the Persians had hitherto worshipped upon altars erected in the open air, Zoroaster appointed to be enclosed in temples, the care of which was committed to an order of MAGI, or priests. ** These Magi were divided into three classes. The first consisted of the inferior priests, who conducted the ordinary ceremonies of religion; the second presided over the sacred fire; the third was the *archimagus*, or high-priest, who possessed supreme authority over the whole order. They had three kinds of temples; first, common oratories, in which the people performed their devotions, and where the sacred fire was kept only in lamps; next, public temples, with altars, on which the fire was kept continually burning, where the higher order of the Magi directed the public devotions, and the people assembled to perform magical incantations, hear interpretations of dreams, and practise other superstitions; †† and lastly, the grand seat of the *archimagus*, which was visited by the people at certain seasons

* L. i. c. 131.

† Cyrop. l. i. p. 65.

‡ Lib. xv.

§ Leibnitz Theodicée, p. ii. sect. 138. Mosheim. ad Cudworth, p. 328.

|| Hyde, l. c.

¶ Plutarch, l. c.

** Hyde, c. 28, 29, 30.

†† Cic. de Divin. lib. i. c. 4. Ælian, l. ii. c. 17. Valerius Max. l. i. c. 6. Strabo, l. xvi. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxiv. c. 6.

with peculiar solemnity, and to which it was deemed an indispensable duty for every one to repair, at least once in his life. This principal temple was erected by Zoroaster, in the city of Balch, and remained till the seventh century, when, the followers of Zoroaster being driven by the Mahometans into Carmania, another building of the same kind was raised, to which those who still adhered to the ancient Persian religion resorted. They were divided into several sects; but this division probably rather respected the mode of conducting the offices of religion than religious tenets. The kings of Persia were not allowed to take possession of their government till they had been instructed in the mysteries of religion, and enrolled among the Magi.* No images or statues were permitted in the Persian worship. Hence, when Xerxes found idols in the Grecian temples, he, by the advice of the Magi, set them on fire, saying, that the gods, to whom all things are open, are not to be confined within the walls of a temple.

The account which Diogenes Laertius† gives of the Persian Magi is this: "They are employed in worshipping the gods by prayers and sacrifices, as if their worship alone would be accepted; they teach their doctrine concerning the nature and origin of the gods, whom they think to be fire, earth, and water; they reject the use of pictures and images, and reprobate the opinion that the gods are male and female; they discourse to the people concerning justice; they think it impious to consume dead bodies with fire;‡ they allow of marriage between mother and son; they practise divination and prophecy, pretending that the gods appear to them; they forbid the use of ornaments in dress; they clothe themselves in a white robe; they make use of the ground as their bed, of herbs, cheese, and bread for food, and of a reed for their staff." And Strabo relates,§ that there were in Cappadocia a great number of Magi, who were called *Pyrethi*, or worshippers of fire, and many temples of the Persian gods, in the midst of which were altars, attended by priests, who daily renewed the sacred fire, accompanying the ceremony with music.

The religious system of the Magi was materially improved by Zoroaster. Plutarch, speaking of his doctrine, says: || "Some maintain, that neither is the world governed by blind chance without intelligence, nor is there one mind alone at the head of the universe; but, since good and evil are blended, and nature produces nothing unmixed, we are to conceive, not that there is one storekeeper, who, after the manner of an host, dispenses adulterated liquors to his guests, but that there are in nature two opposite powers, counteracting each other's operations, the one accomplishing good designs, the other evil. To the better power Zoroaster gave the name of Oromasdes; to the worse that of Arimanius; and affirmed, that, of sensible objects, the former most resembled light, the latter darkness. He also taught, that Mithras was a divinity who acted as moderator between them; whence he was called by the Persians the Mediator." After relating several fabulous tales concerning the contests between the good and evil demon, Plutarch, still reciting the doctrines of Zoroaster, proceeds: "The fated time is approaching, in which Arimanius himself shall be utterly destroyed; in which the surface of the earth shall become a perfect plain, and all men shall speak one language, and live happily together in one society." He adds, on the authority of Theopompus: "It is the opinion of the Magi that each of these gods shall subdue and be subdued by turns

* Hyde, p. 126 Pococke, ib. p. 146.

† L. i. sect. 6—9.

‡ Conf. Dioscorid. Anthol. l. iii. c. 4.

§ Lib. xv. || Isis et Osiris, tom. ii. p. 155.

for six thousand years; but that, at last, the evil principle shall perish, and men shall live in happiness, neither needing food, nor yielding a shadow; the God who directs these things taking his repose for a time, which, though it may seem long to man, is but short. Diogenes Laertius,* after Hecateus, gives it as the doctrine of Zoroaster, that the gods (meaning, doubtless, those of whom he last speaks, Oromasdes and Arimanius) were derived beings.

Sharistan, an Arabian writer, gives the following account of the doctrine of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster:† “Zerdusht affirmed light and darkness, Yezdan and Ahreman, to be two contrary principles, which were the origin of every thing subsisting in the world, the forms of nature being produced from the combination of these principles; but maintained that the existence of darkness is not to be referred to the one Supreme Deity, who is without companion or equal, but must be considered as the unavoidable consequence of his determination to create the world, in which light can no more subsist without darkness, than a visible body can exist without its shadow.” To these accounts we may add that of the Nestorian Bishop, Theodorus Mopsuestenus, who, in his book concerning the Magian religion of the Persians, says,‡ that according to their doctrine, Zarva, or the chief of all the gods, produced Hormisda and Satana.§

If these authorities be carefully compared, it will appear probable that Zoroaster, adopting the principle commonly held by the ancients, that from nothing nothing can be produced, conceived light, or those spiritual substances which partake of the active nature of fire and darkness, or the impenetrable, opaque, and passive mass of matter, to be emanations from one eternal source; that to the derived substances he gave the names already applied by the Magi to the causes of good and evil, Oromasdes and Arimanius; and that the first fountain of being, or the supreme divinity, he called Mithras. These active and passive principles he conceived to be perpetually at variance; the former tending to produce good, the latter evil; but that, through the *MEDIATION* or intervention of the Supreme Being, the contest would at last terminate in favour of the good principle. According to Zoroaster, various orders of spiritual beings, gods, or demons, have proceeded from the Deity, which are more or less perfect, as they are at a greater or less distance, in the course of emanation, from the eternal fountain of intelligence; among which, the human soul is a particle of divine light, which will return to its source, and partake of its immortality; and matter is the last or most distant emanation from the first source of being, which, on account of its distance from the fountain of light, becomes opaque and inert, and whilst it remains in this state is the cause of evil; but, being gradually refined, it will at length return to the fountain whence it flowed. This doctrine of emanation afterwards produced many fanciful opinions in theology.||

* Loc. cit.

† Apud Hyde, p. 299.

‡ Apud Photium, Cod. 81.

§ Compare Pococke, p. 147. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. xiv. p. 137.

|| Vidend. Mosheim de Causis suppos. Libr. Huët. Dem. Ev. Prop. iv. c. 5. Budæi Eccl. Hist. tom. ii. Kircher, Œdip. Æg. tom. ii. p. ii. Mopsuestenus de Mag. Pers. apud Photium. Solini Poly. c. 55. Rhodigin. Ant. Lect. xiii. Selden de Diis Syr. Proleg. et Synt. ii. c. 8. Van Dale, Diss. i. ix. ad Ant. Marm. Montfaucon, Diar. Ital. c. 14. Fabric. Bibl. Ant. c. viii. x. Fab. Bib. Gr. vol. xiv. p. 137. J. Firmic. de Error. p. 414. Voss. de Orig. Idol. l. ii. c. 9. Beausobre de Manich. tom. i. Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. iv. and notes. Bayer, Hist. Regni Bactr. Leibnitzii Theodicæ, præf.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE INDIANS.

FROM whatever quarter India, the country which, as adjacent to Persia, next comes under our notice, received its wisdom, there can be no doubt that its wise men very early obtained a high degree of reputation. We find that it was visited, for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, by Pythagoras, Anaxarchus, Pyrrho, and others, who afterwards became eminent philosophers in Greece.

It is not, however, easy to collect satisfactory information concerning the ancient philosophical history of these remote countries. Modern travellers, either from the want of an accurate acquaintance with the language of the country, and a ready access to the interior regions, or from the changes which have happened in the tenets and customs of these nations since they have been under the dominion of the Moguls, or on account of the poetical and allegorical dress in which the history of India is clothed, or lastly, through the suspicion of fraud which hangs upon their sacred books, have been able to furnish little assistance to those who are desirous of searching into the antiquities of India. Our chief reliance, in this part of our work, must be upon the ancients, and particularly those who wrote after the time when Alexander extended his conquests into this country. At that time, much information was gained concerning the religion, the tenets, and the manners of the Indians, which was afterwards committed to writing, and is preserved in the geography of the accurate Strabo, in the works of Plutarch and Arrian, and afterwards in those of Porphyry, Philostratus, and others. But even these writers must be read, upon this subject, with some degree of distrust; for their accounts are given wholly upon the reports of unknown persons, who themselves visited only the exterior parts of the country; and they are written under the strong bias of a disposition to judge of the oriental philosophy by comparing it with the Grecian.

In the most ancient times, we find among the Indians a race of wise men, who are sometimes called Gymnosophists, from their custom of appearing with the greater part of the body naked, and sometimes Brachmans; but this latter is properly the name of only one class of these philosophers, who were divided into several sects.*

The Brachmans were all of one tribe. From the time of their birth they were put under guardians, and, as they grew up, had a succession of instructors. They were in a state of pupilage till thirty-six years of age; after which they were allowed to live more at large, to wear fine linen and gold rings, to live upon the flesh of animals not employed in labour, and to marry as many wives as they pleased. Others submitted, through their whole lives, to a stricter discipline, and passed their days upon the banks of the Ganges, with no other food than fruits, herbs, and milk. The Samanæans were a society formed of those who voluntarily devoted themselves to the study of divine wisdom. They gave up all private property, and committed their children to the care of the state, and their wives to

* Strabo, l. xv. p. 822. Conf. Schmidii Diss. de Gymnos. and Bayle. Porphyry. de Abst. l. iv. sect. 17. Laert. l. i. sect. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vii. c. 2.

the protection of their relations. They were supported at the public expense, and spent their time in contemplation, in conversation on divine subjects, or in acts of religion. A wonderful circumstance is related concerning these philosophers; that frequently, without any apparent reason from ill health or misfortunes, they formed a resolution to quit the world, and, when they had communicated their intention to their friends, immediately, without any expressions of regret on the one side, or of apprehension on the other, threw themselves into a fire which they had themselves prepared for the occasion. There was another sect, called the Hylobeans, who lived entirely in forests, upon leaves and wild fruits, wore no other clothing than the bark of trees, and practised the severest abstinence of every kind.*

From this account of the Indian Gymnosophists, it is easy to perceive that they were more distinguished by severity of manners than by the cultivation of science, and that they more resembled modern monks than ancient philosophers. Some of them, indeed, allowed themselves a greater latitude of manners than others; but their general characters were rigid abstinence, indolence, and the pride of independence. Of their high spirit Strabo relates the following example: when Onesicritus was commissioned by Alexander to invite a body of these philosophers to visit him, they refused to go, saying that, if Alexander had any business with the Brachmans, he might come to them.

The rigours which have been, and are to this day practised among the Indians, are such as could not be credited but upon the best authority. Pliny relates,† that some have stood with their eyes steadfastly fixed upon the sun from morning till night; and that others have remained, in one painful posture, upon the burning sands, for whole days; stories which are confirmed by the reports of modern travellers‡ concerning the voluntary severities, and even tortures, which are commonly practised upon themselves by the Indian Bramins.

Such examples of abstinence and hardy endurance could not fail to make a strong impression upon the minds of the multitude, and to give the Gymnosophists great influence, in an age of ignorance and superstition. In order to preserve and increase their power, they made use of two expedients. The first was, the keeping among themselves the whole business of foretelling future events. "The wise men alone," says Arrian,§ "were skilled in the arts of divination, or permitted to practise them. They only predicted the changes of the seasons or public calamities, thinking it a degradation of themselves, or their art, to employ it upon trifling occasions." They doubtless made use of this precaution in order to render themselves the more necessary to the ruling powers, who would easily perceive the value of such an instrument of superstition. The other expedient, by means of which they maintained their authority, was the appropriating to themselves the regulation of religious concerns. To establish their reputation for sanctity, they spent the greater part both of the day and the night in performing acts of worship, which were chiefly addressed to the sun.|| By these means, they made themselves of consequence to the ruling powers, and became objects of veneration to the people; so that they could easily gain access wherever they pleased, and obtain whatever they wished.¶ Many tales are related concerning these

* Megasthenes ap. Strabon. l. c. Pococke's Travels. † Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 2.

‡ Bernier's Travels, vol. ii. p. 127. Kempfer's Hist. of Japan, vol. i. p. 30.

§ In Indicis & Exped. Alex. l. vii. || Porphy. l. c. et Philostrat. l. iii. c. 13.

¶ Strabo, l. c.

Gymnosophists, which are to strongly marked with the characters of fiction to merit a place in the history of philosophy.*

Among the few Indian philosophers whose names have been preserved to the present times, the most celebrated is BUDDAS. Little is known concerning him, more than that he was a religious impostor, who, by pretending to a divine original and miraculous birth, obtained credit and authority whilst he lived, and after his death was honoured with divine worship. St. Jerom relates, that he boasted of having been brought forth from the side of a virgin.† This impostor is probably the same who is at present honoured in Siam, China, and Japan, under the names of Somonacodom, Xeko, and Fohi.

Among those Brachmans who are mentioned with respect by the Greek writers who treat of the time when Alexander visited India, are Dandamis and Calanus.‡ Dandamis is celebrated for the boldness with which he censured the intemperance and licentiousness of Alexander and his army, in a conference which he held with Onesicritus. Calanus, when he saw Alexander's messengers clothed with fine linen garments, and elegantly adorned, laughed at their effeminacy, and requested them, if they wished to hold any conference with the Brachmans, to lay aside their ornaments, and, like them, recline naked upon the rocks. It is also related, that when he found the infirmities of age coming upon him, he devoted himself to voluntary death, and ascending the funeral pile, said, § "Happy hour of departure from life, in which, as it happened to Hercules, after the mortal body is burned, the soul shall go forth into light!" The doctrines of the ancient Indians, as far as they are at present known, may be arranged under three classes,—Divine, Natural, and Moral.

The sum of their doctrine concerning Divine Subjects is as follows: God is light, not such as is seen, like the sun or fire, but intelligence and reason;|| that principle, through whose agency the mysteries of knowledge are understood by the wise. He never produced evil, but light, and life, and souls, of which he is the sole Lord. The former and governor of the universe prevades it, and is invested with it, as with a garment: he is immortal, and sees all things; the stars, the moon, and the sun, are his eyes. He is beneficent, and preserves, directs, and provides for all. The human mind is of celestial origin, and has a near relation to God. When it departs from the body, it returns to its parent, who expects to receive back the souls which he has sent forth. Besides the Supreme Divinity, inferior deities, proceeding from him, are to be worshipped; not with the sacrifice of harmless animals, nor in temples, and upon altars adorned with gold and gems, but with eyes lifted up towards heaven, and with minds free from criminal passions.¶

The notions which the ancient Indians seem to have had of God approach so near to the tenets of the Persian Zoroaster on this subject, that it is very probable that his doctrine passed over to India, and was, in part at least, received among them. In speaking of the universe as the garment of God, their idea seems to have been, that the intellectual principle, which animates all things, is contained within the sphere of the universe. They conceived God to be the soul of the world, a rational and intellectual light, whence all good is produced, and the chief seat of

* Apuleii Florid. l. ii. Alex. ab Alex. l. v. c. 21. Hieron. contra Jovinian. sect. 22. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 305.

† Contra. Jovin l. c.

‡ Strabo, l. c. Arrian, l. c. § Cic. de Divin. c. 23. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. || Λόγος.

¶ Pseudo-Origenis Philosophum, c. 24. Palladius de Gent. Ind. p. 22. 31. 158. Clement. Alex. Stromat. l. iii. p. 451.

whose divinity is the sun. Their notion of divine providence, deduced from that of the soul of the world, probably extended no farther, than that this principle is necessarily the first spring of all motion, life, and enjoyment, and fell far short of that wise, and gracious voluntary superintendence, which is the Christian idea of providence. The human soul they represented as of divine original, because, with all the other Eastern nations, they conceived it to be a particle, or an emanation, of that intellectual fire by which they believed the universe to be animated. Their doctrine of the return of the soul to God, which some have confounded with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection, seems to have meant nothing more, than that the soul, after being disengaged from the grosser material body, would be re-united to the fountain of all being, the soul of the world. It is an opinion still found among the Indians, and probably of very ancient date, that there is in nature a periodical restitution of all things; when, after the return of all derived beings to their source, they are again sent forth, and the whole course of things is renewed. Inferior divinities were, doubtless, worshipped among them as emanations from the first spring of life.

Some of the doctrines of the Greeks concerning Nature are said to have been derived from the Indians;* but there is little reason to doubt that these accounts are the mere fictions of Grecian ingenuity and vanity. Natural science was probably no farther advanced among them, than merely to furnish them with instruments of imposture in the arts of astrology and divination.

Many extravagant assertions have been advanced concerning their moral system. It has been said, that the fables of Pilpay, which have been translated from the Indian tongue into the Persian, and have passed from these into European languages, were written by an ancient Indian philosopher 2000 years before Christ. But the work contains many internal proofs that it was written at a much later period: probably it was the production of some ingenious Persian, who, to give it the greater credit, passed it upon the world as a relic of the ancient Indian philosophy. All that can be certainly known concerning the morality of the Indians must be inferred from the manners of the Brachmans; whence we conclude, that it chiefly consisted in voluntary acts of abstinence and mortification, and in a contempt of death.†

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ARABIANS.

ALTHOUGH the Greek writers have been entirely silent concerning the philosophy of the ancient Arabians, and even the Saracens themselves have confessed, that before the rise of Mahometanism, their country was

* Megasthenes apud Strabon. l. xv. Philostr. l. iii. c. 34.

† Vidend. Palladius de Gent. Ind. et Brachm. Ambros. de Mor. Brachm. Bisse on the Brachmans, London. 1665. Burnet, Arch. c. iii. Heurn. Ant. Ph. Barb. l. ii. Horn. Hist. Ph. l. ii. Schmidii Diss. de Gymnosoph. Rhodog. Lect. xiii. Maffæus de Rebus Ind. l. i. Beausob. de Man. tom. i. Thomasius de Manetis Dogmata. Hist. Sap. tom. i. Herbelot, Bibl. Or. p. 118. 206. 456. Starckii Specimen Sap. Ind. Vet. Berol. 1697. Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. iv. ix.

in a low state of civilisation; yet some modern writers have taken much pains to maintain, that Arabia was very early distinguished by wisdom. In support of this opinion it has been said, that Pythagoras acquired a great part of his knowledge from the Arabians; that Moses fled out of Egypt into this country, and carried with him the wisdom of the Egyptians; that the queen of the East, who visited Solomon, was of Sabea, a region in Arabia; and that the wise men, who visited Jesus, were from this country.* But the whole story concerning Pythagoras's journey to Arabia is, as we shall afterwards see, extremely uncertain; and if it were not, nothing more could be fairly inferred from this circumstance, than that he learned from the Arabians the arts of divination, with which it is not improbable that, like the rest of the eastern nations, they were well acquainted: and with respect to the remaining arguments, if they be allowed their utmost force, they will give the Arabians a very small share of the credit arising from the ancient philosophy of the East.

It has been said,† that there was in Arabia, at a very remote period, a sect of philosophers called the Zabians. But of this sect no mention is made by Greek or Roman writers. We owe all our information concerning them to the Arabians, from whom Maimonides,‡ the Jew, borrowed his account. The probable truth concerning them is, that they were a mixed body of Gentiles and Jews, who, to give the sanction of antiquity to their institutions, pretended to derive them from Sabi the son of Seth. Their religion consisted in the worship of the sun, the stars, and planets, and resembled the ancient Chaldean superstition; which is not at all surprising, considering how extensively the Chaldean tenets were spread through the East. Their system of opinions was an heterogeneous mass, which must have been the produce of a period much later than that of which we are now treating.§

The sum of our knowledge of the ancient Arabians, as far as respects our subject, is, that they were not unacquainted with astronomy, and that they were famous for their ingenuity in solving enigmatical questions, and for their skill in the arts of divination.§ Like the neighbouring Chaldeans and Persians, they seem to have had their wise men, by whom their knowledge, such as they had, was taught, and their religious ceremonies and superstitious arts were practised. Pliny|| mentions the Arabian Magi, and speaks of Hippocus, an Arabian, as belonging to this order.

It can scarcely be supposed that the Arabians, who cultivated poetry, were unacquainted with moral wisdom. But none of their moral writings are remaining, unless we allow the fables of Lokmann (translated from Arabic into Latin by Erpenius¶) to be of as ancient date as some have conceived. It is however wholly uncertain at what period the supposed author of these fables lived; and the work seems rather to be a collection of ancient fables, than the production of any one writer. From the similarity of many of these fables to those of Æsop, some have inferred that Lokmann and Æsop were only different names for the same person. But it is more likely that the compiler of these fables had seen those of Æsop, and chose to insert some of them in his collection. Whoever was the writer, the fables afford no inelegant specimen of the moral doctrine of the

* Ludwig. Diss. de Phil. Turc. Hal. 1691. Porphy. Vit. Pyth. sect. 2. Grot. in Matt. ii.

† Hyde, Rel. Pers. c. 3. Pococke, Hist. East. B. i. c. 8. Spencer de Legibus Heb. l. ii. c. 1.

‡ Moreh Nebh. p. iii. c. 29.

§ Abulfarius, Dynast. ix. p. 184. Porphy. Vet. Pyth. sect. 2. Pococke, p. 147.

|| Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1.

¶ Lugd. Bat. 1615, 1656. Vid. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 400.

Arabians; better adapted, however, to popular instruction than to the improvement of philosophy, which the Arabians do not appear to have cultivated till the period when their government passed into the family of the Abbasidæ.*

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

AMONG the Asiatic nations who come under the general denomination of barbaric, in the sense before explained, the Phœnicians are the only people whose philosophical history still remains to be considered.

The commercial celebrity of this people has induced some writers to allow them great credit for wisdom. It has been maintained that their philosophers taught sounder principles of natural science than those of any other eastern nation. Situated as they were upon the borders of the Mediterranean; obliged, by the narrow limits of their territory, frequently to send forth colonies into distant regions; and led, by their mercantile connexions, into an extensive acquaintance with foreigners, they enjoyed, it has been said, peculiar advantages for dispersing abroad their native stock of knowledge, and for possessing themselves, in return, of the learning and wisdom of other countries. A nation of merchants would, it is urged, carry on a traffic, not only in the natural productions of the earth and in manufactures, but in arts and sciences.

But the experience of modern times, in which navigation and commerce are so much more extensively pursued than formerly, is by no means favourable to these hypothetical conclusions. Mariners and merchants have seldom leisure to attend to the improvement of science. There can, indeed, be little reason to doubt that the Phœnicians were acquainted with those arts which, at that time, admitted of an easy application to the purposes of gain. As far as they found a knowledge of the celestial *phenomena* to be useful in navigation, they were astronomers; and as far as experience taught them the utility of numbers in mercantile affairs, they were mathematicians.† But it is not likely that they should have much leisure or inclination for prosecuting scientific researches beyond the line of practical application; and such a degree of knowledge as their commerce would require could hardly entitle them to the appellation of philosophers. Among the ancient Phœnicians we, however, meet with some individuals who, on account of the inventions which have been ascribed to them, claim attention.

MOSCHUS, or Mochus, the most ancient name remaining on the list of Phœnician philosophers, was a native of Sidon. If we are to credit Jamblichus,‡ he lived before the time of Pythagoras. After Posidonius, many writers§ ascribe to him a system of philosophy, which afterwards rose into

* Vidend. Ursinus de Zor. Sect. vol. i. Horn. Hist. Ph. l. v. P. de Ludwig Diss. de Hist. Ph. ap. Turcas. Hal. 1691. Bochart, Geog. Sac. p. i. l. ii. c. 27. Le Moyne, Var. Sac. p. 685. Spencer de Leg. Heb. l. ii. c. 1. Hottinger, Hist. Or. p. 165. Stoll. Hist. Ph. Mor. sect. 9. Chadin, Voy. de Pers. p. iii. p. 227.

† Lucian in Toxari. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. v. c. 12. Porphy. Vit. Pyth. sect. 6. p. 9. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 158.

‡ Vita Pythag. c. 3. sect. 14.

§ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 718. Sext. Empiric. adv. Phys. l. i. p. 621. Laert. l. viii. sect. 140. Cudworth, Int. Syst. c. l. sect. 9.

great celebrity under the Grecian philosophers Leusippus and Epicurus, called the Atomic. It is urged in defence of this opinion that the monads of Pythagoras were the same with the atoms of Moschus, with which Pythagoras became acquainted during his residence in Phœnicia; and that from Pythagoras this doctrine passed to Empedocles and Anaxagoras, and afterwards to Leusippus and Epicurus.*

To this it may be replied, that the single evidence of Posidonius, the Stoic, who lived so many ages after the time of Moschus, to whom Cicero allows little credit, and of whose authority even Strabo and Sextus Empiricus, who refer to him, intimate some suspicion, is too feeble to support the whole weight of this opinion. But the circumstance, which most of all invalidates it, is, that the method of philosophising by hypothesis or system, which was followed by the Greek philosophers, was inconsistent with the genius and character of the barbaric philosophy, which consisted in simple assertion, and relied entirely upon traditional authority.† The argument drawn from the history and doctrine of Pythagoras will afterwards be fully refuted, when it is shown that this part of the history of Pythagoras has been involved in obscurity by the later Platonists, and that neither the doctrine of monads, nor any of those systems, which are said to have been derived from Moschus, are the same with the atomic doctrine of Epicurus. We therefore conclude, that, whatever credit the corpuscular system may derive from other sources, it has no claim to be considered as the ancient doctrine of the Phœnicians.

CADMUS, so celebrated in Grecian history, was a native of Sidon, who on the settlement of a Phœnician colony at Thebes, formed the Greek alphabet on the foundation of the Phœnician.‡ But, though this fact seems to be well ascertained, it affords little ground for ranking Cadmus in the class of philosophers; for the characters which he introduced into Greece were not the invention of his own ingenuity, but were merely conveyed by him from Phœnicia, (where, as well as in other eastern countries, they had long been in use,) and accommodated to the Greek language. What has been advanced by some modern writers to prove that Cadmus instituted schools of philosophy at Thebes, being grounded merely on conjecture, can deserve no attention.

The only remnants of antiquity which treat of the philosophy of the Phœnicians are sundry fragments of the Cosmogony of Sanchoniathon, preserved by Eusebius and Theodoret. Eusebius, § on the authority of Porphyry, speaks of Sanchoniathon as an accurate and faithful historian, who wrote of the affairs of Phœnicia before the Trojan war, about the time of Semiramis; and adds, that his work, which was translated by Philo-Biblus from the Phœnician into the Greek language, contains many things relating to the history of the Jews which deserve great credit, both because they agree with the Jewish writers, and because Sanchoniathon received these particulars from Hierombalus, a priest of the god Jao. Theodoret, || on the same authority, confirms Eusebius' account of the historical ability and fidelity of Sanchoniathon, and says, that he applied himself diligently to the examination of ancient records, and particularly took pains to collect authentic materials for the history of Taaut or Thoth, called by the Greeks, Hermes, and by the Romans, Mercury.

* Stobæi Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 13. Arist. Metaph. l. xiii. c. 6.

† Burnet, Archæol. Phil. c. vi.

‡ Bochart, p. i. l. iv. c. 34. Montfaucon, Palæogr. l. i. c. 23. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 147.

§ Prep. Evang. l. i. c. 9.

|| De Curand. Græc. Affect. Serm. ii.

Upon these authorities, or rather upon the mere testimony of Porphyry, many learned men have concluded that the genuine writings of Sanchoniathon were translated by Philo-Biblius, and that Sanchoniathon derived a great part of his information from the books of Moses; nay, some have supposed that Thoth was only another name for Moses.* But the inconsistencies, chiefly chronological, which the learned have detected in these accounts, and especially the silence of the ancients concerning this historian, who, if he had deserved the character given him by Porphyry, could not have been entirely overlooked, create a just ground of suspicion, either against Porphyry or Philo-Biblius. It seems most probable that Philo-Biblius fabricated the work from the ancient cosmogonies, pretending to have translated it from the Phœnician, in order to provide the Gentiles with an account of the origin of the world, which might be set in opposition to that of Moses. Eusebius and Theodoret, indeed, who, like the rest of the fathers, were too credulous in matters of this kind, and after them some eminent modern writers,† have imagined that they have discovered a resemblance between Sanchoniathon's account of the formation of the world and that of Moses. But an accurate examination of the doctrine of Sanchoniathon, as it appears in the fragment preserved by Eusebius, will convince the unprejudiced reader that the Phœnician philosophy, if indeed it be Phœnician, is directly opposite to the Mosaic. Sanchoniathon teaches, that, from the necessary energy of an eternal principle, active but without intelligence, upon an eternal passive chaotic mass, or *mot*, arose the visible world; a doctrine, of which there are some appearances in the ancient cosmogonies, and which was not without its patrons among the Greeks. It is therefore not unreasonable to conjecture that the work was forged in opposition to the Jewish cosmogony, and that this was the circumstance which rendered it so acceptable to Porphyry.

But, though little credit seems due to the fragments of Sanchoniathon, of which, as well as of their author, nothing is known but from Porphyry or Suidas, it will be readily allowed that the Phœnicians, like the other eastern nations, philosophised in the barbaric manner concerning the origin of the world. Strabo mentions several Phœnician philosophers; but they flourished after the Greeks had introduced their systematic mode of philosophising; a period which must not be confounded with the age of barbaric philosophy.‡

* Bochart, Geog. S. p. ii. l. ii. c. 17. Huet. Ev. Prep. l. iv. p. 50 and 70.

† Grotius de Verit. Chr. Rel. l. i. sect. 16. Huet. l. c. Compare Cumberland's Cosmogony of Sanchoniathon. Introd. to Anc. Univ. History.

‡ Vidend. Bochart, Geog. Sac. p. ii. l. i. c. 2. l. iv. c. 34. Bayer de Phœn. Stud. et Invent. Diss. Jen. 1709. Scheffer de Phil. Ital. c. v. Mosheim ad Cudw. c. i. sect. 6—10. Le Clerc, Bibl. Choisée, tom. i. p. 75. Burnet, Arch. c. vi. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 147. Montfaucon, Paleogr. Gr. l. i. c. 23. Ursin. de Zor. Trismeg. et Sanchoniathone, Ex. 3. Van. Dale ap. Diss. super Aristeia. Dodwell's Two Letters on Sanchon. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 1. Simon, Bib. Crit. tom. i. c. 9. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. l. i. c. 2. Shuckford's Harm. v. ii. p. 12. Banier, Mythol. l. ii. c. 1.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

HAVING taken a survey of the state of barbaric philosophy in the eastern nations, the first country which calls for our notice, as we pass southward, is Egypt; a country, which has claimed the honour of being the first seat of learning, and the fountain whence the streams of philosophy flowed to Chaldea, and other Asiatic nations, till it reached the remotest borders of India. Though there seems to be no sufficient ground for admitting these high pretensions, Egypt is unquestionably to be ranked among the most ancient civilised countries, and was very early famous for wisdom. Many eminent philosophers among the Greeks, such as Orpheus, Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato, visited Egypt in search of knowledge; and the illustrious legislator of the Hebrews was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

Nevertheless, it must be owned that the history of Egyptian learning and philosophy, after all the pains which have been taken to elucidate the subject, still remains involved in thick clouds of uncertainty. The causes of this uncertainty it is easier to enumerate than to overcome. To mention them may, however, be of use in enabling us to judge how far we may expect satisfaction, and where it will be necessary, for want of sufficient information, to suspend our judgment.

The history of the Egyptian philosophy looks backwards, beyond the period in which men first began to commit the great transactions of society to writing, into the infant state of the world, when arts and sciences, as far as they were known, were only taught by oral instruction, concerning which nothing remains but obscure fables and doubtful conjectures. From the numerous natural and political changes which, in a long succession of ages, have taken place in Egypt, its customs and tenets have undergone various alterations and corruptions; whence it has happened, that authors who have written of the philosophy of Egypt at different periods, not adverting to these changes, have given different and even contradictory relations. Knowledge was communicated by the Egyptian priests under the concealment of symbolical characters or hieroglyphics, the key of which was at first intrusted only to the initiated, and has since been irrecoverably lost; a circumstance which has afforded subsequent theorists an opportunity of accommodating their representations of the doctrines of the Egyptians to their own system. Even at the time when Egyptian wisdom first flourished, different dogmas were taught in the different schools at Thebes, Memphis, and other places, which has occasioned great diversity in the accounts given of the Egyptians by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch. At a later period, when Alexandria became the common resort of learned men from every part of the world, the combination of their opinions with those of the native Egyptians gave philosophy and religion a form till then unknown. The state of opinions in Egypt was at all times subject to alteration, from the dependance of the priests, who were the chief depositories of knowledge, upon the civil power, and their consequent inclination to suit the doctrines of religion to the taste of the reigning prince, and to accommodate them to the purposes of policy; a

design, which might easily be effected by means of hieroglyphical characters. Farther difficulties arise from the vanity of the Greek writers, our chief authorities on this subject, who have every where confounded the gods of the Egyptians, and their theogony, with their own mythology, and, upon the ground of the slightest resemblances, have concluded Osiris to be Jupiter, Typhon to be Pluto, and other Egyptian and Grecian gods to be the same divinities under different names; hereby involving the mythological history of both countries in endless confusion. Nor must we expect much assistance, in clearing our way through this thorny path, from modern interpreters of Egyptian learning; for we find them perpetually wandering in the mazes of conjecture, and amusing themselves and their readers with unsatisfactory and inconsistent explanations of Egyptian mysteries. Of this we have a memorable example in the fanciful conjectures which have been offered concerning the Isiac Marble, one of the remains of Egyptian hieroglyphics, which was found by a common workman, and presented to Vincent Duke of Mantua, in the year 1630. In this tablet Kircher discovered sundry religious mysteries favourable to Christianity, and Pignonius found precepts of moral and political wisdom: another critic was of opinion that it was a Runic calendar; while a fourth attempted to persuade the learned world that these characters described the properties and use of the magnet, and of the mariner's compass. What assistance can the cautious inquirer expect from remains of antiquity which afford such ample scope for the exercise of the imagination? Lastly, it is a circumstance which greatly embarrasses every attempt to trace out the ancient philosophy of Egypt, that we have few remains of ancient writings which treat directly upon this subject. Of Chæremon, Manetho, and other Egyptian writers, we have only a few fragments preserved in other authors: their works probably perished in the destruction, so fatal to literature, of the Alexandrian Library. The book *De Hieroglyphicis*, under the name of *Horus Apollo*, is spurious.*

In the midst of such numerous causes of uncertainty, it will not be thought surprising that it is only in our power to lay before our readers the following particulars, as a probable state of facts respecting the ancient Egyptian philosophy.

THEUT or THOTH, called by the Phœnicians Taaut, by the Greeks Hermes, and by the Romans Mercury, is generally spoken of by ancient writers as the first author of the Egyptian learning; but little is known concerning him. Cicero mentions† five Mercuries, three of whom were Greeks; the fourth, the son of Nilus, whom the Egyptians thought it unlawful to name; and the fifth, him whom the Phaneatæ worshipped, who is said to have slain Argus, and by that means to have possessed himself of the government of Egypt. The Egyptians called him Thoth, and named the first month of the year after him. In this account Cicero confounds the Egyptian with the Arcadian Mercury.‡ Thoth, according to Diodorus Siculus,§ was chief minister to Osiris, and assisted him by his counsel: the historian adds, that he improved language, invented letters, instituted religious rites, and taught astronomy, music, and other arts. Other writers also assert that he invented letters:|| and the assertion may be credited, if by letters we understand symbolical characters, whence alphabetical letters were afterwards formed.

* Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 88.

† Marsham, Chron. sect. 1. p. 35.

‡ Ælian. Hist. l. xiv. c. 34. Plin. Hist. N. l. vii. c. 36.

† De Nat. Deo. l. iii.

§ L. i.

Nondum flumineas Memphis, contexere biblos
 Noverat, et saxis tantum volucresque feræque
 Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.*

The Egyptian Mercury, or Thoth, was probably some man of superior genius, who, before the age of Moses (for among the Egyptians knowledge was in his time considerably advanced) had invented useful arts, and taught the first rudiments of science, and who caused his instructions to be engraved in emblematical figures† upon tables or columns of stone, which he dispersed over the country, for the purpose of enlightening the ignorant multitude. One of the principal uses, to which these symbolical inscriptions was applied, doubtless, was to teach the doctrines of religion and maxims of political and moral wisdom. Some writers have, fancifully enough, conjectured this Thoth, or Mercury, to have been the same with Adam, or Enoch, or Joseph. Others have, with more plausibility, maintained that he was the Jewish legislator; but the circumstances of resemblance between Thoth and Moses were such as might easily be supposed to have occurred between any other eminent founders of states.‡

Besides this Hermes or Mercury, there was another, who, at a later period, was equally celebrated. Manetho distinguishes him from the first, and says of him,§ that from engraved tables of stone, which had been buried in the earth, he translated the sacred characters written by the first Mercury, and wrote the explanation in books, which were deposited in the Egyptian temples. He calls him the son of Agathodæmon; and adds, that to him are ascribed the restoration of the wisdom taught by the first Mercury, and the revival of geometry, arithmetic, and the arts, among the Egyptians. He was also called TRISMEGISTUS. The written monuments of the first Hermes having been lost or neglected, in certain civil revolutions or natural calamities, the second Hermes recovered|| them, and made use of them as a means of establishing his authority. By an ingenious interpretation of the symbols inscribed upon the ancient columns, he impressed the sacred sanction of antiquity upon his own institutions; and to perpetuate their influence upon the minds of the people, he committed the columns, with his own interpretations, to the care of the priesthood. Hence he obtained a high degree of respect among the people, and was long revered as the restorer of learning. From the tables of the first Hermes he is said to have written, as commentaries and explanations, an incredible number of books. It has been asserted that he was the author of more than 20,000 volumes which treated of universal principles, of the nature and orders of celestial beings, of astrology, medicine, and other topics.¶ But many of the subjects upon which these writings are said to have treated were unknown in the early period of the Egyptian philosophy. There can be little doubt, therefore, that they were the forgeries

* Lucan, l. iii. v. 222.

Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,
 Engraved her precepts and her arts on stone;
 While animals in various order placed,
 The learn'd hieroglyphic column graced. ROWE.

† Herodot. l. ii. c. 37. Diodor. l. i.

‡ Huet. Dem. Evang. Pr. iv. c. 4. Heumanni Acta Phil. t. ii. p. 687.

§ Ap. Syncellum, p. 40.

|| Herodot. l. ii. c. 82. Marsham, Chron. p. 241. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 242.

¶ Jamblichus de Myst. Ægypt. sect. viii. c. 1, 2. Julius Firmicus, l. ii. Mathes. Fabricii Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 76.

of a later age, when it became one of the common artifices of imposture to give the sanction of antiquity to fiction.*

From these first authors of Egyptian wisdom all learning was transmitted to posterity by means of the priesthood,—a sacred order probably instituted by the second Hermes. The Egyptian priests had the reputation of extraordinary sanctity, and were even supposed to participate of divinity. Hence they obtained great sway over the people, and possessed no small share of influence in civil affairs. At several fixed hours of the day they celebrated the praises of the gods in hymns: the rest of their time they employed in mathematical studies, in astronomical observations, or in other scientific pursuits. They observed a great degree of gravity in their dress and external deportment. They were exceedingly attentive to personal cleanliness; and, for this purpose, they made use of frequent ablutions, and of circumcision. They held it unlawful to eat fish or beans. This latter superstition was adopted by the Pythagoreans.†

These priests concealed the mysteries of religion and philosophy from the vulgar by means of written characters, which none but the initiated could understand. These were of two kinds, hieroglyphical, and alphabetical. The former were those symbolical characters which were inscribed by the first Hermes on pillars or tables of stone, and which were afterwards copied and interpreted by the priests. The latter was the method of writing invented, or adopted, for the sake of explaining the hieroglyphic records, but made use of only by the priests, and for religious purposes. Hence these characters were called Sacerdotal, or Sacred. Besides these, there was a third kind of character in common use among the people, called the Epistolary.‡

Many attempts have been made to explain the hieroglyphic mode of writing, from the few specimens, and the imperfect accounts, which remain from antiquity. But it would be surprising if the sagacity of modern criticism were able to decipher characters, which do not appear to have been always perfectly understood by the Egyptian priests themselves, and which were, if not at their first introduction, certainly in their subsequent application, made use of for the purpose of concealment.§ The sacerdotal writings were deposited in the inmost recesses of temples: none but priests of the higher orders were commonly permitted to examine them: no stranger could obtain a sight of them without an express order from the king, or without submitting to several troublesome ceremonies, particularly that of circumcision.|| Pythagoras seems to have been the only man who ever chose to gratify his curiosity on these hard conditions.

From this regular system of concealment, it may reasonably be inferred

* Jablonski, the author of *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*, is of opinion that the first Hermes, or Thoth, was not a man, but the sacerdotal divinity, from whom the priests were supposed to have derived all their wisdom and authority, and who presided over the *στήλαι* or columns, on which the ancient learning of the country was inscribed. This divinity, who, as the god of the columns, was called Thoth, he maintains to have been the same with Phthas (called by the Greeks Vulcan), that is, the supreme Deity.(a) But it seems more consonant to the general voice of antiquity to suppose that the first inventor of the inscriptions upon the columns was conceived to have been inspired by some divinity; and that afterwards, upon the recovery of the sacred columns, the second Hermes, who undertook to explain them, pretended to derive his descent from Thoth, and to partake of that divine inspiration which had dictated the ancient wisdom inscribed upon these pillars.

(a) *Pantheon Æg.* l. v. c. 5.

† Herod. l. ii. c. 37. Strabo, l. xvii. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iii. p. 303. vi. p. 633. Vid. Jablonski *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*, Proleg. c. 3.

‡ Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. v. p. 555. Porphy. Vit. Pythag. p. 15. Shaw's *Travels*, v. ii. c. 5. § Origen contra Celsum, l. i. p. 11. || Jamblic. l. c.

that the Egyptian theology and philosophy were chiefly contrived to preserve and increase the authority of the priesthood, and to aid the designs of government.* At the same time, it is very evident, that we can have little hope, at this distant period, of being able to draw aside the veil which has so long concealed the Egyptian mysteries. What kind of claim the Egyptians had to the character of philosophers will, however, in part appear, if we proceed to inquire into the state of knowledge among them, respecting particular sciences and arts.

Geometry, whether invented by the Egyptians or not (a question which it is not our province particularly to examine) was certainly known amongst them.† But, to suppose that they were acquainted with the higher and more abstruse parts of this science is a mistake. The necessity they were under of annually settling the boundaries of their lands, which were broken up by the overflowing of the Nile, taught them the art of mensuration; but we have no proof that they possessed more mathematical knowledge than this art required. The elementary discoveries, which were made by Pythagoras and Thales after their return from Egypt, sufficiently prove that this science must have been in a very imperfect state in that country at the time when they visited it for the purpose of acquiring knowledge. It may therefore be certainly concluded that we are indebted to Greece, and not to Egypt, for the advanced state in which the mathematical sciences have been transmitted from ancient to modern times.

The case was nearly similar with respect to astronomy. Some writers have made the Egyptians, and others the Babylonians, the original authors of this science. But it is probable that the first elements of astronomy were discovered by different nations, whose habits of life led them to the frequent observation of the heavens. Thus Cicero says,‡ “The Egyptians and Babylonians, dwelling in open plains, where nothing intercepted the view of the heavenly bodies, devoted themselves to the study of astronomy.” If, however, the honour of inventing this science be given to the Egyptians, it must be allowed that their knowledge of the subject was neither sufficiently extensive nor profound to entitle them to the character of astronomical philosophers. They observed the rising and setting of the stars, the order of the signs in the Zodiac, and the aspects of the planets; but it was merely to enable them to practise astrological arts: they remarked the equinoctial and solstitial points; but it was only to ascertain the length of the year: they noticed the varieties of weather, and imagined them connected with the appearance or situation of the heavenly bodies; but they had no other object in view than to regulate the labours of the husbandman. It was in the Pythagorean school that Eudoxus first applied mathematical principles to the explanation of the celestial motions; and it was Thales, a Grecian, who first predicted an eclipse.§

The invention of Music is also ascribed to the Egyptians: but this can only relate to the first elements of melody; for the proportion of harmonic sounds was discovered, as we shall afterwards learn, by Pythagoras.

The origin of the Medical Art was referred by the Egyptians to their demigods. It is chiefly on this account that the names of Isis, and her son Horus, or Apollo, are so highly celebrated among the Egyptian divinities. Whence Ovid, speaking of Apollo, says,||

* Jablonsk. *Panth. Æg.* tom. ii. p. 183. 253. Orig. adv. Cels. l. i. p. 11. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 533.

† Vossius de *Scientiis* Matth. c. xiii. p. 48. Burnet, *Archæol.* c. viii. D. Laert. l. i. sect. 11. ‡ De *Divinat.* l. i. § Plin. l. ii. c. 13. Cic. *Div.* l. i. || *Metam.* l. i. v. 521.

Inventum medicina meum est opiferque per orbem
Dicor, et herbarum subjecta potentia nobis.(a)

The name of Esculapius, or Serapis,* has also, for the same reason, a distinguished place in the Egyptian mythology. But the history of these inventors of medicine is too obscure to afford any other conclusion, than this simple fact, that there were, in the most remote period of the Egyptian history, celebrated men, who devoted themselves to the benevolent office of healing diseases, and who were afterwards, by their grateful, but ignorant and superstitious countrymen, ranked among the gods. Homer indeed speaks of Egypt as fertile in drugs:†

———— Τῇ πλείστα φέρει ξείδαρος ἄρουσα
Φάρμακα ————(b)

But the particulars which are preserved respecting the Egyptian method of practice will scarcely permit us to rank the Egyptian physicians among philosophers. Herodotus relates,‡ that, in his time, there were distinct physicians for different diseases, which they classed according to their seat in the human body. From Diodorus Siculus we learn,§ that instead of prescribing medicines according to the judgment and experience of the practitioner, every physician was obliged to follow a written code; and if, in adhering to this, he proved unsuccessful, he was free from blame; but, if he ventured to depart from the prescribed forms, though the patient recovered, the physician was to lose his life. In administering medicines, they called in the aid of magical incantations, and pretended that supernatural virtues were, by means of these, communicated to certain plants.|| In short, from every circumstance which is known concerning medical practice among the Egyptians, it appears that it was entirely empirical, and that it was artfully connected with superstition, to serve the purposes of priestcraft.

The art of alchymy has been said to have been known by the ancient Egyptians; and, from the founder of the Egyptian philosophy, it has been called the Hermetic art. But we find no certain account of any attempt to effect the transmutation of metals, earlier than the time of Constantine.

In the fictitious sciences of astrology and magic ¶ there can be no doubt that the Egyptians were adepts. Their priests were not negligent in cultivating arts, which would give them such an irresistible sway over an ignorant and superstitious populace. Diodorus Siculus** relates that the Chaldeans learned these arts from the Egyptians, which he could not have asserted, had there not been at least a general tradition that they were practised from the earliest times in Egypt. One of the most ancient sects of the Magi, as the Mosaic history informs us,†† was among the Egyptians. These Magi made use of small images, of various forms, with which they pretended to perform many wonders, and particularly to cure diseases.‡‡ The image of Harpocrates, an astronomical divinity, who seems to have personified the return of the sun at the winter solstice, and who was represented in the form of a young infant, was hung from the neck, or worn in a ring upon the finger, as an amulet.§§

(a) Med'cine is mine, what herbs and simples grow
In fields and forests, all their powers I know;
And am the great physician called below. DRYDEN.

* Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 84. Apuleius, l. x. † Odys. l. iv. v. 229.

(b) ——— Where prolific Nile
With various simples clothes the fatten'd soil. POPE.

‡ L. ii. § L. i. c. 28. || Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 2. ¶ Ib. c. i. ** Lib. i. p. 51.
†† Exod. iv. ‡‡ Pet. Arpe de Talism. p. 7. Gaulmin de Vit. Mosis, l. i. c. 11.
§§ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt. p. i. c. 6.

Before we attempt to approach the mysteries of the Egyptian theology, or philosophy (for, in speaking of ancient times, these cannot be separated), we must remark that it was of two kinds; the one exoteric, addressed to the vulgar; the other esoteric, confined to a select number of the priests, and to those who possessed, or were to possess, the regal power.* The mysterious nature of their concealed doctrine was symbolically expressed by images of sphinxes placed at the entrance of their temples. It must also be recollected, that in different cities of Egypt, and in different colleges of priests, different tenets prevailed. Of this Juvenal furnishes an example, in his account of a quarrel between the inhabitants of Tentyra and Ombri, two neighbouring districts in Egypt, concerning the crocodile; the Tentyriteans being accustomed to worship this formidable animal, and the Ombrians to kill it wherever they found it.†

——— Summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quem solus credat habendos
Esse Deos, quos ipse colit.(a)

That these disputes were not confined to the popular superstitions, appears from the different and contradictory accounts, which were given by the Egyptian priests themselves,‡ of the origin and history of their divinities.

The exoteric religion of the Egyptians is universally known to have consisted in the grossest and most irrational superstitions. It could only be on account of the strictness with which the populace adhered to these that Herodotus speaks of them as the most religious of men.§ Besides gods, heroes, and eminent men, they worshipped various kinds of animals and plants. Their superstitious character is thus ridiculed by Juvenal:||

Quis nescit, Volusi Bythinice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc; illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopithecii,
Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ,
Atque vetus Thebe centum jacet obruta portis.
Illic cæruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam;
Porrum et cepe nefas violare, ac frangere morsu.
O sanctus gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina! (b)

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 566. Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. † Sat. xv. v. 34.

(a) ——— Hence ruthless rancour springs;
Each hates his neighbour's gods, and each believes
The power alone divine which he adores.

‡ Herodot. l. ii. c. 42. Plutarch de Is. et Os. § L. ii. c. 37. || Sat. xv. v. 1. &c.

(b) Who knows not, that there's nothing vile or odd,
Which brain-sick Egypt turns not to a god?
Some of her fools the crocodile adore,
The ibis cramm'd with snakes as many more.
A long-tailed ape the suppliants most admire
Where a half Memnon tunes his magic lyre;
Where Thebes, once for her hundred gates renown'd,
An awful heap of ruins strews the ground:
Whole towns, in one place, river fish revere,
To sea-fish some as piously adhere:
In some a dog's high deity is seen;
But none mind Dian, tho' of dogs the queen:
Nay, vegetables here take rank divine;
On leeks and onions 'tis profane to dine.
Oh holy nation! where the gardens bear
A crop of gods through all the live-long year!

OWEN.

At Rome, the Egyptian superstitions were thought so pernicious, that, under the consulship of Piso and Gabinius, the public worship of their gods was prohibited,* and in the reign of Tiberius the observance of Egyptian rites was suppressed, and those who were infected with this superstition were required to burn their sacred vestments, and other articles employed in their ceremonies.† The most probable account of the origin of the Egyptian superstitions is, that those natural bodies, which were at first introduced into their religious rites merely as emblems, or symbols, of invisible divinities, became themselves, in process of time, objects of worship.

Concerning the esoteric, or philosophical doctrine of the Egyptians, it seems evident, in the first place, that they conceived matter to be the first principle of things, and that before the regular forms of nature arose an eternal chaos had existed, which contained, in a state of darkness and confusion, all the materials of future beings. This Chaos, which was also called Night, was, in the most ancient times, worshipped as one of the superior divinities. Aristotle speaks of Chaos and Night as one and the same, and as the first principle, from which, in the ancient cosmogonies, all things are derived.‡ It is probable that the Egyptians worshipped the material principle, Chaos, or Night, under the name of Athor; a word which, in the Coptic language signifies *night*.§ This divinity the Grecian mythologists, after their usual manner, confounded with Venus. Hesychius refers to a temple in Egypt dedicated to the nocturnal Venus: Ἀφροδίτης σκορίας ἱερον.|| And Herodotus relates,¶ that in the city of *Atarbechis* was a temple sacred to Venus: whence it may be inferred, that long before the time of Herodotus, Athor, or the Egyptian Venus denoting the material principle, was an object of worship. Of this divinity the symbol which, after their usual manner, the Egyptians placed in her temple, was a cow.** That the passive principle in nature was thus admitted to a primary place in the philosophy and theology of the Egyptians is confirmed by Diogenes Laertius; who says, that the Egyptians taught that matter is the first principle, and that from this the four elements are separated, and certain animals produced.††

Besides the material principle, it seems capable of satisfactory proof that the Egyptians admitted an active principle, or intelligent power, eternally united with the chaotic mass, by whose energy the elements were separated, and bodies were formed, and who continually presides over the universe, and is the efficient cause of all effects. For this we have not only the authority of Plutarch,‡‡ who may be suspected of having exhibited the Egyptian philosophy in a Grecian dress, but the united testimony of many writers, who give such accounts of the Egyptian gods, *Phthas* or *Vulcan*, and *Cneph* or *Agathodæmon*, as render it probable that these were only different names expressing different attributes of the Supreme Divinity. “The Egyptians,” says Eusebius,§§ “call the Maker of the universe by the name of *Cneph*, and relate, that he sent forth an egg from his mouth; which in their symbolical language denotes that he produced the universe.” *Diodorus Siculus*||| speaks of the Egyptian *Vulcan* as first king among the gods; and *Manetho*¶¶ ascribes to him unlimited duration, and perpetual splendour. The name itself, *Phthas*, in the Coptic language, denotes one by whom events are ordained. When the Egyptians meant to represent the

* Tertull. Apol. c. 6. † Sueton. Tib. Plut. Is. et Osir. ‡ Metaphys. l. xii. c. 6.

§ Jablonsk. Panth. Ægypt. l. i. c. 1. sect. 7. || In verb. σκορία. ¶ L. ii. c. 41.

** Ælian. de Anim. l. xi. c. 27. Jabl. ib. sect. 15. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 552.

†† Proem. sect. 10. ‡‡ Isis and Osiris. §§ L. iii. c. 11. |||| L. i. p. 13.

¶¶ Apud Syncellum, p. 51.

Ruler of the world as good, they called him by the appellation Cneph; a word which denotes a good genius. They represented him under the symbol of a serpent.* Upon a temple dedicated to Neitha, at Sais, the chief town in Lower Egypt, was this inscription: "I am whatever is, or has been, or will be, and no mortal has hitherto drawn aside my veil; my offspring is the sun." Both Plutarch and Proclus mention this inscription, though with some difference of language;† and it is so consonant to the mythological spirit of the Egyptians, that notwithstanding the silence of more ancient writers who treat of their theology, its authenticity may be easily admitted. If this be allowed, and if at the same time it be granted (as the learned Jablonski maintains‡) that Neitha and Phthas were only different names for the same divinity, this inscription will be a strong confirmation of the opinion, that the Egyptians acknowledged the existence of an active intelligence, the cause of all things, whose nature is incomprehensible. On the whole, notwithstanding what has been advanced in support of the contrary opinion by Porphyry§ and others, it appears highly probable that the ancient Egyptians acknowledged an active as well as a passive principle in nature, and as Plutarch asserts, worshipped τῷ πρώτῳ Θεῷ the Supreme Deity.

The doctrine of an ethereal intelligence pervading and animating the material world appears, among the Egyptians, to have been from the earliest time accompanied with a belief in inferior divinities. Conceiving emanations from the Divinity to be resident in various parts of nature, when they saw life, motion, and enjoyment communicated to the inhabitants of the earth from the sun, and, as they supposed, from other heavenly bodies, they ascribed these effects to the influence of certain divinities, derived from the first deity, which they supposed to inhabit these bodies. Hence arose their worship of the sun, under the names of Osiris, Ammon, and Horus; of the moon, under those of Isis, Bubastis, and Buto; of the Cabiri, or planets; of Sothis, or the Dog-star; and of other celestial divinities.|| The Cabiri were called by the Egyptian priests sons of Phthas, or Vulcan, that is of the Supreme Being.¶ When the Egyptians worshipped the divinity under the notion of an offended sovereign, they called him Tithrambo, that is, according to the Greeks, Hecate; and the evil principle, from which they conceived themselves liable to misfortune, they deprecated as an object of terror, under the name of Typhon.**

From the same source it may be easily conceived that, among the Egyptians as well as in other nations, would arise the worship of deified men. When they saw their illustrious heroes or legislators protecting their country by their prowess, or improving human life by useful inventions and institutions, they concluded that a large portion of that divinity, which animates all things, resided in them, and supposed that after their death the good demon that animated them passed into the society of the divinities. In this manner it may be conceived that the worship of heroes would spring up together with that of the heavenly bodies. But whether the former did in fact prevail among the Egyptians, is a question which has been much disputed, and which, after all that has been advanced upon it, still remains undecided.††

* Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. i. c. 10. l. iii. c. 11. Plut. Amat. Lamprid. c. 28.

† Plut. Is. et Osir. Procl. in Tim. p. 30. ‡ Pantheon Ægypt.

§ Vid. Jambl. Myst. Æg. Præf. Ed. Galæi.

|| Jablonsk. l. ii. c. 1, 2, 4. l. iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4. Proleg. c. i. sect. 26.

¶ Herod. l. iii. c. 37.

** Jabl. l. i. c. 5. l. v. c. 2.

†† See on this question, Euseb. Pr. l. i. c. 9. Diod. Sic. l. i. c. 8. Univ. Hist. v. l. sect. 510. Shuckford, v. l. p. 208. Jablonski Proleg. c. 2.

The opinion of the Egyptians concerning the human soul is very differently represented by different writers. It is indeed universally agreed that they believed it to be immortal. Herodotus asserts, though perhaps without sufficient ground, that they were the first people who taught this doctrine; * and Diodorus Siculus relates, † that the Egyptians, instead of lamenting the death of good men, rejoiced in their felicity, conceiving that, in the invisible world, they would live for ever among the pious. To the same purport is the account which he gives of the custom of bringing the characters of the deceased under a public trial, and offering up prayers to the gods on behalf of those who were adjudged to have lived virtuously, that they might be admitted into the society of good men. But it has been a subject of debate, into what place, according to the Egyptian doctrine, the souls of men passed after death. Plutarch speaks ‡ of the Amenthes of the Egyptians, corresponding to the Hades of the Greeks, a subterraneous region, to which the souls of great men were conveyed. With this agrees the account given by Diodorus Siculus of the funeral customs of the Egyptians. It is also confirmed by a fact, related by Porphyry, § upon the authority of Euphantus, that the Egyptians, at their funerals, offered up this prayer, in the name of the deceased: "Thou sun, who rulest all things, and ye other powers, who give life to man, receive me, and grant me an abode among the immortal gods." Herodotus, on the contrary, gives it as the opinion of the Egyptians, || that, when the body decays, the soul passes into some other animal, which is then born; and that after it has made the circuit of beasts, birds, and fishes, through a period of three thousand years, it again becomes an inhabitant of a human body. Diogenes Laertius, after Hecateus, relates, ¶ that according to the tenets of the Egyptians, the soul after death continues to live, and passes into other bodies.

These different notions concerning the state of the soul after death were probably held by different colleges of priests, some of whom were advocates for the doctrine of transmigration, while others held, that the souls of good men, after wandering for a time among the stars, were permitted to return to the society of the gods: or the seeming inconsistency of these opinions may be reconciled by means of a conjecture, which naturally arises from the doctrine, that God is the soul of the world, from which all things came, and to which they will return. According to this doctrine it may be conceived, that all souls, being portions of the universal mind, must return to the Divinity; but that since different minds, by their union with the body, are stained with different degrees of impurity, it becomes necessary that, before their return, they should pass through different degrees of purgation, which might be supposed to be accomplished by means of successive transmigrations. According to this system, bad men would undergo this *metempsychosis* for a longer, good men for a shorter period; and the Amenthes, or Hades, may be conceived to have been the region in which departed souls, immediately after death, received their respective designations.

As the Egyptians held that the world was produced from chaos by the energy of an intelligent principle, so they conceived that there is in nature a continual tendency towards dissolution. In Plato's *Timæus*, an Egyptian priest is introduced, describing the destruction of the world, and asserting that it will be effected by means of water and fire. They conceived that

* L. ii. c. 123. † L. i. c. 12. ‡ Isis et Osiris. § De Abstinencia, l. iv. sect. 10.
|| L. ii. c. 123. ¶ L. i. sect. 10.

the universe undergoes a periodical conflagration, after which all things are restored to their original form, to pass again through a similar succession of changes.*

Of preceptive doctrine the Egyptians had two kinds, the one sacred, the other vulgar. The former, which respected the ceremonies of religion, and the duties of the priests, was doubtless written in the sacred books of Hermes, but was too carefully concealed to pass down to posterity. The latter consisted of maxims and rules of virtue, prudence, or policy. Diodorus Siculus relates many particulars concerning the laws, customs, and manners of the Egyptians, whence it appears that superstition mingled with, and corrupted their notions of morals. It is in vain to look for accurate principles of ethics among an ignorant and superstitious people: and that the ancient Egyptians merited this character, is sufficiently evident from this single circumstance, that they suffered themselves to be deceived by impostors, particularly by the professors of the fanciful art of astrology; concerning whom Sextus Empiricus justly remarks, † that they have done much mischief in the world, by enslaving men to superstition, which will not suffer them to follow the dictates of right reason. ‡

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ETHIOPIANS.

THE country of Ethiopia, which, in the more confined use of the name, nearly corresponds to the modern Abyssinia, was, at a very remote period, inhabited by a people, whose opinions and customs nearly resembled those of the Egyptians. Many of their divinities were the same; they had the same orders of priesthood, and religious ceremonies; they made use of the same characters in writing; their mode of dress was similar; and the regal sceptre made use of in both countries was in the form of a plough.§ Whence it is evident, either that the Egyptians received their religion and learning from the Ethiopians, as Lucian asserts,|| or, which the great antiquity and celebrity of the Egyptian nation renders much more probable, that the Ethiopians were instructed by the Egyptians. Ethiopia seems to have been colonised from Egypt, and to have received its institutions from the parent country.

Little can be advanced with certainty concerning the philosophy of the Ethiopians. Their wise men, like those of the Indians, were called Gym-

* Diod. S. l. i. c. 1. Laert. l. i. sect. 10. Orig. contra Cels. l. v. p. 252. Macrobi. Sat. l. ii. c. 6.

† Adv. Math. l. v.

‡ Vidend. Jablonski Pantheon Ægyptiorum, passim. Herm. Conringius de Hermet. Ægypt. Witsii Ægyptiaca. Mosheim. Not. ad Cudworth, c. iv. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. 3. Gyrard. Hist. Deor. l. ix. Natal. Comes Mythol. l. v. c. 5. Voss. de Idol. l. ii. Reland. Diss. de Diis Cabiris, tom. i. Ursin. de Zor. Merc. et Sanch. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs. t. iii. c. 18. sect. 20. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 222, &c. Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 13. Burnet, Arch. c. viii. Pignorus in Mens. Isiac. Le Clerc, Bibl. Univ. t. iii. Horus Apollo in Hieroglyph. l. i. Banier, Diss. sur le Typhon, ap. Hist. Anc. Inscrit. t. vi. Joach. Operinus de Immort. Mortalium. Liv. Galantes. Compar. Theol. Plat. p. 237, &c. Dickinson, Phys. Vet. et Ver. c. xii. Perizonii Ægypt. investigat. Stillingfleet, Orig. Sac. l. i. c. 2. Reimann. Antiq. Liter. Ægypt. Diss. de Ann. Æg. Misc. Berolin. t. iv. Wachter, Concord. Ration. et Script. l. iii. Warburton, Div. Leg. l. iv. sect. 2, &c. Anc. Univ. Hist. v. i. Banier sur la Mythol. Ægypt.

§ Diod. Sic. l. ii. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 29. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 779.

|| De Astrolog.

nosophists, from their custom of wearing little clothing. They discharged the sacred functions after the manner of the Egyptian priests; had distinct colleges, and classes of disciples, and taught their dogmas in obscure and mythological language. They were remarkable for their contempt of death.*

Strabo speaks of the Southern Ethiopians as atheists;† but we must understand by this character, not that they were destitute of all belief in a supreme power, but that they did not worship the same gods, or make use of the same ceremonies with their neighbours.‡ In another place,§ the same historian says, that they acknowledged two gods, one immortal and the other mortal; that the immortal god was always the same, the first cause of all things, but that the mortal god was uncertain, and without a name. Perhaps this mortal god was the principle of evil, which the Egyptians acknowledged under the name of Typhon, who being at length to be overcome by the good principle, might properly be said to be mortal. However this may be, it is certain that the Ethiopians were scrupulously exact in their religious worship, and therefore could by no means deserve the charge of atheism. Homer says,||

Zeûs γὰρ ἐπ' Ὀκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας
Χθρὺς ἔβη μετὰ δαῖτα· θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο. (a)

Lucian¶ ascribes the invention of astronomy and astrology to the Ethiopians. But it is not probable that the observation and knowledge of the celestial phenomena were originally confined to any one country. The Babylonians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, and other nations, who, from their climate and manner of life, had frequent occasion to observe the motions of the stars, may be supposed, independently of each other, to have made many discoveries respecting the celestial *phenomena*. But though there is no sufficient reason for ascribing to the Ethiopians the exclusive honour of inventing astronomy, the story of Atlas makes it very probable that this science was early studied among them. The fable of his bearing the heavens upon his shoulders perhaps only means, that Atlas was a diligent observer of the heavenly bodies, and taught his countrymen astronomy.** He is said to have had seven daughters, called the Pleiades, who (perhaps because they had pursued the study of astronomy under their father) were advanced to an honourable station in the heavens, and gave name to a well-known constellation.†† His residence was probably near those lofty mountains, which to this day bear the name of Atlas, and which Virgil‡‡ so beautifully describes:

Oceani finem juxta, solemque cadentem,
Ultimus Æthiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
Axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum. (b)

Many other particulars are related concerning the philosophy of the

* Diod. Sic. l. c. Lucian. de Astrol. Laert. l. i. sect. 6. † Loc. cit.

‡ Vossius de Idolot. Gent. l. i. c. 2. § P. 822. Conf. Stobæi Serm. 42.

|| Il. l. i. v. 423.

(a) The sire of gods, and all th' ethereal train,
On the warm limits of the farthest main,
Now mix with mortals, nor disdain to grace
The feasts of Æthiopia's blameless race. POPE.

¶ Loc. cit.

** Virg. Æneid, l. i. v. 745.

†† Natalis Comes Mythol. l. iv. c. 7.

‡‡ Æn. l. iv. ver. 480.

(b) Near Ocean's utmost bound a region lies,
Where mighty Atlas props the starry skies. PITT.

Ethiopians, by Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius Tyanæus; but this, as we shall afterwards see, is a work, on many accounts, of doubtful credit.

The morality of the Ethiopians, according to Laertius,* consisted in worshipping the gods, doing no evil, exercising fortitude, and despising death.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CELTS, INCLUDING THE GAULS,
BRITONS, GERMANS, AND NORTHERN NATIONS.

HAVING traced the ancient history of barbaric philosophy through Asia and Africa, we now pass over into Europe, to observe the forms which it assumed in the Western and Northern regions. In this part of the world, besides the exotic Romans, and the Greeks, of whom we shall afterwards treat, we find the nation of the Celts, who, from the northern extremities of Asia, sent out colonies, westward, similar to each other in their customs and institutions. Hence not only the Scythians and the Pannonians, but also the ancient inhabitants of Germany, Britain, Gaul, and Spain, come under the general denomination of Celts.

The history of the Celtic nations is involved in great obscurity, not so much from the unavoidable depredations of time, as from the total want of ancient records. So far were the ancient Gauls, Germans, and Britons, from having among them any learned historians to record their institutions or opinions, that they industriously discouraged every attempt to commit things of this kind to writing. Julius Cæsar, who was well acquainted with the state of Gaul, says, that though, in almost all their public and private records, the Gauls made use of Greek letters, they did not commit their doctrines to writing:† but he is to be understood as only speaking of his own times; for, at a more remote period, the Gauls were strangers to the art of writing. According to Strabo,‡ they were first instructed in letters by a Greek colony which settled at Marseilles about the year of Rome 165. The Germans became acquainted with this art much later: Tacitus§ intimates, that it was not in common use among them even in his time. These nations had no other records of public transactions than the songs of their bards.||

It is not to be supposed that they who received the oral instructions of wise men under an injunction of secrecy, as seems to have been the general practice among the Celtic nations, would communicate them to strangers. The reports of the Greek and Roman historians on this subject must, therefore, have had no better foundation than vulgar rumour, gathered up by foreigners in accidental conversation. Julius Cæsar himself, though the conqueror of Gaul, and a curious observer of the nations whom he

* L. i. sect. 6. Vidend. Scheffer de Phil. Ital. c. 4. Witsii Ægypt. l. ii. Voss. de Idol. l. i. c. 1. Marsham, Can. Chron. sect. xiii. Bochart, Geog. Sac. p. i. l. ii. c. 13. Lambecii Prodom. Hist. Lit. p. 133. Natal. Comes Myth. l. iv. c. 7. Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. Anc. Univ. Hist. v. 16.

† Bell. G. vi. 13.

‡ L. iv. p. 181.

§ Mor. Germ. c. 19.

|| Strabo, l. vi. p. 190. Athæn. l. vi. p. 154.

conquered, found little to relate concerning the opinions of the Gauls. No wonder that other writers have filled their accounts of the Celtic theology with idle tales and extravagant fables.

From the imperfect reports concerning these nations which remain, it is, however, desirable that we should frame the best idea we are able of their philosophy; for, though their wisdom was of a very different character from that of the Greeks and Romans, they were not so destitute of knowledge as not to have their schools of instruction and their philosophers.

The Druids (so called from *Deru*, a Celtic word which signifies *an oak*, still used in that sense in the Erse language*) are spoken of by the ancient writers as an order existing, in the remotest period, among all nations. Diogenes Laertius,† on the authority of Aristotle and Sotion, ranks the Druids of the Celtæ and Galatæ with the Magi of the Persians, the Chaldeans of Babylonia, and the Gymnosophists of the Indians. In what Celtic nation this order was first instituted is uncertain;‡ but there can be no doubt that before the time of Julius Cæsar it was generally established in Britain, Gaul, and Germany. The office and character of the Gallic Druids, the causes of their authority, their manner of teaching, and other circumstances, are clearly explained in the Commentaries of Cæsar. The chief particulars of his account are the following:§ “The Druids preside in religious concerns, direct the public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the gods. Young men are sent to them for education, by whom they are held in great honour. The decision of almost all controversies, both public and private, is referred to them; and if any crime be committed, if any murder be perpetrated, or if any dispute arise concerning an inheritance, or the boundaries of lands,—in all such cases they pronounce sentence, and decree rewards or punishments; and if any one, whether in a private or public station, refuse to submit to their decree, they interdict him the sacrifices, which is the severest penalty they can inflict.—The Druids are under one elective chief. They never go to war, are exempted from taxes and military services, and enjoy every kind of immunity.”

These particulars concerning the Druids prove, that like the Magi, and other priests of the East, they had great power in the state, and supported their influence and authority by the aid of superstition. They were divided into three classes; the Bards, who celebrated the praises of eminent men in songs accompanied with the lyre; the Eubages, who performed the rites of religion and divination; and the Druids, in the more limited sense of the appellation, who had in their hands the direction of public affairs, the administration of justice, and the education of youth.|| They clothed their dogmas in an allegorical dress, and delivered them in verse, that they might be the more easily remembered. They instructed their disciples in retired groves, or in caverns, and forbade them, under the severest penalties, to divulge the secret doctrines which they were taught, or to commit them to writing.¶ Hence the doctrines of the Druids must have been very imperfectly known, except among those who were admitted into their interior mysteries. On this subject Lucan says:**

* Toland's Letters on the Druids. † L. i. sect. 2.

‡ Cæs. Bel. G. l. vi. c. 14. Tacit. Agric. Vit. c. xi. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. c. 1.

§ Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 13.

|| Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 308. Strabo, l. iv. p. 302. Diog. Laert. i. c. 2. Ammian. Marcell. l. xv. c. 9.

¶ Laert. l. i. sect. 6. Pomp. Mela, l. iii. c. 2.

** Pharsal. l. i. v. 427, &c.

Solis nosse deos, et cœli numina vobis
 Aut solis nescire datum : nemora alta remotis
 Incolitis lucis. (a)

If this account of the Druids be compared with what has been already related concerning the wise men and priests of other ancient nations, it will be sufficiently manifest that their mode of education was rather adapted to the support of fraud and imposture, than to the propagation of knowledge. How far they were from being humanised by cultivation may be inferred from the barbarous rites which they practised. Ancient writers attest that they offered human sacrifices to their gods. Thus Lucan :*

———— Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
 Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,
 Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ora Dianæ. (b)

So offensive was their savage customs to the Romans, that Augustus prohibited the use of their religious ceremonies in Gaul, and Tiberius and Claudius issued edicts for the abolition of the Druidical order.†

The Germans, Danes, Swedes, and other northern nations derived from the Celtic stock, had customs similar to those of the Gauls and Britons, and, particularly, had among them Bards or Scaldi, and priests, whose character was the same with that of the Gaulic and British Druids. Tacitus, in his account of the manners of the Germans, says :‡ “None but the priests are permitted to chastise delinquents, or to inflict bonds or stripes, that it may appear, not as a punishment inflicted by order of the chieftain, but as the consequence of a command from the divinity, whom they suppose to be present with warriors. They conduct the public omens, and in assemblies of the people have authority to command silence.” Strabo and other writers confirm this account. We must therefore suppose that Cæsar, who says§ that the Germans had neither Druids nor sacrifices, was, in this instance, imposed upon by reports to which he had given too hasty credit.

It was one of the offices of the Celtic priests, or Druids, to explain to their disciples the meaning of the fables under which their religious tenets were concealed. These fables, or allegories, were similar to those of the Asiatics, and were delivered in verse, after their manner ; a circumstance which confirms the conjecture that these nations arose from colonies which came out of the northern regions of Asia, and which brought with them the tenets which, in the remotest periods, had prevailed amongst the Persians, Scythians, and other Asiatic nations. Indeed, it is probable that the Celts and Sarmatians in Europe, and the Medes and Persians in Asia, were derived from one common stock, the Asiatic Scythians ; for, on the one hand, it appears|| that the name of Scythians, which long remained in the northern parts of Asia, passed over with the Scythian colonies into Europe,

(a) ——— Who haunt the lonely coverts of the grove :
 To these, and these of all mankind alone,
 The gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown. ROWE.

* Pharsal. l. i. v. 444.

(b) And you, where Hesus' horrid altar stands,
 Where dire Teutates human blood demands ;
 Where Taranis by wretches is obey'd,
 And vies in slaughter with the Scythian maid. ROWE.

† Sueton. et Victor. in Claud. Seneca in Apocolocyntiosi. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. c. 4. ‡ C. 7. 10, 11. Conf. Tac. Hist. l. iv. c. 54. § Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 21.
 || Plin. Hist. N. l. iv. c. 12.

where it was gradually lost in those of Sarmatians and Germans; and, on the other, authorities are not wanting to prove that the Medes and Persians were descended from the Scythians.* The same religious tenets, which the Persians had received from the Scythians, were probably also embraced by the Celts, and by them transmitted, in their emigrations, through Germany, Gaul, and Spain.

An allegorical and poetical representation of the tenets of the ancient northern nations concerning God, the origin of the world, the condition of man after death, and other philosophical subjects, is contained in an ancient book, written in the Runic language, called the Edda, whence the Rhythmists of Iceland chiefly borrow their fictions. It was compiled from records or traditions, which were probably of Asiatic original,† by Sæmundus Sigfusonius, an Icelander, about the year 1114, and is certainly the most ancient account which is extant of the mythology of the northern nations. This work becoming obscure from the neglect of the Runic language, and other causes, another Edda, or mythological collection was made, in 1215, by Snorro, a native of Iceland, and written in the language of the country. An edition of both these curious works, with a Latin translation, was published at Copenhagen in the year 1665.

From the imperfect accounts which remain of the opinions of the ancient Gauls, Germans, Britons, and other northern nations, it is extremely difficult to frame a tolerably distinct view of the Celtic philosophy.

With respect to religion, the Celts, like other ancient nations, had their public and vulgar, and their concealed and more philosophical doctrine. Their theology supposed the universe to be animated by a divinity, portions of which reside in different parts of nature. This opinion seems to have been the ground of their worship of the sun and moon, and of the reverence which they expressed for groves, rocks, and caverns. That they imagined the magnificent and gloomy scenes of nature to be inhabited by demons, fully appears from the Edda. Nor can any other reason be assigned for the superstitious notions which prevailed among them, than that these scenes were frequently the seat of oracular communications.‡

The practice of divination prevailed in all the Celtic nations. Many women, both in Gaul and Germany, obtained great credit and influence under the character of prophetesses, some of whom were known by the name of Samnitæ.§ Of the Germans, Tacitus says, that no people were more addicted to the method of divining by omens and lots: he relates, that they supposed somewhat of peculiar sanctity and prescience to be inherent in the female sex, and therefore neither despised their counsels, nor disregarded their responses.|| The savage manner in which the Cimbrian women performed their divinations is thus described by Strabo: ¶ “The women who follow the Cimbri to war are accompanied by grey-haired prophetesses in white vestments, with canvass mantles fastened by clasps, a brazen girdle, and naked feet. These go with drawn swords through the camp, and striking down the prisoners they meet, drag them to a brazen kettle. This has a kind of stage above it, on which the priestess ascending cuts the throat of the victim; and from the manner in which the blood flows into the vessel she judges of the future event. Others tear open the bodies of the captives thus butchered, and from inspection of the entrails

* Herodot. l. v. c. 9. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxxi. c. 3. Pelloutierii Celtarum Hist. tom. i. p. 19. not. n.

† Arnkiel. Relig. Gent. Cimbr. c. ii. sect. 13. Conf. Rudbeckius in Atlantide.

‡ Keysler, de Antiquit. Celt. p. 18—21. p. 297, &c. § Keysler, l. c.

|| De Mor. Germ. c. 8. 10. ¶ L. vii.

presage victory to their own party." These and other similar superstitions doubtless arose from a general belief that the divinities who resided in the groves, and among the rocks, communicated to the priests and priestesses the knowledge of future events. And this belief was confirmed by the doctrine, which universally prevailed in the Celtic nations, that all events arise according to the unalterable laws of destiny, known only to the gods, and to those favoured mortals to whom they unfold the book of fate.

The Celtic nations had many divinities, which they supposed to preside over different parts of nature, and which they worshipped under various names, such as Odin, Thor, Tuisco, &c. No divinity was more generally worshipped, both among the Celts and Scythians, than THE EARTH. The account which Tacitus gives* of the worship of this goddess exhibits a beautiful picture of the simplicity of ancient manners. "The Reudigni, Aviones, Angli, Eudoses, Suardones, and Nithuones," says he, "unite in the worship of HERTHA, or Mother Earth, and suppose her to interfere in the affairs of men, and visit the different nations. In an island † of the ocean stands a sacred and unviolated grove, in which is a consecrated chariot, covered with a veil, which the priest alone is permitted to touch. He perceives when the goddess enters this secret recess, and with profound veneration attends the vehicle, which is drawn by yoked cows. At this season all is joy, and every place which the goddess deigns to visit is a scene of festivity. No wars are undertaken; arms are untouched, and every hostile weapon is laid aside. Peace and repose are then only known, then only loved; till, at length, the same priest reconducts the goddess, satisfied with mortal intercourse, to her temple. The chariot, with its covering, and, if we may believe it, the goddess herself, then undergo ablution in a secret lake. This office is performed by slaves, whom the lake instantly swallows up. Hence proceeds a mysterious horror, and a holy ignorance of what that can be which is beheld only by those who are about to perish."—This memorable narrative not only shows that the earth was worshipped with mysterious reverence by the northern nations, but affords a striking example of the ingenuity with which their priests clothed the mysteries of religion, in order to guard them from the impertinent intrusion of vulgar curiosity. The rest of the Celtic divinities were worshipped with similar rites, in which there can be no doubt that human sacrifices were frequently introduced. ‡

Before the Celtic nations were visited by the Romans, they appear to have had no other gods than those which they supposed resident in natural bodies. Cæsar expressly asserts, that in his time they reckoned those alone among the number of the gods by whose attributes they were visibly benefited; as the sun, the moon, and fire. Afterwards, they received, at least nominally, several of the Roman divinities; but they continued to worship them with their ancient rites, in groves, or on open plains, and upon altars, composed of vast masses of stone, of which there are still many remains. "They conceive it," says Tacitus, § "to be unworthy of the grandeur of celestial beings to confine them within walls, or to represent them under a human form: woods and groves are their temples, and they affix names of divinities to that secret power, which they behold with the eye of adoration alone:"—*deorum nominibus appellant Secretum illud, quod solâ reverentiâ vident*. Of the same kind is the account which this

* Mor Germ. c. 40.

† Supposed to be Heilegeland (Holy Island) near the mouth of the Elbe:

‡ Tac. Mor. Ger. c. 9. 39. Lucan. loc. cit. Cæsar. Bell. G. l. vi. c. 15.

§ Germ. c. 9.

judicious historian gives of the Semnones, a German nation who inhabited the banks of the Oder. After relating some particulars of their religious ceremonies, and mentioning the reverence which they paid to the groves in which they were performed, he adds: * “The whole of their superstition has this import, that there is the God who is supreme governor of all, and that every thing else is subject and subordinate to him :—*ibi regnator omnium Deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia*. The result of these accounts is, that the Celtic nations had an idea of a supreme deity, the fountain of all other divinities, and the animating and ruling principle of the universe. They seem to have worshipped him under the name of Odin, † whom they called the Father of all.

The Edda ‡ contains many passages from which it may be clearly inferred that the northern nations had an idea of an eternal deity, prior to the formation of the material world, and that by his energy on the chaotic mass, which they called the Deep, the sun, moon, and stars, and all other material bodies, were produced.

Mane erat sæculorum, cum Ymerus habitavit,
Erat nec arena, nec mare, nec refrigerantes aurulæ;
Terra reperta est nusquam, nec in alto cælum:
Hiatus ingens erat spatii, et gramen nullibi. (a)

This ancient record also speaks of human nature under the name of *Mannus*, as the joint production of several subordinate divinities, and as formed male and female (*Askus* and *Emla*) before they were endued with the vital principle.

Askum et Emlam omni conatu destitutos
Animam nec possidebant, rationem nec habebant,
Nec sanguinem, nec sermonem, nec faciem venustam,
Animam dedit Odinus, rationem indidit Hœnerus,
Lædur sanguinem addidit et faciem venustam. (b)

Hence it appears that these northern nations conceived the human soul as of divine original, rational and immortal. And that this was the universal doctrine of the Celts, whether Gauls, Britons, Germans, or other nations, is unanimously attested by the Greek and Roman writers, and by the remains of northern antiquities. Cæsar relates, § that the first doctrine of the Gallic Druids was, that the soul of man is immortal; and Pomponius Mela, || that one of their doctrines, which is divulged among the people in order to inspire them with martial courage, is, that the soul is immortal. This account is confirmed by Valerius Maximus, ¶ Strabo, ** and other historians. †† And the fables every where received among the Celts, concerning a future state, leave no room to doubt that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was generally received among them. ‡‡

* Germ. c. 39. † Pelloutier, p. 65, &c.

‡ Bartholin. Antiq. Dan. l. ii. c. 1. Solin. Polyhistor. c. 16.

(a) In the beginning, ere the world had birth,
While yet nor sea, nor shore, nor cooling breeze,
Nor the green earth, nor azure sky, was form'd,
In the vast void Ymerus lived alone.

(b) Without or breath, or reasoning powers, or speech,
Or vital blood, or the fair human face,
Askus and Emla lay; till Odin bade
Them live, Hœnerus kindled in their breast
The lamp of Mind, and Lædur through their veins
Pour'd forth the purple stream; then man arose,
Graceful in youth, an animated form.

§ Bell. G. l. vi. c. 14. || L. iii. c. 2. ¶ L. ii. c. 6. ** L. iv.

†† Vid. Pelloutierii Hist. Celt.

‡‡ Keysler, Antiq. p. 129. Schuzius de Statu Anim. c. 2. p. 75.

Such was the actual effect which this doctrine had upon the minds of the Celts, that we find no people superior to them in the magnanimous contempt of death. Valérius Maximus extols the brave and hardy spirit of the Cimbrians and Celtiberians, who, in the midst of the hazards of battle, exulted in the expectation of going to a more glorious and happy life.* He also speaks of a Thracian people, with whom it was a custom to celebrate the birth of a man with tears, but his funeral with joy; because the end of life is better than the beginning. Of the Hispani, who were a Celtic colony, Silius Italicus† says :

Prodiga gens animæ, et properare facillima mortem;
Namque ubi transcendit florentes viribus annos,
Impatiens ævi spernet novisse senectam,
Et fati modus in dextra est. (a)

The history of all the northern nations abounds with facts, which prove their contempt of death to have originated from an expectation of immortality.

What kind of immortality these nations expected is not clearly ascertained. According to Cæsar‡ and Diodorus Siculus,§ they thought that the soul, at death, passes from one body to another. This doctrine of transmigration is also ascribed to them by Lucan : ||

Vobis auctoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt : regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio : longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est. (b)

On the contrary, Pomponius Mela¶ represents the Celts as expecting to pass, after death, into the invisible world. And this notion best agrees with the authorities already cited on this subject, and with the accounts which are given, by various writers, of the funeral ceremonies practised in the northern nations, particularly that of committing to the funeral pile, or to the sepulchre, whatever had been dear to the deceased.** It is also most consonant to the mythological language of the ancient Edda, which every where represents the future life as an assembly of good or bad men in a state of reward or punishment, and only speaks of a return to life for the purpose of reuniting the soul and body, after the soul has passed through a necessary course of purification, previously to its admission into the regions of the happy. From this state of purgation none were to be excused, except those who had voluntarily exposed themselves to death in battle : and hence it was, that they who fell in war were deemed to have

* L. ii. c. 6.

† L. i.

(a) This hardy race, still lavish of their breath,
The flow'r of youth once past, rush on to death;
Scorning life's path with tott'ring steps to tread,
With their own hand they cut the fatal thread.

‡ L. iv. c. 14.

§ L. v.

|| Phars. l. i. v. 454.

(b) If dying mortals doom they sing aright,
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night;
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent shades below:
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find:
Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
And, like a line, death but divides the space.

ROWE.

¶ Loc. cit.

** Cæsar Bell. G. l. ii. c. 6. Pomp. Mela, l. vi. c. 2. Herodot. l. iv. c. 93. Tacit. Germ. c. 27. Val. Max. loc. cit.

made a glorious and happy exit from life, whilst they who died by sickness were thought to have perished shamefully and wretchedly.* To those brave spirits who died in battle the gates of the palace of Odin were immediately opened, and they were to live in his hall (Valhalla) in the full enjoyment of every thing which delighted them on earth. Others, who had lived a pious, just, and temperate life, and at last died by sickness, were to be admitted, after the necessary purification, into Gimle, a bright and happy mansion, where they should live for ever; whilst they who had, in this life, been guilty of great crimes (among which perjury, adultery, and assassination, were reckoned the most heinous) were to be consigned to Hela, where they should remain in punishment till the *twilight of the gods*; a term by which is denoted a general restitution of all things, when, after the burning of the world,† a new period of existence would commence.

The similarity of the Celtic doctrines to those of the eastern nations already considered, favours the conjecture that the northern mythology is derived from oriental traditions, which accompanied the migrations of the Scythians towards the northern and western parts of Europe.

The ancient Celts were probably little acquainted with natural philosophy. Cæsar indeed says‡ that the Gallic Druids philosophised concerning the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world, and the nature of things. But we have no information respecting their observations or opinions on these subjects; except that they§ reckoned time by nights, not by days, and in the observance of birth-days, new moons, and the beginning of the year, commenced the celebration from the preceding night. This circumstance is confirmed by ancient British monuments. If the Druids practised medicine, it was rather as an instrument of superstition, than as an art founded upon science, as sufficiently appears from the wonderful powers which they ascribed to the mistletoe.||

The sum of their moral doctrine as given by Laertius,¶ is to worship the gods, to do good, and to exercise fortitude. Perhaps little more was necessary among a people who were devoted to war. Their public and private virtues were, as we have seen, powerfully supported by the hope of immortality.**

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ETRURIANS AND ROMANS.

ITALY, in the most remote periods of its history, affords some traces of barbaric philosophy among the Etrurians and Romans. The few particulars which remain, concerning the early philosophy of each, we shall distinctly examine.

* Valer. Max. l. ii. c. 6. sect. 11. † Strabo, l. iv. p. 302. ‡ Bell. G. l. vi. c. 13. § C. 16.

|| Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxx. sect. i. xvi. 44. xxiv. 4. xxxiv. 11.

¶ L. i. sect. 10.

** Vidend. Pezronius de Antiq. Celt. Pelloutier, Lettres sur les Celts, Hague, 1740. Martin. de la Relig. des Gaul. Keysler, Ant. Sept. et Celt. G. Frickius de Druidis, Ulmæ, 1731. Selden, Analect. Anglo-Brit. v. ii. Toland on the Rel. of the Celts. Rowland, Ant. Isle of Anglesey. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 2. Diss. de Poesi Scald. Upsal, 1717. Koeller de Scaldis. Gundling. Hist. Ph. Mor. c. 6. Moller in Isagog. ad Hist. Chers. Cimb. Beronius de Eddis Islandicis, Upsal, 1733. Rudbeck, Atlant. Arymann, Diss. de Celt. Idol. Orig. ap. Vet. Germ. Bartholin, Ant. Dan. Obrecht, de Phil. Celt. Puffend. de Druid. Banier, Myth. t. v. l. vi, vii. Schubert, Hist. Ph. c. 2. Schuzius, de Statu post Mortem sec. Celt.

The origin of the Tuscans, or Etrurians, is uncertain. Some writers, who abound in conjectures and idle dreams,* have maintained that Noah colonised this country. It is more probable that the Tuscans were a Celtic nation, who settled upon the banks of the river Po.† This very well agrees with what is known concerning the Celtic migrations, and will account for the prevalence of opinions before the arrival of the Egyptians and Pelasgians upon this coast, similar to those of the East.

Etruria, according to Diodorus Siculus,‡ was early distinguished by a diligent and successful study of nature. But he supports his assertion by no proofs; and the facts which are preserved by historians, respecting this ancient people, rather show a disposition towards trivial superstitions, than a useful acquaintance with natural objects.§ The Etrurians are said to have been the first inventors of augury, and to have boasted that they communicated this art to the Romans. Fabulous accounts are given of Tages,|| who is mentioned as the first teacher of augury; to which Ovid alludes:¶

Indigenæ dixere Tagen, qui primus Etruscam
Edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros. (a)

The superstitious character of the Etrurians is strongly marked in the story related by Pliny,** of an embassy sent from Rome to a celebrated Tuscan augur, Olerius Calenus, concerning a human skull which was found on the Tarpeian hill. The knowledge of nature, attributed to the Etrurians, appears to have extended little farther than the skilful application of natural objects and appearances to the purposes of superstition and imposture.

It has, nevertheless, been asserted that this people were possessed of the purest conceptions of religion. Seneca speaks of the Tuscan augurs as employing the terrors of Jupiter's lightning to keep in awe those who could only be restrained from wickedness by fear; and adds, that they believed the thunder of heaven to be in the hands, not of Jupiter worshipped by the Romans in the Capitol and other temples, but of a supreme intelligence, the guardian and governor of the universe, the maker and lord of this world. But he adds,†† “To this deity agree the several names of Fate, Providence, Nature, or the universe sustaining itself by its own energy:” a doctrine which, as we shall afterwards see, was held by the Stoics. On what authority Seneca ascribed this doctrine to the Etrurians is uncertain. The truth probably is, that, with other western and northern nations of Celtic origin, they conceived the Deity as the animating principle of the world, acting upon an eternal mass to produce the visible creation. The cosmogony of an anonymous Etrurian, preserved by Suidas,‡‡ confirms this opinion. It limits the duration of the universe to a period of twelve thousand years, six thousand of which passed in the production of the visible world before the formation of man. Another doctrine, ascribed to the Etrurians, which agrees with the tenets of the Stoics, is, the entire renovation of nature after a long period, or great year, when a similar succession of events would again commence.§§ Two ancient brazen tablets which,

* Vid. Dickinson's Dissert. on the Journey of Noah into Italy, Oxon. 1655. Fabricii Codex Pseud. vol. i. p. 248. † Pelloutier, Hist. de Celtes, tom. ii. p. 101.

‡ L. v.

§ Cic. de Div. l. i. Senecæ Quæst. Nat. l. ii. c. 32.

|| Ammian. Marcel. l. xxi.

¶ Metam. l. xv. v. 558.

(a) The natives of the place him Tages name,
From whom the Tuscan arts of aug'ry came. SEWELL.

** L. xxviii. c. 2.

†† Quæst. Nat. l. ii. c. 41.

‡‡ Verb. Tyrrhen. p. 519.

§§ Plutarch. Vit. Syllæ.

from the figures and inscriptions, appear to represent the Egyptian divinities Isis and Osiris,* have been found in Tuscany. These afford some ground for conjecturing that, at the time when Egypt sent out colonies westward, the knowledge of their theology passed into Etruria. In this manner, it is not improbable that the Etrurians might acquire the same notions concerning God, and the origin of things, which had been long before entertained in Egypt and the East.

The Romans, so illustrious in the annals of civil history, afford, at the early period of which we are now treating, few materials for the history of barbaric philosophy. The only name which, at this period, has any pretension to be admitted into the list of philosophers, is that of Numa, the second king of Rome. His excellent institutions of civil policy, introduced in the infancy of a state which owed its existence to the force of arms, unquestionably prove him to have been a wise legislator. It has been strenuously maintained that his wisdom was borrowed from the great founder of one of the Grecian schools of philosophy, Pythagoras. But the arguments urged in support of this opinion are drawn from resemblances between the institutions of Numa and those of Pythagoras, which are either merely imaginary, or may easily be supposed to have happened, without design, from a similarity of situation. Besides, there is little doubt that Pythagoras the Samian lived more than a century after the time of Numa. And the supposition that Numa was instructed by another Pythagoras, a Lacedemonian, who distinguished himself at the Olympic Games, in the sixteenth Olympiad, in the third year of which† Numa was chosen king of Rome, is a mere conjecture. It is therefore most reasonable to conclude that, excepting the assistance he may be supposed to have derived from his countrymen, the Sabines, his plan of civilisation, both with respect to religion and policy, was the product of his own abilities. Livy on this subject says, ‡ “Numa possessed a mind deeply tinctured with virtue, and well furnished with good principles, not so much from foreign instruction as from the early habits of strict discipline which he had acquired among the Sabines.” It will be readily acknowledged that Numa was a great man, and a wise legislator; perhaps, as Plutarch says, superior even to the Spartan Lycurgus. But practical wisdom is not to be confounded with philosophy. The form of government established by Numa was rather the work of natural good sense, directed by virtuous principle, than the result of philosophical speculation.§

The wise discipline which Numa introduced was ill suited to the genius of the Roman people, who were more inclined to pursue the glory of conquest than to cultivate the arts of peace. So prevalent, at this time, was the military character among them, that it rendered them averse to all improvements in science, and led them to discourage every approach of philosophy, as tending to enfeeble the spirit and corrupt the manners of their youth.||

* Montfaucon, tom. i. p. i. p. 105. tab. 53.

† Before Christ 714.

‡ Hist. l. i. c. 8. 18.

§ Plut. Vit. Numæ.

|| Vidend. Lampredus de Phil. Ant. Etruscorum, Florence, 1756. Dempster ad Rosin. Ant. Rom. l. iii. c. 8. Cudworth's Intell. Syst. c. iv. sect. 25. Spon. Misc. Ant. p. 89. Montfaucon, t. i. p. i. p. 105. Spanheim. de Vest. et Prytan. Græc. t. v. Thes. Græv. Herbert, Relig. Gent. c. x. Hist. Critiq. de la Phil. tom. iii. p. 7. J. Owen, Theol. l. iii. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 2. Univers. Hist. Etrusc.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SCYTHIANS, INCLUDING THE
THRACIANS AND GETÆ.

IN our inquiry into the state of barbaric philosophy, the only country which now remains to be considered is Scythia; a general name, which formerly included all the northern parts of Asia and Europe, but which, after the Celts became a distinct people from the Scythians, was chiefly made use of to denote those northern regions which lie upon the eastern extremity of Europe, and the west of Asia. This is the country which now comes under our notice.

It is universally attested by the ancients that the Scythians, though rude and illiterate, were honest and virtuous. "No crime," says an elegant Roman historian,* "is esteemed among the Scythians more heinous than theft; for if any indulgence were given to this crime among a people, whose flocks and herds are necessarily left unguarded in the open fields, no one's property would be secure: they do not, like the rest of the world, covet gold and silver; they are contented to live upon milk and honey, and notwithstanding the rigours of their climate, make use of no other clothing than the undressed skins of beasts." Other writers confirm this account of the Scythians.† The innocence of their manners can, however, only be ascribed to their want of the means of luxury and excess. Their virtues were the natural effects of their situation, and not the fruits of cultivation and philosophy. As the writer just quoted judiciously observes, "What the Greeks could not acquire by all the learning of their wise men, and all the precepts of philosophy, was given to these barbarians by nature: of so much more efficacy, among the latter was the ignorance of vice, than among the former the knowledge of virtue." They were not, however, free from the vices of savage life: they conducted their wars with great cruelty, and they admitted human sacrifices into their religious rites. But, whatever be thought of the manners of the Scythians, to give them the appellation of philosophers would be to call a block of marble a statue.

The uncivilised state of this nation, and their roving manner of life, have permitted few particulars, either respecting their transactions or opinions, to pass down to posterity. But there can be little doubt that, like the Celtic nations who migrated from them, they acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Divinity, and the immortality of the soul. Of the former, the conversation of Anacharsis, given by Plutarch,‡ is a sufficient proof. Of the latter, the Emperor Julian, on the testimony of Trajan, gives the following account:§ "The Getæ are a most warlike people, not only through their natural strength and courage, but through the influence of an opinion taught them by Zamolxis, that after death they shall be removed to other habitations. With this persuasion, they leave the world with as little concern as they would undertake a journey. Herodotus|| relates, that they expected after death to go to Zamolxis. Pomponius Mela says;¶ "the

* Justin, l. ii. c. 2.

† Herod. l. iv. Strabo, l. vii. Q. Curtius, l. vii. c. 8. Arrian, l. iv. Lucian in Toxari.

‡ Vit. Solon. § In Cæsaribus. || L. iv. p. 280. ¶ L. ii. c. 1.

Getæ are a hardy race, always ready to meet death; but this effect is produced by different opinions: some think that the souls of the dead return to life; others, that though they do not return, they are not extinct, but pass to a happier state; whilst others have no other opinion concerning death, than that it is better than life." Hence the contempt of death, and the funeral exultations, which were common among the Thracians and Getæ.*

Several Greek writers take particular notice of the Scythian ABARIS. Jamblichus, among other idle tales, with which his life of Pythagoras abounds, mentions† Abaris as a disciple of that philosopher, and relates many wonders which he performed by means of an arrow which he received from Apollo. He also gives the particulars of a conversation which he had with Pythagoras whilst the latter was detained prisoner by Phalaris, the tyrant. But the narration is filled with so many marvellous circumstances, and chronological errors, that it deserves little credit. Of the latter we shall mention one example. It is said that, in the time of a general plague,‡ Abaris was sent from the Scythians on an embassy to the Athenians. This plague happened in the third§ Olympiad.|| Now it appears, from a learned contest between Bentley on one side, and Boyle, Dodwell, and Wotton on the other, that Phalaris (in whose presence Abaris is said to have disputed with Pythagoras) did not exercise his tyranny, at the most, longer than twenty-eight years, and that his death happened not earlier than the fourth year of the fifty-seventh Olympiad,¶ which is the opinion of Bentley, nor later than the first year of the sixty-ninth Olympiad,** which is the date fixed by Dodwell. Whence it is evident that Abaris could not have lived, both at the time of the general plague mentioned above, and during the tyranny of Phalaris.†† The time when Abaris flourished may, with some degree of probability, be fixed about the third Olympiad; and there seems little reason to doubt that, like Empedocles, Epimenides, Pythagoras, and others, he went from place to place, imposing upon the vulgar by false pretensions to supernatural powers. He passed through Greece, Italy, and many other countries, giving forth oracular predictions, pretending to heal diseases by incantation, and practising other arts of imposture.‡‡ Hence the fabulous tales concerning Abaris grew up into an entire history, written by Heraclides.§§ Some of the later Platonists, in their zeal against Christianity, collected these and other fables, and exhibited them, not without large additions from their own fertile imaginations, in opposition to the miracles of Christ. On the whole, it may be confidently concluded concerning Abaris, that he has a better title to a place among impostors than among philosophers.

Very different from this was the character of ANACHARSIS. He was of that race of Scythians who from their wandering life are called *Nomadici*. He was the brother of a Scythian prince. Having been early instructed by his mother, a native of Greece, in the Greek language, and preferring the pursuits of wisdom to those of ambition, he left his native country, in the first year of the forty-seventh Olympiad, and visited Athens.|||| Here he met with Toxaris, his countryman, who conducted him to the house of Solon, the famous Athenian legislator. When he came to the house, he desired one of the attendants to inform his master that Anacharsis, a

* Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6. † P. 116. 138. 148. ‡ Suidas et Harpocratio in Abarid.

§ B. C. 768. || Harpoc. et Suid. in Προηρόσια. ¶ B. C. 549. ** B. C. 504.

†† Conf. Bayle in Abarid. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 405.

‡‡ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. Apollon. Mirab. Hist. c. 4. Plato in Charmide. Bayle in Abar. §§ Plut. And. Poet. ||| Laert. l. i. sect. 102. Suidas, Conf. Lucian. Anach.

Scythian, was at the door, and requested to be received into the house as his guest and friend.* To this message Solon's answer was, that "friendships are best formed at home." To which Anacharsis replied, "Then let Solon, who is at home, make me his friend, and receive me into his house." Solon, struck with the smartness of the reply, admitted him as his guest, and finding him, on account of his good sense and probity, worthy of his confidence, allowed him to share his friendship. Anacharsis, on his part, became such an admirer of Solon, that he constantly associated with him till he made himself master of all the knowledge which that wise man possessed. During his residence in Athens, he was honoured with the privilege of citizenship, an honour never before conferred upon a barbarian.†

After the death of Solon, Anacharsis travelled through a great part of the world in search of wisdom, and at last returned into his own country, probably with the hope of communicating to his countrymen the wisdom he had acquired in Greece. But they were too much attached to their old opinions and customs to endure with patience the bold attempts which he made to introduce among them the institutions and manners of the Greeks. As he was one day hunting, an arrow, sent, some say, from the hand of his brother, put an end to his life. He lamented with his last breath the jealousy and folly of his countrymen, who would not suffer one wiser than themselves to live among them.

Anacharsis was famous for a manly and nervous kind of language, which was called, from his country, Scythian eloquence. He is said to have invented the anchor and the potter's wheel; but these instruments were known before his time; perhaps he first introduced the use of them among the Scythians.‡ Among many other ingenious sayings, ascribed by Laertius to Anacharsis, are the following: Being asked by what means a man addicted to intemperance might be taught sobriety, he replied, by placing before his eyes a drunken man. The vine, he said, bears three kinds of fruit; the first, pleasure; the second, intoxication; the third, remorse. An Athenian of infamous character upbraiding him with being a Scythian, he said; "My country is indeed a disgrace to me, but you are a disgrace to your country." The epistles which bear his name were probably produced at a later period in the school of the Sophists.

At the same time with Anacharsis flourished TOXARIS, who, from an impatient thirst after knowledge, left his wife and children in Scythia, and went to reside at Athens. Here he became acquainted with Solon, and other wise men, and made himself master of all the learning which the times would afford. He studied the art of medicine, and for many years practised it with great reputation in Athens, where he ended his days. His desire of wisdom, his candid temper, and the sobriety of his manners, procured him general esteem. After his death, he was honoured with a sepulchral monument and statue; and superstition ascribed a healing virtue even to his tomb.§

But the most celebrated name among the Scythians was ZAMOLXIS, whom many represent, not only as the father of wisdom with respect to the Scythians, but as the teacher of the doctrines of immortality and transmigration to the Celtic Druids, and to Pythagoras.|| Others suppose him to have been a servant of Pythagoras, who, after having attended him into Egypt, obtained his manumission, and taught his master's doctrine among

* Plutarch. Vit. Solon, init. † Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 308.

‡ Laert. Suidas, Anach. Strabo, l. vii. Senec. Ep. 90.

§ Lucian. in Toxari; Scyth. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. xiii. p. 438.

|| Origen, Philos. c. 25. p. 170. Suidas, Zamolx. Strabo, l. vii.

the Getæ. But there can be no doubt that the doctrine of immortality was known to the northern nations long before the time of Pythagoras; and Herodotus, mentioning a common tradition, that Zamolxis was a Pythagorean, expressly says* that he flourished at a much earlier period than Pythagoras. The whole story of the connexion of Zamolxis with Pythagoras seems to have been invented by the Pythagoreans to advance the fame of their master. From the general testimony of the ancients it appears, that Zamolxis was a Thracian, who in a very remote period taught the Scythians the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; whose name they, after his death, enrolled among the divinities, and with whom they assured themselves that they should dwell in the invisible world. Herodotus relates, that, on certain festal solemnities, they chose by lot several persons, who were to be sent as messengers to Zamolxis, and that they put them to death, by throwing them up into the air, and catching them, as they fell, upon the points of their spears; a story which is the more credible, as it is well known that the practice of offering human sacrifices prevailed among the Scythians and Thracians.†

These particulars concerning the Scythians are sufficient to prove that their wisdom was rather practical than speculative, consistent with rude manners, and adapted to the military character.

From all that we have been able to collect concerning the state of knowledge in the several nations which have passed under our notice, we must conclude that the barbaric philosophy was very different, in its leading characters, from the philosophy afterwards studied and taught among the Greeks. It was indeed employed upon important subjects, both divine and human; but instead of investigating truth from clear principles, and by legitimate methods of reasoning, it relied chiefly upon tradition, and gave its simple and easy assent to doctrines and fables transmitted to posterity by the priests.

In the midst of every appearance of ignorance, superstition, and imposture, it is, however, an important fact, that the doctrines of a Supreme Deity, and the immortality of the soul, were universally received. “Who does not admire (says Ælian‡) the wisdom of the barbarians, none of whom ever fell into the atheistical absurdities of Eumerus, Diagoras, Epicurus, and other philosophers? No Indian, Celt, or Egyptian, ever questioned whether there were gods, or whether they concerned themselves in the affairs of men.§

* L. iv. c. 95.

† Laert. l. viii. sect. 2. Julian in Cæsaribus. Jambl. Vit. Pyth. p. 146.

‡ Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 31.

§ Vidend. Rudbeck in Atlantid. p. 62. Voss. de Sect. Phil. c. 3. sect. 1. Jornandes de Rebus Geticis. Cluverius, Germ. Ant. l. i. c. 32. Burnet. Arch. l. i. c. 2.

BOOK II.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE FABULOUS PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS.

FROM the barbaric nations, we now pass on to the Greeks; a people distinguished, almost from the infancy of their civilisation, by the pursuit of wisdom and learning; among whom, after they had received the elements of knowledge from barbarians, philosophy found a settled habitation.

Greece was first civilised by colonies from Egypt, Phœnicia, Thrace, and other countries. These were under the government of wise men, who not only subdued the ferocity of an ignorant populace by civil institutions, but cast about them the strong chain of religion, and the fear of the gods. Whatever dogmas they had been taught, in their respective countries, concerning things divine and human, they delivered to these new-formed societies, with the design of bringing them under the restraint of virtuous discipline. Hence the aspect of sacred philosophy was very different in different parts of Greece. Phoroneus and Cecrops being Egyptians,* Cadmus a Phœnician, and Orpheus a Thracian,† each of these would, of course, bring into Greece, with their several colonies, the religious and philosophical tenets of their respective nations, and thus lay the foundation of diversity of opinion.

The practice of delivering the doctrines of religion to the people under the disguise of fable, which universally prevailed in Egypt, and was not unknown to the Phœnicians, Thracians, and other barbarous nations, was introduced among the Greeks by the first founders of their states. They had seen the effect of this mode of instruction in countries already settled, and they judged it particularly suitable to the design of bringing new-formed states under the yoke of authority. "It was not possible," says Strabo,‡ "to lead a promiscuous multitude to religion and virtue by philosophical harangues; this could only be effected by the aid of superstition, by prodigies and fables. The thunderbolt, the ægis, the trident, the spear, torches and snakes, were the instruments made use of by the founders of states to terrify the ignorant vulgar into subjection."

That the first authors of the Grecian fables meant them as vehicles of instruction, cannot be doubted.§ But it is now become exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable, to decipher their meaning. And it will be easily perceived that this must be the case, by any one who recollects how imperfectly we are acquainted with the history, opinions, manners, and other circumstances of the times when the Grecian mythology was formed, and from what

* Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gent. p. 28. Herod. l. ii. Pausanias in Arcad. Euseb. in Chron.

† Aristoph. in Ranis. Eurip. in Rhæso. Nonni Collect. i. ad calc. Nazianz.

‡ L. i. § Verulam, de Sap. Vet. Præf.

a variety of sources it was derived.* Of these the two principal were the custom† of ranking public benefactors, after their death, among the gods; and the practice‡ of applying allegories and fables to natural objects and appearances. The origin of the world, and the production of natural bodies, were very early clothed in fable, in the cosmogonies of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Thracians, and other nations: and these were afterwards imitated by the Greeks.

Another custom, which has very much contributed to cast a veil of obscurity over the fabulous philosophy of the Greeks, is that, which in early times prevailed among them, of giving their mythological doctrines a poetical dress. These were commonly chosen as subjects of verse, and every poet enlarged and moulded the ancient fables according to the fertility or luxuriancy of his own fancy; so that they were not only increased from time to time without limit, but, in many particulars, so materially altered, that their original features could scarcely be perceived.

The fabulous philosophy of the Greeks being, from these and other causes, involved in great obscurity, we shall pass with all possible expedition through this dark and unprofitable region; leaving the solution of those mythological enigmas, which have so long amused the learned, to more fertile imaginations.

The first of the Greeks, who is said to have taught philosophy and the arts, is PROMETHEUS. It is unnecessary to repeat his well-known story.§ Various conjectures have been framed concerning it. Some have imagined, that in the person and fable of Prometheus they have found the history of Adam; others have applied them to Noah; others to Moses:¶ they might, with as much appearance of probability, have applied them to the Chinese Fohi. Perhaps the truth is, that Prometheus was an Egyptian, or a Scythian, who instructed the Greeks in several necessary arts, particularly in the use of fire for the purpose of melting metals, and who afterwards suffering captivity, was rescued by Hercules.¶ This account of the fable is at least as probable as those of philosophical explanations, which suppose a kind of refinement, unknown at the early period when this fable was first received.

LINUS, who lived before the time of Homer, is celebrated among the first authors of Grecian verse, and is said to have invented Lyric poetry. He wrote a cosmogony, the beginning of which is preserved by Laertius.** He was an eminent master of music and verse, and is said to have instructed Hercules, Thamyris, and Orpheus.

ORPHEUS, the most celebrated of all the Greeks in the fabulous ages, distinguished himself as a teacher of religion and philosophy. His name is as illustrious among the Greeks, as that of Zoroaster among the Persians, of Buddas among the Indians, or of Thoth, or Hermes, among the Egyptians. But we cannot rely with certainty upon the remaining records of his life and opinions; for it has happened to Orpheus, as to many other wise men of antiquity, that spurious writings have been ascribed to him, and modern tenets have been obtruded upon the world under the sanction

* Vid. Bochart, Geogr. Sac. Clerici Not. ad Hesiodum.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. 17.

‡ Dionys. Halic. Antiq. l. i.

§ Hesiod. Oper. v. 46. Theog. v. 520. Ovid, Met. l. i. Natalis Comes Mythol.

l. iv. c. 6.

¶ Huetti Dem. Ev. pr. iv. c. 8. sect. 7. Bochart, Geog. l. i. c. 2. Fabricii Cod. Ps. t. i. 261.

¶ Conf. Æschyli Prometh. Vincit. Natalis Comes, p. 328. Herod.

** L. i. sect. 4. Sextus Emp. adv. Math. l. i. sect. 204. Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 140. Suidas. Pausan. in Bœoticis, p. 767.

of his name.* It has even been questioned whether Orpheus ever existed. Cicero asserts,† on the authority of Aristotle, that there was no such person as the poet Orpheus. But no passage of this kind is at present to be found in the works of Aristotle; and the opinion is contradicted by the general testimony of the ancients, who relate, that Orpheus was a native of Thrace, who flourished before the Trojan war, and passed the greater part of his life in Greece.‡

Diodorus Siculus relates,§ that, “having been instructed in the religious tenets and ceremonies of his own country, he travelled into Egypt, where he acquired a knowledge of the mysteries of religion, and became an eminent master of philosophy, poetry, and music.” Thus qualified, he came among the Greeks, who were at that time a rude and unenlightened people, and by the united powers of poetry, religion, and philosophy, civilised their manners. Such were the wonderful effects produced by his genius and wisdom, that, in the language of fable, his music is said to have captivated the attention of birds and beasts, and even to have commanded rocks, woods, and rivers :

Quem Deum, cujus recinet jocosa
Nomen imago,
Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris,
Aut super Pindo, gelidove in Hæmo,
Unde vocalem temere insecutæ
Orphea sylvæ,
Arte materna rapidos morantem
Fluminum cursus, celeresque ventos,
Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere quercus.|| (a)

Orpheus is said to have improved the lyre, by increasing the number of its strings from four to seven. To him also is ascribed the invention of hexameter verse.¶ He, doubtless, excelled in poetry of various kinds, but it is justly questioned whether he committed any of his verses to writing. He possessed great skill in the art of medicine. Perhaps this circumstance may serve to explain the fable of his recalling his wife Eurydice from hell.** The particulars of his death are variously related by different writers; but it is generally agreed that he died by violent means.†† After his death he was ranked among the divinities.

The instruments which Orpheus made use of, in governing and instructing the ignorant Greeks, were poetry, music, medicine, magic, and astrology, which he had learned in Egypt.‡‡ Having been accustomed, both

* Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 110.

† De Nat. Deor. l. i.

‡ Diod. Sic. l. iv. c. 25. Plato de Rep. l. x.

§ Ibid.

|| Hor. Carm. l. i. Od. xii.

(a) ——— What God, whose hallow'd name
The sportive image of the voice
Shall through the shades of Helicon resound,
On Pindus, or on Hæmus ever cool,
From whence the forests, in confusion wild,
To vocal Orpheus urged their way;
Who by his mother's art, harmonious muse,
With soft delay could stop the falling streams,
And winged winds, with strings of concert sweet,
Powerful the list'ning oaks to lead. FRANCIS.

¶ Antipat. Sidonii Anthol. l. iii. p. 388. Pausan. Eliac. p. 505. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxv. c. 2.

** Virg. Georg. iv.

†† Pausan. in Bæotic. p. 586. Eliac. l. c. Ovid, Metam. l. x. v. 83. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 130.

‡‡ Lucian. Astrol.

here and in his own country, to the allegorical mode of instruction, he communicated to them the doctrines of religion in a mythological form. He was probably the author of the Eleusinian and Panathænean mysteries, and other religious institutions. It seems to have been owing to the circumstance of his being a Thracian that the Grecian rites of religion were called *Θρησκεία*.*

There were many ancient poems which bore the name of Orpheus, but it is much disputed whether they were really his. Aristotle† speaks doubtfully of these poems, as *commonly ascribed* to Orpheus. Hesiod and Homer are called by Herodotus the oldest Greek poets. Cicero and some other writers expressly ascribe them to some philosophers of the Pythagorean school.‡ On the other side, Plato§ cites verses from Orpheus, and even Cicero|| speaks of Orpheus as one of the ancient poets. Diodorus Siculus¶ affirms Orpheus to have been the author of an excellent poem; and several Christian fathers mention a work called *Ἱερὸς Λόγος*, or the Sacred Word, which was written by some follower of Pythagoras, and founded upon traditionary doctrines of Orpheus. All that can be concluded with probability is,** that before the time of Herodotus there were verses which were ascribed to Orpheus, but which were probably not written by himself, but collected after his time from traditionary remains of his doctrine and poems. Of these ancient Orphic verses we have several fragments preserved in the writings of Eusebius,†† Cedrenus,‡‡ Clemens Alexandrinus,§§ Proclus,||| and Apuleius;¶¶ besides which there are others, which bear evident marks of forgery. The Orphic fragments have been collected by Eschenbach, in a treatise, entitled *De Poesi Orphica****. As these fragments are almost the only sources of our information concerning the doctrine of Orpheus, we shall quote the following specimens:

Τῦνεκα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη
Αἰθέρος εὐρείης ἥδ' οὐρανοῦ ἄγλαον ὕψος,
Πόντου τ' ἀπρυγέτου, γαίης τ' ἐρικυδέος εὐρῆς
ᾠκεανὸς τε μέγας, καὶ νείατα Τάρταρα γαίης,
καὶ ποταμὸς, καὶ πόντος ἀπείρετος ἄλλα τε πάντα,
πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοί, ἥδ' ἐθέαιναι,
"Ὅσσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα, καὶ ὕστερον ὀππὸς" ἔμελλεν
Ἐγένετο· Ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σὺρ ῥα πεφύκει.†††

"Wherefore, belonging to the universe, were, within Jupiter, the glorious height of the spacious ethereal heaven; the wide extent of the unsubdued sea and magnificent earth; the vast ocean, the profound Tartarus, the rivers and fountains, and all other things, together with the happy immortals, both male and female: whatever has been, or will be, is produced within Jupiter."

In the book *De Mundo*, translated by Apuleius, we have these lines:

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέρανος,
Ζεὺς κεφαλῇ, Ζεὺς μέσσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
Ζεὺς ἄρσιν γένητο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·
Ζεὺς πύθμην γαίης τὰ καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
Ζεὺς πρὸς πάντων· Ζεὺς ἀκάματα πυρρὸς ὁρμῇ·
Ζεὺς πόνου ῥίζα· Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἥδ' ἐσελλήνη·
Ζεὺς βασιλεύς· Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος·
Ἐν κράτος εἰς Δαίμων γένητο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων·
Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς τὰδε σῶματι κείται.

* Suidas. Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 567. Casaubon. Exerc. Antibar. xvi. p. 391. Burnet, Archæol. Phil. c. ix. † De anima. ‡ Nat. D. l. i. Suidas.

§ De Legibus, l. viii. || Ib. l. ii. ¶ L. iii. c. 25.

** Fab. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 120. †† Prep. l. iii. c. 9. xiii. 12, et Chron.

‡‡ Chron. p. 46. §§ Strom. l. v. p. 549. ||| In Timæum, p. 95.

¶¶ De Mundo. *** Traject. 1689, 120. ††† Proclus in Timæum, p. 95.

"Jupiter, the lofty thunderer, is the first, and the last, and the middle; all things proceed from him : the immortal Jupiter is both male and female : the spacious earth and starry heavens are Jupiter : Jupiter is the breath of all things, the irresistible energy of fire, and the source of the sea : Jupiter is king ; he is the parent of all : there is one power, one divinity, one ruler of all ; for all things are contained within the vast body of Jupiter."

Again,

Πάντα τὰδε κρύψας, αὐθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθὲς
Μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν, πολυθέσκελα βέζων.*

"Hiding all things within himself, he at length sent forth divine productions from his bosom into the cheerful light."

From these and other fragments of Orpheus, the following summary of the Orphic doctrine concerning God and nature may be deduced :—

God, from all eternity, contained within himself the unformed principles of the material world, and consisted of a compound nature, active and passive.† By the energy of the active principle, he sent forth from himself, at the commencement of a certain finite period, all material and spiritual beings, which partake, in different degrees, of the Divine nature. All beings, proceeding originally from God, will after certain purgations return to him. The universe itself will be destroyed by fire, and afterwards renewed.‡

An Orphic fragment is preserved by Athenagoras, § in which the formation of the world is represented under the emblem of an egg, formed by the union of Night, Chaos, and Ether, which at length burst, and disclosed the forms of nature. The meaning of this allegory probably is, that by the energy of the Divine active principle upon the eternal mass of passive matter, the visible world was produced. ||

Some writers have ascribed to Orpheus the doctrine since maintained by Spinoza, which confounds the Deity with the universe, making him the τὸ Πᾶν. ¶ But the doctrine of emanation, which supposes that the principles of all things were originally in God, and at length flowed from him, is consonant to the general tenor of the Orphic fragments, and is the more likely to have been the real doctrine of Orpheus, as it prevailed, in the most remote times, through the East, and passed thence, as we have already shown, to the north.

The human soul Orpheus, after the Thracians and Egyptians, from whom he derived his philosophy, held to be immortal. Diodorus Siculus relates,** that he was the first who taught (that is among the Greeks) the doctrine of the future punishment of the wicked, and the future happiness of the good. That this doctrine was commonly received among the followers of Orpheus appears from the following anecdote :—A priest of Orpheus, who was exceedingly poor and wretched, boasting to Philip of Macedon that all who were admitted into the Orphic mysteries would be happy after death, Philip said to him, "Why then do not you immediately die, and put an end to your poverty and misery?"—The planets and the moon, Orpheus conceived to be habitable worlds, and the stars to be fiery bodies like the sun : he taught that they are animated by divinities ; an opinion which had been commonly received in the East, and which was afterwards adopted by the Pythagoreans, and other Grecian philosophers. ††

* Proclus in Timæum, p. 95.

† Ἀρρενόθην.

‡ Plut. Defect. Orac. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 549. Proclus in Tim. l. ii. p. 49.

§ Legat. pro Christ. p. 18. ed Par. || Plut. Quæst. Conv. l. ii.

¶ See Cudworth's Intell. Syst. b. iv. c. 17. ** L. i. p. 86.

†† Plut. Placit. Phil. l. ii. c. 13. Procl. in Tim. l. iv. p. 283. Suidas in Orph. Stobæus, l. Cant. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 132. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 549.

Among the disciples of Orpheus, the most celebrated is MUSÆUS,* an Athenian philosopher and poet. He continued, and improved, the mysterious rites of religion which Orpheus had introduced, and wrote poems concerning the gods and nature, of which, however, there are no remains. Laertius says,† that he made the first sphere; but he was probably misled by the title of a poem said to have been written by Musæus *De Sphæra*. The doctrine which he taught was, that all things are produced from one, and shall be resolved into the same; an Orphic doctrine, which is the first principle of the system of emanation, and the foundation of all the ancient theogonies. Musæus died at Phaleræ; and the Athenians honoured him with a sepulchral monument. His son EUMOLPUS, following his steps, wrote concerning the mysteries of Ceres. THAMYRIS and AMPHION were, at this period, famous for their skill in music and poetry.‡ The latter, after the example of Orpheus, employed the united powers of music and philosophy in civilising the Thebans:

Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
Cædibus et victu fædo deterruit Orpheus;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones:
Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis,
Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda
Ducere quo vellet. Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis;
Concubitu prohibere vago; dare jura maritis;
Oppida moliri; leges incidere ligno;
Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit. (a)

Not inferior to Amphion in fame was MELAMPUS,§ an Argive, who flourished before the Trojan war. Having learned from the Phœnicians and Egyptians, who were settled in Greece, their religious tenets and mysteries, he taught them to his countrymen. He instructed them in augury, and other arts of divination. He was also famous for his medical skill; and in the practice of this art, after the usual manner of the ancients, made use of magical incantations. After his death, his memory was honoured with an annual festival.||

Besides the writers already enumerated, who have treated of the origin of the world, and of the nature and genealogy of the gods, there are several others, whose works are now lost. Of the ancient theogonies which remain, the most celebrated is that of Hesiod.¶ This poem treats of the origin and descent of the gods; or rather, under the allegorical dress of theogony, represents the formation of the world, and the history of eminent men. The plan of this work is intricate and confused. The

* Suidas.

† L. i. sect. 3.

‡ Hor. Carm. xi. 2.

(a) Hor. Ars. Poet. v. 391.

The wood-born race of men when Orpheus tamed,
From acorns and from mutual blood reclaim'd,
This priest divine was fabled to assuage
The tiger's fierceness, and the lion's rage.
Thus rose the Theban wall; Amphion's lyre,
And soothing voice, the list'ning stones inspire.
Poetic wisdom mark'd, with happy mean,
Public and private, sacred and profane;
The wand'ring joys of lawless love suppress'd;
With equal rites the bond of Hymen bless'd;
Plann'd future towns, and instituted laws;
So verse became divine, and poets gain'd applause. FRANCIS.

§ Suidas. Herodot. l. ii. c. 49. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 96.

|| Pausan. l. i. in fin. viii. p. 253. Cic. de Leg. l. ii.

¶ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 36.

writer seems to have made use of several different theogonies, and to have blended them together with little regard to consistency. He also frequently adds, for the sake of poetical ornament, fictions of his own, which have no relation to the origin and history of the world. Aristophanes, in his comedy of *The Birds*,* has introduced a description of the formation of the world, which he doubtless borrowed from the ancient theogonies; but it is too defective, and applied to too ludicrous a purpose, to deserve much attention.

All the theogonies make an eternal Chaos the origin of all things.

Ante mare et terras, et, quod tegit omnia cælum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos; rudis indigestaque moles,
Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners; congestaque eodem
Non bene juncturam discordia semina rerum. †(a)

By Chaos some writers ‡ understand water, and make this the first material principle; but this must not be understood of one of the four elements, but of an heterogeneous mass, containing all the seeds of nature. The idea of Chaos and Night, divested of poetical imagery, is simply that of unformed matter, eternally existing as the passive principle whence all forms are produced. Whether, besides this chaotic mass, the ancient theogonies suppose an infinite, active, intelligent principle, who from the first matter formed the universe, is a question which has occasioned much debate. It is evident, upon the most cursory review of the ancient theogonies, that God, the great Creator of all things, is not expressly introduced; but it is doubted whether the writers meant to exclude him from their system, or indirectly to suppose his existence, and the exertion of his power in giving motion to matter.

The question admits of various suppositions, which, in order to arrive at the solution, must be carefully distinguished. It is to be considered, whether the theogonists supposed God to have existed before Chaos, and to have created it from nothing; or thought him to have sprung from a pre-existing Chaos; or conceived God and matter to have been two co-existing and independent principles; whether they imagined God to have been the soul of nature, informing the eternal mass of matter; or were of opinion, that God sent forth matter as an emanation from himself; if the latter, whether this emanation was the effect of necessity, or of a free act of volition; whether it was from all eternity, or began at some limited period of duration. It must also be inquired, whether, according to the doctrine of the theogonies, a divine mind interposed in the formation of the world, or the effect was produced by the necessary laws of motion acting upon homogeneous and heterogeneous portions of matter. If the latter of these was their doctrine, it is to be farther considered, whether it necessarily follows that they denied the existence of God, or whether it may not be supposed that neglecting all consideration of deity, they only endeavoured to explain the physical formation of the world by laws originally impressed upon matter by the Author of nature.

The theogonies certainly do not suppose God to have been prior in the order of time to matter: they speak of Chaos as eternal, and seem to have been wholly unacquainted with the doctrine of creation from nothing. But, on

* Ver. 694. &c.

† Ovid. Met. l. i. v. 5.

(a) Ere sea and earth, and heaven's high canopy
Were form'd, great nature's face was one;
A lifeless, rude, and undigested mass
Of jarring seeds in one wild chaos lay.

‡ Cudworth, c. i. sect. 22.

the other hand, they never suppose the Deity to be derived from Chaos; for Jupiter is not to be confounded with the Supreme Being, but merely to be considered as the chief of those inferior divinities, who, according to the Grecian theology, were either portions of the Divinity, inhabiting and animating parts of nature, or departed spirits of heroes and illustrious men, exalted to divine honours. There is no sufficient proof that Orpheus, Hesiod, or any other Grecian cosmogonist, supposed two independent principles in nature; for, though they ascribe the origin of evil to Chaos, they might, nevertheless, be of opinion, as we shall find to have been the case with many later philosophers, that matter is derived from God.

Some have supposed,* that by Love, Hesiod, and the other theogonists, meant the soul or animating principle in the universe. But it is a sufficient refutation of this opinion to remark, that they suppose this divinity derived from Chaos, in common with others. By Love, they probably understood that attractive principle in nature by which homogeneous bodies are united. To this principle they poetically ascribed the attributes of reason and wisdom, to intimate, that in the formation of the world all things were constituted by harmonious laws.

There were, perhaps, different opinions among the ancient cosmogonists concerning the first cause of nature. Some might, possibly, ascribe the origin of all things to a generating force, destitute of thought, which they conceived to be inherent in matter, without looking to any higher principle. But it is probable that the general opinion among them was that which had prevailed among the Egyptians and in the East, and was communicated by tradition to the Greeks, that matter, or chaos, existed eternally with God, and that by the divine energy of emanation material forms were sent forth from him, and the visible world arose into existence. This principle being admitted, the whole system of the ancient theogonies appears consistent, and a satisfactory explanation may be given of most of the Grecian fables. Upon this supposition, the sum of the doctrine of the theogonies, divested of allegory and poetry, will be as follows:

The first matter, containing the seeds of all future being, existed from eternity with God. At length, the divine energy upon matter produced a motion among its parts, by which those of the same kind were brought together, and those of a different kind were separated, and by which, according to certain wise laws, the various forms of the material world were produced. The same energy of emanation gave existence to animals and men, and to gods who inhabit the heavenly bodies, and various other parts of nature. Among men, those who possess a larger portion of the divine nature than others are hereby impelled to great and beneficent actions, and afford illustrious proofs of their divine original, on account of which they are after death raised to a place among the gods, and become objects of religious worship.

Upon the basis of these notions, it is easy to conceive that the whole mythological system, and all the religious rites and mysteries of the Greeks, might be founded.

Before we take our leave of the writers of Greek fables, we must add a few words concerning Epimenides and Homer.

EPIMENIDES was a Cretan,† of whom many marvellous fables are related. It is said, that going by his father's order, in search of a sheep, he laid himself down in a cave, where he fell asleep, and slept for fifty years. Another idle story told of this Cretan is, that he had a power of sending

* Cudworth, book i. c. 3. sect. 18.

† Laert. l. i. sect. 109. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 13. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 52. Suidas,

his soul out of his body, and recalling it at pleasure. It is added, that he had familiar intercourse with the gods, and possessed the powers of prophecy. During a plague in Attica, the Athenians sent for him to perform a sacred lustration, in consequence of which, it is said, that the gods were appeased, and the plague ceased. He is reported to have lived, after his return to Crete, to the age of 157 years.* We probably owe most of these tales to the Cretans, who were, to a proverb, famous for their powers of invention.† All that is credible concerning Epimenides is, that he was a man of superior talents, who pretended to intercourse with the gods, and, to support his pretensions, lived in retirement upon the spontaneous productions of the earth, and practised various arts of imposture. Perhaps, in his hours of pretended inspiration, he had the art of appearing totally insensible and entranced, which would easily be mistaken, by ignorant spectators, for a power of dismissing and recalling his spirit. Solon, in whose time the lustration above mentioned was performed, seems to have been no stranger to the true character of Epimenides; for we find that he greatly disapproved of the conduct of the Athenians in employing him to perform this ceremony. Divine honours were paid him, after his death, by the superstitious Cretans. He has no other claim to be mentioned among philosophers, except that he wrote a theogony, and other poems concerning religious mysteries.‡

The immortal HOMER flourished before any other poet whose writings are now extant. The time of his birth, after all that has been written to ascertain it, is still disputed. It is probable that he lived about 900 years before the Christian era.§ Many cities and countries have contended for the honour of having given birth to this illustrious genius, which Varro has brought together into the following verse :

Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamin, Chius, Argus, Athenæ.

Homer passed a wandering life, reciting his verses at public and private festivals. His writings have come down to the present time entire. His Iliad and Odyssey are the eternal monuments of his fame. Besides these, the *Batrachomyomachia*, or Battles of the Frogs and Mice, and several hymns, are commonly ascribed to him.|| It was customary among the Greeks for certain persons, who from their employment were called Rhapsodists, to recite verses, chiefly those of Homer, at festivals, and in the public theatres, holding in their hand a branch of laurel.¶ These recitations were not intended merely for amusement, but for the purpose of disseminating principles of wisdom and virtue. It was for this reason that the celebrated legislators, Lycurgus and Solon, encouraged these public recitals, and that, in many cities, statues of Homer were erected, and divine honours were paid to his memory.

Without detailing the extravagant encomiums passed upon Homer by some of his panegyrists, who have supposed him a perfect master of sciences and arts, and called him the prince of philosophers; and, without adopting the fanciful notion of Justin Martyr, who supposed that Homer borrowed many things from Moses, and found, in his poems, the creation of the world, the tower of Babel, and the devils cast out of heaven, it must be allowed that he possessed as much knowledge as was to be expected from

* Plut. Solon. et anseni, &c. Pausanias in Att. p. 35. Plato de Leg. l. ii. p. 642. Strabo, l. x. 479.

† Titus i. 12.

‡ Plut. Conv. Sept. Aristot. Rhet. l. iii. c. 17.

§ Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 11. 21. Suidas. Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 327.

|| Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 253. Kuster, Hist. Hom. Francf. 1696.

¶ Suidas. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. 12. c. 48. Cuperi Diss. Hom. Amst. 1683.

an individual at the period in which he lived. But his works were written merely as a display of poetical genius, without any design of delivering precepts of religion, philosophy, or the arts, farther than as they incidentally arose from his subject. Nothing therefore can be more absurd than the attempts of some critics, who have possessed more learning and science than taste, to rest the merit of Homer upon the extent of his knowledge. An ancient encomiast* upon Homer proves him to have possessed a perfect knowledge of nature, and to have been the author of the doctrine of Thales and Xenophanes, that water is the first principle of all things, from his having called Oceanus the parent of nature; and infers that he was acquainted with Empedocles' doctrine of friendship and discord, from the visit which Juno pays to Oceanus and Thetis to settle their dispute: because Homer represents Neptune as shaking the earth, he concludes him to have been well acquainted with the causes of earthquakes; and because he speaks of the Great Bear as never touching the horizon, he makes him an eminent astronomer.

The truth is, the knowledge of nature, which poetry describes, is very different from that which belongs to the philosopher. It would be easy to prove, from the beautiful similes of Homer, that he was an accurate observer of natural appearances; and to show from his delineation of characters, that he was intimately acquainted with human nature. But he is not, on this account, to be ranked with natural philosophers or moralists. Much pains have been taken to prove that Homer expresses just and sublime conceptions of the Divine nature. And it will be acknowledged, that in some passages he speaks of Jupiter in language which may not improperly be applied to the Supreme Deity. But, if the whole fable of Jupiter, as it is represented in Homer, be fairly examined, it will be very evident, either that he had not just conceptions of the Divine nature, or that he did not mean to express them in the portrait which he has drawn of the son of Saturn, the husband of Juno, and the president of the council of Olympus. It would surely have been too great a monopoly of perfection, if the first poet in the world had also been the first philosopher.†

CHAPTER II.

OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEKS.

IN what manner poetry, music, and fable, were employed for the purposes of civilisation, at the period when Greece was first peopled, has been already shown.

One principal end of the religious rites and mysteries, which the first

* Galæi Opusc. Mythol. p. 283.

† Vidend. Burnet, Arch. 1. i. c. 9. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 14. Budd. Ann. Phil. Diss. ii. Eschenbach, in Epigeni de Poesi Orph. H. Steph. Poes. Phil. Fragm. Huet. Dem. p. iv. c. 8. Nat. Com. 1. iv. c. 6. Rhodigen. Lect. vii. Steuchus Eugbin. de Peren. Phil. 1. ix. Bochart, G. Sac. p. i. l. i. c. 2. Buddæi Obs. Hal. t. vi. Obs. 29. Borrich. de Poet. Diss. Lambec. Prod. p. 168. Naudæi Apolog. c. 9. Potter, Arch. Gr. 1. ii. p. 246. Malala, Hist. Chron. p. 88. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs. t. iv. c. 4. Warb. Div. Leg. 1. ii. sect. 4. Petit. Obs. Misc. c. xii. Clerici Hist. Med. p. i. l. ii. Cuper. de Consecr. Homer. Amst. 1683. Kuster, Hom. Hist. Cr. 1696. Dodwell. de Cyclis Græc. Diss. 3. Le Clerc, Bib. Chois. t. xxii. p. 244. Stollii Diss. de Hom. Rechenberg de Theol. Hom. Lips. 1679.

founders of the Grecian states introduced, was, unquestionably, the support of civil authority; and the management of the affairs of religion, and of those of government, were, at first, in the same hands. But afterwards, in the more settled state of society, religion was so far separated from policy, that its doctrines and ceremonies were committed to the charge of priests; and the institution of laws, and the regulation of manners, were entrusted to men, whose superior wisdom and public spirit qualified them for the offices of legislation and magistracy. Those who, at this period, took the charge of public affairs, served their country not only by instituting wise and salutary laws, but by exhibiting an example of virtuous manners, and by inculcating, in their daily conversations, useful maxims and precepts of morals. On these accounts they obtained the appellation of Wise Men. In treating of the philosophy of this period, which may properly be called the Political Philosophy of Greece, we are, then, to consider, not the refined speculations of contemplative minds, but the practical wisdom of men employed in active life.

Among the numerous legislators of *Greece* (under which appellation is included, on account of the Grecian colonies that settled there, the eastern side of Italy, since called *Magna Grecia*) one of those, who first distinguished themselves by their wisdom and authority, was ZALEUCUS, the founder of the Locrian state. He was of obscure birth, and in his youth lived in servitude, in the capacity of a shepherd. But his extraordinary abilities and merit obtained him his freedom, and, at length, raised him to the government. The laws which he framed were severe; but they were so well adapted to the situation and manners of the Locrians, that their constitution was, for several ages, highly celebrated.* So rigorous was the discipline of Zaleucus, that he prohibited the use of wine, except in cases where it was prescribed as a medicine, and ordained that adulterers should be punished with the loss of their eyes.† When his own son had subjected himself to this penalty, in order at the same time to preserve the authority of the laws, and show some degree of paternal lenity, he shared the punishment with the offender, and, that he might only be deprived of one eye, submitted to lose one of his own.‡

The first legislator of Athens was TRIPTOLEMUS, who pretended to have received his laws from Ceres. These becoming obsolete, or being found insufficient for the regulation of the state, DRACO, about the thirty-ninth Olympiad, instituted a new code of laws, so exceedingly rigorous, that they were said to have been written with blood.§ The severity of this discipline was afterwards, in some measure, relaxed by SOLON, who, in the forty-sixth Olympiad, on the basis of the Egyptian and Cretan laws, framed an entirely new constitution, to which Athens was principally indebted for its subsequent glory.||

The republic of Sparta was established about the beginning of the Olympiads, by the celebrated legislator LYCURGUS. His institutions were chiefly adapted to cherish those hardy virtues which form the military character. He committed no laws to writing, but issued them forth, as the edicts of Apollo, from the oracle at Delphos, to be committed to memory,

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 309. Suidas. Valer. Max. l. ii. and vi. 259. Diod. Sic. l. xii. p. 84. Laert. l. viii. sect. 16. Senec. Ep. 90. Strabo, l. vi. p. 259.

† Athenæus, l. x. p. 429. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 37.

‡ Ib. c. 24. Stobæi Serm. 39.

§ Porphyry, de Abstin. l. iv. p. 431. Plutarch in Solon. Aristot. Polit. l. ii. c. 10. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23.

|| Plut. et Laert. Solon. Fabr. B. Gr. v. i. p. 528.

and to be carried into execution by the regal power; a device, which not only served to establish their authority, but gave the magistrate an easy opportunity of making such future alterations or additions, as the state of public affairs might require. The laws of Lycurgus were delivered in verse, accompanied with music, by Thales the Cretan, Tyrtæus, Terpander, and others.*

Both Solon and Lycurgus derived great assistance, in their political institutions, from the laws of Crete, which were instituted by Rhadamanthus and Minos, two illustrious legislators, who pretended to have received their laws from Jupiter. Near the chief city of Crete were the caverns of Ida, sacred to Jove and other divinities, where the Cretan lawgivers and priests were supposed to receive instructions from the gods.†

Next to the early legislators of Greece, the praise of civil and moral wisdom is ascribed to several eminent men, commonly known by the name of the SEVEN WISE MEN OF GREECE. Their history, which was probably, at first, plain and simple, has been rendered obscure and uncertain by traditional reports. The incident which first gave occasion to the appellation is thus related.

In the third year of the forty-ninth Olympiad, it happened that certain youths of Ionia, purchasing from a fisherman of Miletus a large draught of fish, which he had brought to shore, found in the net a golden tripod of great value. Upon this, a dispute arose between the fisherman and the purchasers; the former maintaining that he had only sold them the captured fish, the latter asserting that they had bought the chance of the draught, whatever it might be. The question was referred to the citizens of Miletus, who were of opinion that on so extraordinary an affair the Delphic oracle should be consulted. The answer of the oracle was, *To the Wisest*. In obedience to this answer, the Milesians unanimously adjudged the tripod to Thales. Thales modestly declined the honour intended him by his fellow-citizens, and sent the tripod to Bias, a wise man of Priene: from him it passed on through several hands till it came to Solon, the Athenian legislator, who, judging that the character of THE WISEST could not properly belong to any human being, sent the prize of wisdom to Delphos, to be dedicated to Apollo.‡

An air of fable hangs upon this story; and its circumstances are differently related by different writers. It is more probable, that, in some public assembly, a tripod was proposed as an honorary prize to the man who should recite in verse§ the most excellent maxims of political and moral wisdom, and that the sages, who engaged in this generous contest, afterwards agreed to dedicate the prize to Apollo. This conjecture is confirmed by a passage in Plato's *Protagoras*, which relates that the wise men of this period, who employed themselves in framing concise precepts and maxims for the conduct of life, sometimes met together, and agreed to send such sentences as were thought most valuable to Delphos, to be inscribed in the temple. It was perhaps owing to this circumstance that Apollo is said by the ancients to have been the author of the precept, KNOW THYSELF—

* Plutarch, *Lycurg.* Strabo, l. x. p. 480. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 48. Libanius, t. ii. p. 497. Polyæn. *Strat.* l. i. p. 16. Herod. l. vi. c. 57. Plato de *Leg.* l. i. Arist. *Pol.* l. ii. c. 7. Just. ex *Trog.* l. iii. c. 2. Bayle.

† Strabo, l. x. p. 467.

‡ Laert. l. i. sect. 22—29. Val. Max. l. i. sect. 28. viii. sect. 1. Athæn. l. ii. p. 37. Plut. in Solon.

§ Laert. l. i. sect. 35. 61. 68. Athæn. l. xv. p. 678. Aul. Gel. l. xvii. c. 4.

E cælo descendit, Γνωθι σεαυτόν.* (a)

Trivial as the kind of merit, upon which the immortal fame of these sages has been raised, may at present appear, it is easy to conceive, that in the infancy of civilisation, when there were few writings and little knowledge, and when the reasonings of systematic philosophy were scarcely known, just observations on life and manners, useful precepts of morals, smart repartees, and ingenious solutions of perplexing questions, expressed in concise language, and often in verse, might become real grounds of celebrity. Plain good sense, and practical wisdom, had not then been taught to give way to useless subtleties.†

The names commonly included under the appellation of the Seven Wise Men of Greece are, Thales, Solon, Chilo, Pittacus, Bias, Cleobulus, and Periander. Thales, having attempted to unite speculative science with practical wisdom, will be entitled to particular notice, as one of the fathers of the Grecian philosophy, in our subsequent history of the Ionic sect. Of the rest, we shall here relate the most interesting particulars which remain, as far as respects the subject of philosophy.

SOLON‡ was born at Salamis, of Athenian parents, who were descended from Codrus. His father leaving little patrimony, he had recourse to merchandise for his subsistence. He had, however, a greater thirst after knowledge and fame than after riches, and made his mercantile voyages subservient to the increase of his intellectual treasures. He very early cultivated the art of poetry, and applied himself to the study of moral and civil wisdom. When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war with the Megarensians, for the recovery of the isle of Salamis, prohibited any one, under pain of death, to propose the renewal of their claim to that island, Solon, thinking the prohibition dishonourable to the state, and finding many of the younger citizens desirous to revive the war, feigned himself mad, and took care to have the report of his insanity spread through the city. In the mean time he composed an elegy, adapted to the state of public affairs, which he committed to memory. Every thing being thus prepared, he sallied forth into the market-place, with the kind of cap on his head which was commonly worn by sick persons, and ascending the herald's stand, he delivered, to a numerous crowd, his lamentation for the desertion of Salamis. The verses were heard with general applause; and Pisistratus seconded his advice, and urged the people to renew the war. The decree was immediately repealed; the claim to Salamis was resumed; and the conduct of the war was committed to Solon and Pisistratus, who, by means of a stratagem, defeated the Megarensians, and recovered Salamis.

The popularity which Solon acquired by this transaction at Athens was afterwards extended through Greece, in consequence of a successful alliance which he formed among the states, in defence of the temple at Delphos against the Cirrhæans.

At length, when dissensions in Athens between the rich creditors and their poor debtors had risen to a dangerous height, and seemed to threaten general confusion, so that it became necessary to entrust some man of approved integrity and ability with full authority to attempt the cure of

* Juv. l. xi. v. 27.

(a) From heaven the precept, Know thyself, was sent.

† Cic. de Amic. c. 3. Laert. l. i. sect. 40.

‡ Plut. in Solon. Laert. l. i. sect. 45, &c. Max. Tyr. Diss. 39. Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 12. Pausan. Att. c. 16. Ælian, l. xiii. c. 16.

these public disorders, Solon was, by unanimous consent, honoured with this important charge, and, in the third year of the forty-sixth Olympiad,* was created archon, with the united powers of supreme legislator and magistrate. He executed his commission with so much wisdom and firmness, that he not only restored harmony between the rich and the poor, but brought the state, which had relaxed from its ancient discipline, under the restriction of new institutions. He cancelled the debts which had proved the occasion of so much oppression; and ordained that in future, no creditor should be allowed to seize the body of the debtor for his security. He made a new distribution of the people, instituted new courts of judicature, and framed a judicious code of laws, which afterwards became the basis of the laws of the Twelve Tables in Rome.† The fame which Solon acquired by this establishment reached the most distant parts of the world, and, as we have seen, brought Anacharsis and Toxaris from Scythia to become acquainted with his wisdom.

At the opening of this new plan of government, Solon was every day visited by persons who were desirous, either to propose questions concerning the meaning and application of his laws, or to suggest farther corrections and improvements. Finding these importunities troublesome, he determined to make his escape from the difficult situation in which he was placed, and to leave his laws to their own natural operation. For this purpose he obtained permission from the state to travel. His first voyage was to Egypt. Here he became acquainted with several of the more eminent priests of Heliopolis and Sais, by whom he was instructed in the Egyptian philosophy. One of his preceptors, boasting of the antiquity of the Egyptian wisdom, said to him, "Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children; you have not an old man among you." From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, where he formed an intimate friendship with Phylocyprus, one of the princes of the island, and assisted him in founding a new city.

It is also related that he visited Cræsus, king of Lydia, and that during the interview the following interesting conversation passed between them:—Cræsus, after entertaining his guest with great splendour, and making an ostentatious display of the magnificence of his palace, desirous to extort from Solon expressions of admiration which he did not seem inclined to bestow, asked him whom, of all mankind, he esteemed most happy? Solon answered, "Tellus, the Athenian." Cræsus, surprised that Solon should name any other man in preference to himself, requested to be informed of the grounds of this judgment. "Tellus," replied Solon, "was descended from worthy parents, was the father of virtuous children, whom every one respected, and at last fell in an engagement in which, before he expired, he saw his country victorious." Cræsus, flattering himself that he should at least obtain the second place in Solon's judgment among the fortunate, inquired whom, next to Tellus, he thought most happy? Solon, in return, said, two youths of Argos, Cleobis and Biton, who while they lived were universally admired for their fraternal affection to each other, and for their dutiful behaviour to their mother; and who, after they had given an illustrious example of filial piety, expired without sorrow or pain. Cræsus, mortified to find the condition of a private citizen of Athens or Argos preferred to his own, could no longer refrain from asking Solon, whether he meant wholly to exclude him from the number of the happy? Solon's reply is a memorable proof of his wisdom: "The events of future life are uncertain: he who has hitherto been prosperous may be unfortunate

* B. C. 594.

† Liv. l. iii. c. 31.

to-morrow: let no man therefore be pronounced happy before his death." This observation made so deep an impression upon the mind of Cræsus, that when afterwards, experiencing a reverse of fortune, he became a prisoner to Cyrus, and was brought forth to be put to death, he cried out, "O Solon! Solon!" Cyrus inquiring into the meaning of the exclamation, Cræsus informed him of what had formerly passed between himself and Solon. The consequence was, that Cyrus, struck with the wisdom of Solon's remark, set Cræsus at liberty, and treated him with all the respect due to his former greatness.—The story is attended with some chronological difficulties; but it is so consonant to the character of Solon, and so admirable an example of the moral wisdom of those times, that we could not persuade ourselves to reject it.

Solon died in the island of Cyprus, about the eightieth year of his age. Statues were erected to his memory, both at Athens and Salamis. His thirst after knowledge continued to the last: "I grow old," said he, "learning many things." Among the apophthegms and precepts which have been ascribed to Solon, are the following:

Laws are like cobwebs, that entangle the weak, but are broken through by the strong. He who has learned to obey, will know how to command. In all things let reason be your guide. Diligently contemplate excellent things. In every thing that you do, CONSIDER THE END.*

CHILO, one of the Lacedemonian ephori, was celebrated both for his probity and his penetration. He executed the offices of magistracy with so much uprightness, that in his old age he said, that he recollected nothing in his public conduct which gave him regret, except that, in one instance, he had endeavoured to screen a friend from punishment. That kind of sagacity, which enables a man, from the contemplation of present circumstances and events, to predict what will happen in future, he esteemed the highest attainment of wisdom. He lived to a great age, and at last expired through excess of joy, in the arms of his son, when he returned victorious from the Olympic games. The most valuable of his precepts and maxims are these:

Three things are difficult; to keep a secret, to bear an injury patiently, and to spend leisure well. Visit your friend in misfortune, rather than in prosperity. Never ridicule the unfortunate. Think before you speak. Do not desire impossibilities. Gold is tried by the touchstone, and men are tried by gold. Honest loss is preferable to shameful gain; for, by the one, a man is a sufferer but once; by the other, always. In conversation make use of no violent motion of the hands; in walking, do not appear to be always upon business of life or death; for rapid movements indicate a kind of phrenzy. If you are great, be condescending; for it is better to be loved than to be feared. Speak no evil of the dead. Reverence the aged. KNOW THYSELF.†

Chilo, according to Laertius, was an old man in the fifty-second Olympiad.‡

PITTACUS, of Mitylene in Lesbos, was born in the thirty-second Olympiad.§ Having obtained popularity among his countrymen, by successfully opposing the tyrant Melanchus, he was entrusted with the command of a fleet, in a war with the Athenians, concerning some territory which they had seized in the island. In the course of this war, he

* Plutarch in Solon. Laert. l. i. sect. 45. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 1. Demosthen. de falsa Leg. Pausan. Attic. Ælian, l. vii. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 12. Herod. l. i. c. 86.

† Laert. l. ii. sect. 68—74. Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 3. Herodot. l. i. p. 44. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vii. sect. 32.

‡ B. C. 570.

§ B. C. 650.

challenged the Athenian commander Phryno, a man of uncommon size and strength, to single combat. Providing himself with a net, which he concealed under his buckler, he took the first opportunity, during the encounter, to throw it over the head of his antagonist, and by this means gained an easy victory. From that time he was held in high esteem among the Mityleneans, and entrusted with supreme power in the state. Among other valuable presents, his countrymen offered him as much of the lands which had been recovered from the Athenians as he chose; but he only accepted of so much as he could measure by a single cast of a javelin; and one half of this small portion he afterwards dedicated to Apollo, saying concerning the remainder, that the half was better than the whole.* He showed great moderation in his treatment of his enemies, among whom one of the most violent was the poet Alcæus, who frequently made Pittacus the object of his satire. Finding it necessary to lay severe restrictions upon drunkenness, to which the Lesbians were particularly addicted, Pittacus passed a law, which subjected offenders of this class to double punishment for any crime committed in a state of intoxication. When he had established such regulations in the island as promised to secure its peace and prosperity, he voluntarily resigned his power, and retired into private life. The following maxims and precepts are ascribed to Pittacus :

The first office of prudence is to foresee threatening misfortunes, and prevent them. Power discovers the man. Never talk of your schemes before they are executed,—lest, if you fail to accomplish them, you be exposed to the double mortification of disappointment and ridicule. Whatever you do, do it well. Do not that to your neighbour, which you would take ill from him. BE WATCHFUL FOR OPPORTUNITIES.†

BIAS, of Priene in Ionia, acquired the name and honours of a wise man, chiefly by his generosity and public spirit, which endeared him to his countrymen. Several young female captives from Messene having been brought to Priene, Bias redeemed them, and educated them as his own daughters; after which he restored them, with a dowry, to their parents. He set a much greater value upon the treasures of the mind than upon the gifts of fortune. During an invasion, whilst every one about him was collecting his most valuable effects, and preparing for flight, one of his friends, observing with surprise that he took no pains to preserve any thing, asked him the reason: Bias replied, “I carry all my treasures with me.” The following are some of the remains of his sententious wisdom:

It is a proof of a weak and disordered mind to desire impossibilities. The greatest infelicity is, not to be able to endure misfortunes patiently. Great minds alone can support a sudden reverse of fortune. The most pleasant state is, to be always gaining. Be not unmindful of the miseries of others. If you are handsome, do handsome things; if deformed, supply the defects of nature by your virtues. Be slow in undertaking, but resolute in executing. Praise not a worthless man for the sake of his wealth. Whatever good you do, ascribe it to the gods. Lay in wisdom as the store for your journey from youth to old age, for it is the most certain possession. Many men are dishonest; therefore, LOVE YOUR FRIEND WITH CAUTION, FOR HE MAY HEREAFTER BECOME YOUR ENEMY.‡

CLEOBULUS, of Lindus in Rhodes, excelled all his contemporaries in

* Hesiod, Op. v. 40.

† Laert. l. i. sect. 74—78. Herod. l. v. Plut. Conviv. Sap. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 599. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 5. L. iv. c. 1. Ælian, l. vii. c. 4. Suidas. Stobæus, Ser. iii.

‡ Laert. l. i. 82. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 3. vii. 2. Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 11. Cic. de Amicit. c. 60. Plut. Conv. vii. Aristot. Rhet. l. ii. c. 13. Stobæus, Sermon. 28.

bodily strength and beauty. He visited Egypt, in pursuit of wisdom. Here he acquired great skill in the solution of enigmas and obscure questions; and it was for this that he was chiefly famous. His prudential maxims were:

Be kind to your friends, that they may continue such, and to your enemies, that they may become your friends. Happy is the family where the master is more loved than feared. When you go abroad, consider what you have to do; when you return home, what you have done. Marry among your equals, that you may not become a slave to your wife's relations. Be more desirous to hear, than to speak. *AVOID EXCESS.**

Of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, the last which remains to be mentioned is PERIANDER, of Corinth. He gave great offence to his indolent and luxurious countrymen by the rigour of his discipline, and rendered himself obnoxious to the other Greek states by changing the form of government in Corinth from an aristocracy to a tyranny, or monarchy. Hence there is reason to suspect the accounts, which are given of this prince by Greek writers, of exaggeration and falsehood. It is acknowledged even by those who have most severely censured him, that his political institutions were just and useful, and that he was fond of the society of wise and good men. The inscription upon his tomb at Corinth, preserved by Laertius, proves that his countrymen, after his death, honoured him as a wise and able ruler. Although he had probably no share in the contest for the tripod which was to be given to *The Wisest*, there seems no reason for excluding him from the place which has been allotted him by tradition among the wise men of Greece. His political and moral wisdom, and his poetical talents, were sufficient, at that time, to entitle him to this honourable distinction. Among the moral sentences ascribed to Periander are the following:

Let the prince, who would reign securely, trust rather to the affection of his subjects, than to the force of arms. Pleasure is precarious, but virtue is immortal. Conceal your misfortunes. Study to be worthy of your parents. *THERE IS NOTHING WHICH PRUDENCE CANNOT ACCOMPLISH.†* Periander died in the fourth year of the forty-eighth Olympiad,‡ aged eighty years.

Although historians have generally agreed to give these sages the appellation of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, we are not to suppose that there were not at this period many others, equal in merit, and perhaps not inferior in fame. Among these we must not omit to mention a sage,

Et pueris notum, et qui nondum ære lavantur. (a)

ÆEOP, the celebrated fabulist, was probably by birth a Phrygian. It is related, that he was brought as a slave to Athens, where, under his master Dinarchus, he cultivated his genius, as far as the disadvantages of his servile condition would permit; that he afterwards passed into the possession of Rhodope, a celebrated courtesan, who gave him his liberty; that upon this he revisited Athens, and travelled from Greece into Egypt and Asia; and that, being sent by Croesus to Delphos, with a magnificent present of gold to Apollo, the Delphians quarrelled with him, and put him to death.§ But these relations are obscured by so many chronological inconsistencies,

* Laert. l. i. sect. 89. Athen. l. x. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. p. 523.

† Laert. l. i. sect. 98. Ælian, l. xii. c. 35. Plut. Conviv. Herodot. l. i. p. 3. l. v. p. 202. Plato in Protagoram. Heraclides de Politis, p. 17. Stobæi Serm. xxviii. ‡ B. C. 585.

(a) Well known to boys, and all the infant train.

§ Herodot. l. ii. c. 134. Max. Tyr. Diss. 20. 28. Plutarch, Conv. Sept. et De Sera Num. Vind. Ælian, l. x. c. 5. xi. 5. Phædr. Fab. l. iii. Prol. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 389. x. 533.

that they deserve little credit. Even Herodotus speaks of idle stories, which had in his time been circulated concerning Æsop. It is probable that the particulars, which Plutarch relates of him, were gathered up from vague rumour, and were inserted in his *Conversation of the Seven Wise Men of Greece* to fill up an amusing narrative, without a strict regard to historical truth or the laws of probability. In the fourteenth century a monk, named Palanudes, wrote a life of Æsop; but his relation is unsupported by authorities, and has every internal mark of fiction. We can therefore assert nothing farther concerning Æsop than that he was the author of many moral apologues, which were the foundation of that collection of fables which, under his name, has for so many ages afforded entertainment and instruction to children:

* Besides the teachers of moral wisdom already enumerated, there were not wanting at this period others, who employed the art of poetry in the service of wisdom and virtue. To this class may be referred the most of the Greek poets of these early times, and especially the tragedians, who every where inculcate the purest principles of morality, and the preceptive poets, THEOGNIS of Megara, and PHOCYLIDES of Miletus, whose works, if the verses which now bear their name be in any part genuine, have certainly undergone much corruption and interpolation.* Both Phocylides and Theognis flourished about the fifty-eighth Olympiad. †

CHAPTER III.

OF THE IONIC SECT.

HITHERTO we have seen philosophy in its state of infancy and childhood: we are now to observe its progress in that more advanced age, in which it passed from traditionary opinion, and sententious wisdom, to more accurate speculations and reasonings.

The Greeks, always an ingenious and penetrating people, very early discovered a fondness for systematic philosophy. Two eminent philosophers arose among them, about the same period, who may be considered as the fountains from which philosophy flowed, not only through Greece, but through all other countries in which the Greek language was spoken. These gave rise to distinct classes of philosophers, who, because they *followed* the tenets, and the method of philosophising, which had been received by some one master, and rejected all others, have been usually denominated SECTS. One of these fathers of the sectarian philosophy was THALES, whom we have already ranked among the Seven Wise Men of Greece. He began to philosophise at Miletus in Ionia; and from this school sprung not only the Ionic sect, but Socrates and his disciples, from whom arose the several sects of Academics, Cyrenaics, Eristics, Peripatetics, Cynics, and Stoics. The other was PYTHAGORAS the Samian, who not only founded the Pythagorean school in Magna Grecia, but gave occasion to the institution of several other sects, particularly the Eleatic, the Heraclitic, the

* Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 432. 439. Suidas.

† Vidend. Dufresne, *Epist. de Effig. Charond. Par.* 1658. Spanhem. de *Usu Numism.* t. i. Diss. 7. Heuman. *Act. Phil.* v. ii. p. 494. Jonsius de *Script. Hist. Phil.* l. i. c. 8. 16. Voss. de *Poet. Gr.* c. 3. Budd. *Sap. Vet. Meurs.* in Solon, Potter, *Arch. Gr.* l. i. c. 4. Vavassor, *Exerc. de Diction. Ludic. Op.* p. 4. Mezeriaci, *Vit. Æsop.* Burgis. 1630, apud *Mem. de Lit.* t. i. p. 90, et apud Æsopi *Fab.* Oxon. 1716. Bayle.

Epicurean, and the Pyrrhonic. The sect founded by Thales, with all its branches, is called the Ionic School: the sects immediately or more remotely derived from Pythagoras are called the Italic School.* In treating of the sectarian philosophy of Greece, we shall trace the rise and progress of each of these schools, beginning with the Ionic.

The ancients are generally agreed in ascribing the first introduction of a scientific method of philosophising among the Greeks to Thales.†

Thales was born at Miletus in the first year of the thirty-fifth Olympiad. He was descended from Phœnician parents, who had left their country, and settled at Miletus.‡ The wealth which he inherited, and his own superior abilities, raised him to distinction among his countrymen, so that he was early employed in public affairs. He chose to continue in a state of celibacy, that he might avoid parental anxieties, and that he might be the more at liberty to apply himself to the study of philosophy. So great was his love of science, that he very soon resigned every other occupation, and devoted himself to learning. He travelled to Crete, and afterwards to Egypt, in search of wisdom. Several writers affirm that he was indebted for all his knowledge of philosophy and mathematics to the priests of Memphis. But it is probable that he was more indebted to his own ingenuity than to their instructions; for whilst he was among them he taught them, to their great astonishment, how to measure the height of their pyramids.§ It cannot be supposed that Thales could acquire much mathematical knowledge from a people unable to solve this easy problem. Returning to Miletus with a high degree of reputation for wisdom and learning, Thales became an object of general attention among his countrymen, and his acquaintance was solicited by all those who were desirous of improving in knowledge, or ambitious of being ranked among philosophers. These engagements did not, however, hinder him from prosecuting his mathematical, astronomical, and metaphysical studies; and though his attainments may be thought inconsiderable when they are compared with those of later times, it should be remembered that the first truths in science are the most important, and that great praise is due to those who discovered them. With so much ardour did Thales devote himself to science, that in order to become free from every avocation, he gave up the care of his estate to his nephew. His close attention to his studies, and his acquaintance with nature, have given occasion to several tales which deserve little credit, among which may be reckoned the story of his falling into a pit while he was gazing at the stars. He lived to the great age of ninety years, and died, through mere infirmity, whilst he was attending the Olympic games.||

Thales was not only famous for his knowledge of nature and his mathematical learning, but for his moral and political wisdom. Many ingenious aphorisms and precepts are ascribed to him, of which the following are a specimen:

Neither the crimes nor the thoughts of bad men are concealed from the gods. Health of body, a competent fortune, and a cultivated mind, are the chief sources of happiness. Parents may expect from their children that obedience which they themselves paid to their parents. Take more

* Laert. l. i. sect. 13.

† Plut. de Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 635. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 10. Apul. Flor. l. iv. p. 368. ed. Screv.

‡ Laert. l. i. sect. 21, &c.

§ Laert. Plut. l. c.

|| Laert. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. et Solon. Platon. Theat. Pausanias in Phocis, c. 5. Arist. Pol. l. i. c. 11. Plin. Hist. N. xviii. 20. Cyril. contr. Jul. l. i. p. 15.

pains to correct the blemishes of the mind than those of the face. Stop the mouth of slander by prudence. Be careful not to do that yourself which you blame in another.*

Neither Thales nor any of his successors in the first Ionic school have left any written records of their doctrine. For information upon this subject we are therefore obliged to have recourse to later philosophers. Our best authorities are Plato and Aristotle; but the former distorted the systems of his predecessors, in order to bend them to his own, and the latter gave an imperfect and obscure account of ancient opinions, that those which he himself taught might appear the more valuable and original. The accounts given of this school by Laertius, Plutarch, and other later writers,† are too modern to deserve implicit credit. We cannot therefore presume to speak with certainty concerning the opinions of Thales. The following account of his doctrine is the result of a diligent comparison of the representations given by various ancient writers.

Thales held that the first principle of natural bodies, or the first simple substance from which all things in this world are formed, is water.‡ By this he could not mean to assert that water is the efficient cause of the formation of bodies, but merely that this is the element from which they are produced. It is probable, that by the term *water* Thales meant to express the same idea which the cosmogonists expressed by the word *Chaos*, the notion annexed to which was, as we have shown, a turbid and muddy mass, from which all things were produced. Concerning the grounds of his opinion we have no satisfactory information. The reasons which have been given, such as that all animals and plants are produced and supported by moisture, and the sun and other celestial fires are nourished by vapours,§ are mere conjectures, which were perhaps never thought of by Thales.

It has been a subject of much debate, whether Thales, besides the passive principle in nature, which he called water, admitted an intelligent, efficient cause. They who have maintained the affirmative have rested their opinion upon sundry aphorisms concerning God, which are ascribed by ancient writers to this philosopher, particularly the following: || that God is the most ancient being, who has neither beginning nor end; that all things are full of God; and that the world is the beautiful work of God. They also lay great stress upon the testimony of Cicero,¶ who says, that Thales taught that water is the first principle of all things, and that God is that mind which formed all things out of water. They who are of the contrary opinion ** urge that the ancients (and among these Cicero himself, though not very consistently) ascribe to Anaxagoras the honour of having first represented God as the intelligent cause of the universe; and add, that the evidence in favour of Thales rests only upon traditional testimony, which may be opposed by other authorities.†† Perhaps the truth is this: that Thales, though he did not expressly maintain an independent mind as the efficient cause of nature, admitted the ancient doctrine concerning God as the animating principle or soul of the world. This supposition perfectly agrees with the language ascribed to him concerning the

* Laert. Stobæi Serm. 203. Auson. p. 112.

† Vid. Burnet, Arch. Ph. l. i. c. 10. Morhoff. Polyh. l. ii. c. 20. Scipio Aquilianus de Plac. Phys. Vet. Phil. ante Arist. Venet. 1620, 4to.

‡ Arist. Met. l. i. c. 3. Laert. l. i. sect. 27. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 7. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 10. § Laert. Plut. Arist. l. c. Senec. Quæst. Nat. l. vi. c. 6.

|| Laert. l. i. sect. 35. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 594.

¶ Nat. Deor. l. c. ** J. Thomas's Obs. Hal. Lat. t. ii. Obs. 21. Bayle.

†† Clem. Al. Strom. l. ii. p. 364. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 2. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. i. c. 7.

Deity, particularly that the world is an animated, *ἐμψυχον*,* and that all things are full of God. And this is not inconsistent with the notion that water is the first principle in nature, if by the term *principle* we understand, not the agency which framed the world, but the first matter from which it was produced.† A principle of motion, wherever it exists, is, according to Thales, mind. Hence he taught that the magnet, and amber, are endued with a soul, which is the cause of their attracting powers. The soul in all beings (as Aristotle represents his doctrine) is a moving power, having the cause of motion within itself, and is always in action.‡ It was one of his tenets that all nature is full of demons, or intelligences proceeding from God. It is easy to conceive that these opinions might have been derived from the notion that the Deity is the soul of the world, and the source of all motion and intelligence.

Concerning the material world, Thales taught that night existed before day; a doctrine which he probably borrowed from the Grecian theogonies, which placed Night, or Chaos, among the first divinities. He held, that the stars are fiery bodies; that the moon is an opaque body illuminated by the sun; and that the earth is a spherical body placed in the middle of the universe.

In mathematics Thales is said to have invented several fundamental propositions, which were afterwards incorporated into the elements of Euclid; particularly the following theorems: that a circle is bisected by its diameter; that the angles at a base of an isosceles triangle are equal; that the vertical angles of two intersecting lines are equal; that, if two angles and one side of one triangle be equal to two angles and one side of another triangle, the remaining angles and sides are respectively equal; and that the angle in a semicircle is a right angle.§ Of his knowledge of the principles of mensuration, and consequently of the doctrine of proportion, his instructions to the Egyptian priests (already mentioned) for finding the height of their pyramids are a sufficient proof. His method was this:—at the termination of the shadow of the pyramid he erected a staff perpendicular to the surface of the earth, and thus obtained two right-angled triangles, which enabled him to infer the ratio of the height of the pyramid to the length of its shadow, from the ratio of the height of the staff to the length of its shadow.||

Astronomical as well as mathematical science seems to have received considerable improvements from Thales. He was so well acquainted with the celestial motions as to be able to predict an eclipse, though probably with no great degree of accuracy with respect to time; for Herodotus, who relates this fact, only says that he foretold the year in which it would happen.¶ He taught the Greeks the division of the heavens into five zones, and the solstitial and equinoctial points, and approached so near to the knowledge of the true length of the solar revolution, that he corrected their calendar, and made their year contain 365 days.**

* Laert. l. i. sect. 27.

† Conf. Arist. de Anima, l. i. c. 5. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 7, 8. Stobæi Ecl. Phys. c. 1. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. xiv. c. 6.

‡ Arist. ib. c. 2. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 2. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. xl.

§ Laert. l. i. sect. 24, 25. Proclus in Euclid, l. i.

|| Laert. l. i. sect. 27. Plut. l. c. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxxviii. c. 17. Proclus in Euclid, l. i. def. 1.

¶ Herod. l. i. p. 19. Laert. l. i. sect. 23—35. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 12. 24. Apul. Fl. l. iv. Plin. Hist. N. l. ii. c. 9.

** Plut. Laert. l. c. Newton's Chronology, p. 86. Shuckford's Connex. vol. ii. p. 5. Comp. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 806.

These few particulars, respecting the scientific discoveries and improvements of Thales, gives us no unfavourable idea of the abilities and attainments of the father of the Grecian philosophy.

The seeds of natural science, which Thales had sown, were successfully cherished in their growth by ANAXIMANDER, who first taught philosophy in a public school, and is therefore often spoken of as the founder of the Ionic sect. He was born in the third year of the forty-second Olympiad.* Cicero calls him the friend and companion of Thales; whence it is probable that he was a native of Miletus. That he was employed in instructing youth, may be inferred from an anecdote related concerning him; that, being laughed at for singing (that is, probably, reciting his verses) ill, he said, "We must endeavour to sing better, for the sake of the boys." Anaximander was the first who laid aside the defective method of oral tradition, and committed the principles of natural science to writing. It is related of him, that he predicted an earthquake: but, that he should have been able in the infancy of knowledge to do what is, at this day, beyond the reach of philosophy, is incredible. He lived sixty-four years.†

The general doctrine of Anaximander, concerning nature and the origin of things was, that infinity, τὸ ἀπείρον, is the first principle of all things; that the universe, though variable in its parts, as one whole is immutable; and that all things are produced from Infinity, and terminate in it. What this philosopher meant by infinity has been a subject of much controversy; and the dispute has produced many ingenious conjectures, which are, however, too feebly supported to merit particular notice. The most material question is, whether Anaximander understood by infinity the material subject, or the efficient cause, of nature. Plutarch asserts‡ the infinity of Anaximander to be nothing but matter. Aristotle explains it in the same manner;§ and several modern writers adopt the same idea.|| But neither Aristotle nor Plutarch could have any better ground for their opinion than conjecture. It is more probable that Anaximander, who was a disciple of Thales, would attempt to improve, than that he would entirely reject the doctrine of his master. If therefore the explanation, given above, of the system of Thales be admitted, there will appear some ground for supposing that Anaximander made use of the term infinity to denote the humid mass of Thales, whence all things arose, together with the divine principle by which he supposed it to be animated. This opinion is supported by the authority of Hermias, who asserts¶ that Anaximander supposed an eternal mover or first cause of motion, prior to the humid mass, or τὸ ὑγρὸν, of Thales: and Aristotle himself speaks of the infinity of Anaximander as comprehending and directing all things. After all, however, it must be confessed that the doctrine of this philosopher concerning the origin of nature is so obscurely and variously related, that nothing can be determined with certainty upon the subject.

There can be little doubt that mathematics and astronomy were indebted to Anaximander. He framed a connected series of geometrical truths, and wrote a summary of his doctrine. He was the first who undertook to delineate the surface of the earth, and mark the divisions of land and water upon an artificial globe.** The invention of the sun-dial is ascribed to

* B. C. 610.

† Laert. l. ii. sect. 1. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 37. Themistii Orat. 20. Plin. Hist. N. l. ii. c. 79. ‡ Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 3. § Phys. Auscult. l. i. c. 5. l. iii. c. 4.

|| Cudworth, c. iii. sect. 21. Le Clerc, Biblioth. Choisée, tom. ii. art. 1.

¶ In Irris. Gent. sect. 10. ap. Tatian.

** Laert. l. ii. sect. 3. Strabo, l. i. Plin. l. vii. c. 56. Suidas. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. x. c. ult.

him; but it is not likely that mankind had remained till this time unacquainted with so useful an instrument, especially considering how much attention had, in many countries, been paid to astronomy, and how early we read of the division of time into hours. Herodotus, with much greater probability, ascribes this invention to the Babylonians.* Perhaps he made use of a gnomon in ascertaining, more correctly than Thales had done, the meridian line, and the points of the solstices. Pliny says† that he first observed the obliquity of the ecliptic: but this cannot be true, if Thales was acquainted with the method of predicting eclipses, which supposes the knowledge of this obliquity.

Other opinions ascribed to Anaximander are, that the stars are globular collections of air and fire, borne about in the spheres in which they are placed; that they are gods, that is, inhabited and animated by portions of the Divinity; that the sun has the highest place in the heavens, the moon the next, and the planets and fixed stars the lowest; that the earth is a globe placed in the middle of the universe, and remains in its place; and that the sun is twenty-eight times larger than the earth.‡

ANAXIMENES, a Milesian, who was born about the fifty-sixth Olympiad, § was a hearer and companion of Anaximander. He followed the footsteps of his master, in his inquiries into the nature and origin of things, but not without attempting to cast new light upon the system. He taught that the first principle of all things is air, which he held to be infinite or immense. Anaximenes, says Simplicius, || taught the unity and immensity of matter, but under a more definite term than Anaximander, calling it air. He held air to be God, because it is diffused through all nature, and is perpetually active. ¶ The air of Anaximenes is, then, a subtle ether, animated with a divine principle, whence it becomes the origin of all beings. In this sense Lactantius** understood his doctrine; for, speaking of Cleanthes as adopting the doctrine of Anaximenes, he adds, the poet assents to it when he sings:

Tum Pater Omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther, †† &c. (a)

If, in the midst of the great obscurity which hangs upon the tenets of the first Ionic sect, there be any ground for a probable opinion, we may ascribe to Anaximenes the continuation of the doctrine of Thales and Anaximander concerning the first principle of nature; with this difference only, that he supposed the divine energy to be resident in air, or ether. Chiefly attentive, however, to material causes, he was silent concerning the nature of the Divine mind.

Anaximenes is also said to have taught, that all minds are air; that fire, water, and earth, proceed from it, by rarefaction or condensation; that the sun and moon are fiery bodies, whose form is that of a circular plate; that the stars, which also are fiery substances, are fixed in the heavens, as nails in a crystalline plane; and that the earth is a plane tablet resting upon the air. ‡‡

ANAXAGORAS, of Clazomene, born in the first year of the seventieth

* L. ii. c. 32.

† L. ii. c. 1.

‡ Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 7. ii. 15. 20. 22. iii. 10. Laert. Stobæus, Ecl. Ph. c. 25. Origen, Philos. c. vi. p. 58. 60.

§ B. C. 556.

|| Ad Physic. l. i. c. 2. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 3. Cic. Nat. D. i. 10.

¶ Stobæi Ecl. Phys.

** L. i. c. 5.

†† Virg. Georg. ii. 324.

(a) Almighty Jove descends in fruitful showers, &c.

‡‡ Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 7. ii. 11. iii. 10. Cic. Nat. D. i. 10. Ac. Quæst. l. iv. Suidas. August. de Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 2.

Olympiad,* was a disciple of Anaximenes. He inherited from his parents a patrimony, which might have secured him independence and distinction at home; but such was his thirst after knowledge, that about the twentieth year of his age he left his country, without taking proper precautions concerning his estate, and went to reside at Athens. Here he diligently applied himself to the study of eloquence and poetry, and was particularly conversant with the works of Homer, whom he admired as the best preceptor, not only in writing, but in morals. Engaging afterwards in speculations concerning nature, the fame of the Milesian school induced him to leave Athens, that he might attend upon the public instructions of Anaximenes. Under him he became acquainted with his doctrines, and those of his predecessors, concerning natural bodies and the origin of things. So ardently did he engage in these inquiries, that he said concerning himself that he was born to contemplate the heavens. Visiting his native city, he found that, whilst he had been busy in the pursuit of knowledge, his estate had run to waste; upon which he remarked, that to this ruin he owed his prosperity. One of his fellow-citizens complaining that he, who was so well qualified, both by rank and ability for public offices, had shown so little regard for his country, he replied, My first care is for *my* country, pointing to heaven. After remaining for some years at Miletus, he returned to Athens, and there taught philosophy in private. Among his pupils were several eminent men, particularly the tragedian Euripides, and the orator and statesman Pericles; to whom some add Socrates and Themistocles.

The high degree of reputation which he had acquired at length excited the jealousy and envy of his contemporaries, and brought upon him a cruel persecution. It is generally agreed that he was thrown into prison, and condemned to death; and that it was with difficulty that Pericles obtained from his judge the milder sentence of fine and banishment; but the nature of the charge alleged against him is variously represented. The most probable account of the matter is, that his offence was, the propagation of new opinions concerning the gods, and particularly, teaching that the sun is an inanimate fiery substance, and consequently not a proper object of worship. There can be no doubt that Anaxagoras, who was indefatigable in his researches into nature, ventured, on many occasions, to contradict and oppose the vulgar opinions and superstitions. It is related that he ridiculed the Athenian priests for predicting an unfortunate event from the unusual appearance of a ram which had but one horn; and that, to convince the people that there was nothing in the affair which was not perfectly natural, he opened the head of the animal, and showed them that it was so constructed as necessarily to prevent the growth of the other horn. Such offensive freedoms as these were probably the cause of his persecution.

After his banishment, Anaxagoras passed the remainder of his days at Lampsacus, where he employed himself in instructing youth, and obtained great respect and influence among the magistrates and citizens. Through his whole life he appears to have supported the character of a true philosopher. Superior to motives of avarice and ambition, he devoted himself to the pursuits of science, and, in the midst of the vicissitudes of fortune, preserved an equal mind. When one of his friends expressed regret on account of his banishment from Athens, he said, "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me." Being asked, just

* B. C. 500.

before his death, whether he wished to be carried for interment to Clazomene, his native city, he said, "It is unnecessary; the way to the regions below is every where alike open." In reply to a message sent him, at that time, by the senate of Lampsacus, requesting him to inform them in what manner they might most acceptably express their respect for his memory after his decease, he said, "By ordaining that the day of my death be annually kept as a holiday in all the schools of Lampsacus." His request was complied with, and the custom remained for many centuries. He died about the age of seventy-two years. The inhabitants of Lampsacus expressed their high opinion of his wisdom by erecting a tomb, on which they inscribed this epitaph:

Ἐνθάδε πλεῖστον ἀλήθειας ἐπὶ τέρμα περήσας
Οὐρανίου κοσμοῦ κείται Ἀναξαγόρας. (a)

It is also said that two altars were raised in honour of his memory, one dedicated to TRUTH, the other to MIND, an appellation which was given him on account of the doctrine which he taught concerning the origin and formation of nature.*

The material world was conceived by Anaxagoras to have originated from a confused mass, consisting of different kinds of particles. Having learned in the Ionic school that bodies are composed of minute parts, and having observed in different bodies different, and frequently contrary forms and qualities, he concluded that the primary particles, of which bodies consist, are of different kinds; and that the peculiar form and properties of each body depend upon the nature of that class of particles of which it is chiefly composed. A bone, for instance, he conceived to be composed of a great number of bony particles, a piece of gold, of golden particles; and thus he supposed bodies of every kind to be generated from similar particles, *ὁμοιομερείαι*, and to assume the character of those particles. This system is thus exhibited, in the language of poetry, by Lucretius: †

——— Principium rerum quam dicit Homæomeriam;
Ossa videlicet e paucillis atque minutis
Ossibus; sic et de paucillis atque minutis
Visceribus viscus gigni; sanguenque creari
Sanguinis inter se multis coeuntibus guttis;
Ex aurique putat micis consistere posse
Aurum; et de terris terram condescere parvis;
Ignibus ex ignem; humorem ex humoribus esse,
Cætera consimili fingit ratione, putatque. (b)

Notwithstanding the difficulties and absurdities which obviously attend this system, the invention of it was a proof of the author's ingenuity, who doubtless had recourse to the notion of similar particles, in hopes of obviating the objections which lay against the doctrine of atoms, as he had received it from Anaximenes.

(a) This tomb great ANAXAGORAS confines,
Whose mind explored the paths of heav'nly truth.

* Laert. l. ii. c. 6, &c. Suidas. Plato in Hippias Maj. Plut. in Pericle. Cic. Nat. D. l. i. c. 11. Tusc. Q. iii. 24. v. 39. De Orat. l. iii. c. 15. Brut. c. 2. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 2. l. viii. c. 7. Arist. Rhet. l. ii. c. 23. Joseph. cont. App. l. ii.

† L. i. v. 830, &c.

(b) With Anaxagoras, great Nature's law
Is similarity; and every compound form
Consists of parts minute, each like the whole;
And bone is made of bone, and flesh of flesh;
And blood, and fire, and earth, and massy gold,
Are, in their smallest portions, still the same.

But the most important improvement which Anaxagoras made upon the doctrine of his predecessors was that of separating, in his system, the active principle in nature from the material mass upon which it acts, and thus introducing a distinct intelligent cause of all things.* The similar particles of matter, which he supposed to be the basis of nature, being without life or motion, he concluded that there must have been, from eternity, an intelligent principle, or infinite mind, existing separately from matter, which, having a power of motion within itself, first communicated motion to the material mass, and by uniting homogeneous particles, produced the various forms of nature.

That Anaxagoras maintained an infinite mind to be the author of all motion and life, is attested by many ancient authorities. Plato expressly asserts, that Anaxagoras taught the existence of “a disposing mind, the cause of all things”—*Νοῦς ὁ διακόσμων τὸ καὶ πάντων αἴτιος*. Aristotle gives it as his doctrine that mind is the first principle of all things, pure, simple, and unmixed; that it possesses within itself the united powers of thought and motion; and that it gives motion to the universe, and is the cause of whatever is fair and good.† Plutarch confirms this account of the doctrine of Anaxagoras, and shows wherein it differed from that of his predecessors. “The Ionic philosophers,” says he,‡ “who appeared before Anaxagoras, made fortune, or blind necessity, that is, the fortuitous or necessary motion of the particles of matter, the first principle in nature; but Anaxagoras affirmed that a pure mind, perfectly free from all material concretions, governs the universe.” From these and other concurrent testimonies § it clearly appears that Anaxagoras was the first among the Greeks who conceived mind as detached from matter, and as acting upon it with intelligence and design in the formation of the universe. The infinite mind, or deity, which his predecessors had confounded with matter, making them one universe, Anaxagoras conceived to have a separate and independent existence, and to be simple, pure intelligence, capable of forming the eternal mass of matter according to his pleasure. Thus he assigned an adequate cause for the existence of the visible world.

Several doctrines are ascribed to Anaxagoras, which might seem to indicate no inconsiderable knowledge of nature; such as, that the wind is produced by the rarefaction of the air; that the rainbow is the effect of the reflection of the solar rays from a thick cloud, placed opposite to it like a mirror; that the moon is an opaque body, enlightened by the sun, and an habitable region, divided into hills, vales, and waters; that the comets are wandering stars; and that the fixed stars are in a region exterior to those of the sun and moon. But the writers who report these particulars have mixed with them such strange absurdities, as weaken the credit of their whole relation. When we are told that Anaxagoras thought the sun to be a flat circular mass of hot iron, somewhat bigger than the Peloponnesus, and the stars to have been formed from stones whirled from the earth by the violent circumvolution of its surrounding ether, we cannot but suspect that, in the course of traditionary report, his opinions must have been ignorantly misconceived, or designedly misrepresented.||

In the Ionic school Anaxagoras was succeeded by *DIODES APOLLONIATES*, a disciple of Anaximenes. Following the steps of his master, he

* Arist. Metaph. l. i. c. 4.

† Arist. de Anima, l. i. c. 2. Phys. Ausc. l. viii. c. 1.

‡ In Pericle.

§ Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 11. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 12. Lactant. i. 5.

|| Laert. l. ii. sect. 8, 9. Pseudo-Orig. c. viii. p. 69. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. ii. c. 8. 13. 16. 25. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 13. sect. 33.

devoted himself to the contemplation of nature; not however without mingling with the severer pursuits of philosophy the study of eloquence. This qualified him to execute the office of preceptor with great reputation, both at Miletus and at Athens. But his success, and perhaps his opinions, excited so much jealousy and aversion among the Athenians, that, like Anaxagoras, he was obliged to provide for his safety by flight. What befell him afterwards, or what was the exact time of his birth or death, is unknown. With Anaximenes he taught that air, or a subtle ether, is the first material principle in nature, but that it partakes of a divine intelligence, without which nothing could be produced.* From comparing the imperfect accounts of his doctrine, which remain, with the opinions of his predecessors, it appears probable that he conceived the infinite ether to be animated by a divine mind, and all things to be formed from this compound principle.†

ARCHELAUS of Miletus was a disciple of Anaxagoras, and publicly taught at Athens his doctrines concerning natural bodies, whence he obtained the appellation of the Natural Philosopher. Among the tenets ascribed to him are the following: that the two principles of things are air and infinity; that the universe is unlimited; that heat is the cause of motion, and cold of rest; that the earth was at the beginning a muddy mass, whence living animals were produced and nourished; and that animals have souls, which differ in their powers, according to the structure of the bodies in which they reside.‡ It cannot be certainly determined whether, with Anaxagoras, he admitted a distinct and independent deity, the author of nature, or whether, with the former philosophers, he supposed one compound principle, consisting of infinite matter animated by a divine spirit. Concerning morals, he is said to have taught that the distinction between right and wrong is not founded in nature, but in arbitrary law; a doctrine which, if it was really his, obtained little credit at that time, and was never afterwards resumed till scepticism, at a much later period, erected its standard against common sense.

The high reputation which Archelaus acquired procured him many disciples of great distinction, among whom is commonly reckoned Socrates. Under this great man philosophy assumed a new character; so that Archelaus may properly be considered as the last preceptor in the original Ionic school.§

* Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 5. 20. August. de Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 2. Arist. de Anima, l. i. c. 2.

† Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 14. Laert. l. ix. sect. 57, 58. Clem. Al. Protrep. p. 42.

‡ Laert. l. ii. sect. 17. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. v. c. 4. Suidas. Orig. Philos. c. ix. p. 78. Plutarch. de Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 3. Stobæus, Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 1.

§ Vidend. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 16. v. iii. p. 165. 173. Burnet, Arch. c. x. Cudworth, Int. Syst. c. i. sect. 22. c. iv. sect. 20. cum Not. Mosheim. Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 13. 32, 33. Meurs. in Cureta, l. iv. Cyril. cont. Julian. l. i. p. 15. Valesii Phil. Sac. c. 31. August. de Civit. Dei, l. viii. c. 2. 11. Jos. Scaliger, Ep. 306. Themistii Orat. 26. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. c. 20. Lipsii. Phys. l. ii. Diss. 8. Thomasii Observ. Hal. t. ii. Ob. 18. 21. Mullerus de aqua principio rerum ex mente Thaletis, Altdorf, 1718. Buddæus de Phil. Mor. Thalet. sect. 10. Otium Vindel. Exerc. ii. Slevogtii Diss. Phil. p. 386. Amœnit. Lit. t. iii. Brucker, Hist. de Ideis, sect. 1. Grotius de Verit. l. i. Oporinus de Immort. Mortalium. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 6. Dickinson, Phys. c. iv. sect. 10. Thomas, Hist. Ath. c. iv. sect. 3. Le Clerc, Bibl. Choisée, t. ii. art. 1. Parker de Deo. Disp. i. sect. 6. Scipio Aquilianus de Plac. Phil. ante Aristot. c. 21. Schmidius de Vit. Anaximenis, Cl. Berigard, in Circul. Pisan. p. i. p. 10. Gerdilius allo stadio della Religione, c. 2. Ploucquet, Diss. de Thalet. et Anaxag. Hygin. Astron. l. ii. c. 2. Weidler, Astron. c. 5. Bayle in Thal. &c.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE SOCRATIC SCHOOL.

WHILST the philosophers of the Ionic school were, as we have seen, industriously employed in investigating the nature and origin of things, they paid little attention to those subjects in which the happiness of human life is immediately concerned. Too deeply engaged in profound speculations to attend to useful truths, they contented themselves with admiring virtue, and extolling virtuous actions, without taking the pains to establish the principles, and inculcate the precepts, of sound morality. The merit of correcting this error, and introducing a method of philosophising, which was happily calculated to improve the human mind, and to cherish the virtues of social life, is solely to be ascribed to Socrates; a man whose penetrating judgment, exalted views, and liberal spirit, united with exemplary integrity, and purity of manners, have justly entitled him to that distinction, which by the unanimous suffrage of antiquity he has obtained,—the first place among philosophers.

SOCRATES was born at Alopeces, a village near Athens, in the fourth year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad.* (a) His parents were of low rank. His father, Sophroniscus, was a statuary; his mother Phænarete, a midwife.† Sophroniscus brought up his son, contrary to his inclination, in his own manual employment; in which Socrates, though his mind was continually aspiring after higher objects, was not unsuccessful. Whilst he was a young man, he is said to have formed statues of the habited Graces, which were allowed a place in the citadel of Athens.‡ Upon the death of his father, he was left with no other inheritance than the small sum of of eighty *minæ*,§ which, through the dishonesty of a relation, to whom Sophroniscus left the charge of his affairs, he soon lost.|| This laid him under the necessity of supporting himself by labour; and he continued to practise the art of statuary in Athens; at the same time, however, devoting all the leisure he could command to the study of philosophy.

Crito, a wealthy Athenian, remarking the strong propensity towards study which this young man discovered, and admiring his ingenuous disposition and distinguished abilities, generously¶ took him under his patronage, and entrusted him with the instruction of his children. The opportunities which Socrates by this means enjoyed of attending the public lectures of the most eminent philosophers, so far increased his thirst after wisdom, that he determined to relinquish his occupation, and every prospect of emolument which that might afford, in order to devote himself entirely to his favourite pursuits.** His first preceptor in philosophy was Anaxagoras. After this eminent master in the Ionic school left Athens, Socrates attached himself to Archelaus. Under these instructors he diligently prosecuted the study of nature, in the usual manner of the philosophers of the age, and became well acquainted with their doctrines. Prodicus, the sophist,

* Laert. l. ii. sect. 18. Suidas. Arund. Marbles.

(a) B. C. 469

† Plato, Alcib. i. Theat. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 4. Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 219.

‡ Laert. Pausan. l. i. c. 22. l. ix. c. 35.

§ About 300*l*.

|| Libanius Apol. t. i. p. 640. Laert. ¶ Laert. Suidas in Criton, Max. Tyr. Diss. 22.

** Liban. ib. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 43.

was his preceptor in eloquence, Evenus in poetry, Theodorus in geometry, and Damo in music.* Aspasia, a woman no less celebrated for her intellectual than her personal accomplishments, whose house was frequented by the most celebrated characters, had also some share in the education of Socrates.†

Thus furnished with preceptors of every kind, Socrates acquired that knowledge at home, which the Greeks had hitherto sought in foreign countries; but for which, after all, they were more indebted to their own ingenuity and industry, than to the instructions of the oriental or Egyptian priests. It cannot be reasonably doubted that, with such advantages, he became master of every kind of learning, which the age in which he lived could afford.‡

With these uncommon endowments, both natural and acquired, Socrates appeared in Athens, under the respectable characters of a good citizen and a true philosopher. Being called upon by his country to take arms in the long and severe struggle between Athens and Sparta, he signalled himself at the siege of Potidæa,§ both by his valour, and by the hardiness with which he endured fatigue. During the severity of a Thracian winter, whilst others were clad in furs, he wore only his usual clothing, and walked barefoot upon the ice.|| In an engagement in which he saw Alcibiades (a young man of noble rank whom he accompanied during this expedition) falling down wounded, he advanced to defend him, and saved both him and his arms; and though the prize of valour was, on this occasion, unquestionably due to Socrates, he generously gave his vote that it might be bestowed upon Alcibiades, to encourage his rising merit.|| Several years afterwards, Socrates voluntarily entered upon a military expedition against the Bœotians, during which, in an unsuccessful engagement at Delium, he retired with great coolness from the field; when, observing Xenophon lying wounded upon the ground, he took him upon his shoulders and bore him out of the reach of the enemy. Soon afterwards he went out a third time, in a military capacity, in the expedition for the purpose of reducing Amphipolis; but this proving unsuccessful, he returned to Athens, and remained there till his death.

It was not till Socrates was upwards of fifty-six years of age that he undertook to serve his country in any civil office. At that age, he was chosen to represent his own district in the *senate of five hundred*.¶ In this office, though he at first exposed himself to some degree of ridicule from the want of experience in the forms of business, he soon convinced his colleagues that he was superior to them all in wisdom and integrity. Whilst they, intimidated by the clamours of the populace, passed an unjust sentence of condemnation upon the commanders who, after the engagement at the Arginusian islands, had been prevented by a storm from paying funeral honours to the dead, Socrates stood forth singly in their defence, and, to the last, refused to give his suffrage against them, declaring that no force should compel him to act contrary to justice and the laws.** Under the subsequent tyranny, he never ceased to condemn the oppressive and cruel proceedings of the Thirty Tyrants; and when his boldness provoked their resentment, so that his life was in hazard, fearing neither treachery nor violence, he still continued to support, with undaunted firmness, the rights of his fellow-citizens. The tyrants, probably

* Laert. Suid. Plato in Menone. Theat. † Plato in Menexeno. Plut. in Pericle.

‡ Xen. Mem. l. iv. p. 814. Plat. Apol. Laert. § Laert. Thucyd. l. i. p. 39.

|| Plat. Conviv. et Phæd. Plut. in Alcib. Laert. Strabo, l. ix.

¶ Plato, Apolog. p. 31. ** Laert. ii. sect. 24. Xen. Mem. l. i. Hist. Græc. l. i.

that they might create some new ground of complaint against Socrates, sent an order to him, with several other persons, to apprehend a wealthy citizen of Salamis: the rest executed the commission; but Socrates refused, saying, that he would rather himself suffer death than be instrumental in inflicting it unjustly upon another.*

These proofs of public virtue, both in a military and civil capacity, are sufficient to entitle the name of Socrates to a distinguished place in the catalogue of good citizens. But his first honours arise from the manner in which he supported the character of a philosopher, and discharged the duties of a moral preceptor.

Observing, with regret, how much the opinions of the Athenian youth were misled, and their principles and taste corrupted by philosophers, who spent all their time in refined speculations upon nature and the origin of things, and by sophists, who taught in their schools the arts of false eloquence and deceitful reasoning, Socrates formed the wise and generous design of instituting a new and more useful method of instruction. He justly conceived the true end of philosophy to be, not to make an ostentatious display of superior learning and ability in subtle disputations or ingenious conjectures, but to free mankind from the dominion of pernicious prejudices; to correct their vices; to inspire them with the love of virtue, and thus conduct them in the path of wisdom to true felicity. He therefore assumed the character of a moral philosopher; and, looking upon the whole city of Athens as his school, and all who were disposed to lend him their attention as his pupils, he seized every occasion of communicating moral wisdom to his fellow-citizens. He passed his time chiefly in public. It was his custom in the morning to visit the places made use of for walking and public exercises; at noon, to appear among the crowds in the markets or courts, and to spend the rest of the day in those parts of the city which were most frequented.† Sometimes he collected an audience about him in the Lyceum, (a pleasant meadow on the border of the river Ilyssus,) where he delivered a discourse from the chair, whilst his auditors were seated on benches around him. At other times he conversed, in a less formal way, with any of his fellow-citizens in places of common resort, or with his friends at meals, or in their hours of amusement; thus making every place to which he came a school of virtue. Not only did young men of rank and fortune attend upon his lectures, but he sought for disciples even among mechanics and labourers.

The method of instruction which Socrates chiefly made use of, was to propose a series of questions to the person with whom he conversed, in order to lead him to some unforeseen conclusion. He first gained the consent of his respondent to some obvious truths, and then obliged him to admit others, from their relation, or resemblance, to those to which they had already assented. Without making use of any direct argument or persuasion, he chose to lead the person he meant to instruct to deduce the truths of which he wished to convince him as a necessary consequence from his own concessions.‡ He commonly conducted these conferences with such address, as to conceal his design till the respondent had advanced too far to recede. On some occasions he made use of ironical language, that vain men might be caught in their own replies, and be obliged to confess their ignorance. He never assumed the air of a morose and rigid

* Plat. Apol. † Xen. Mem. l. i. Laert. ii. Plut. *Utrum seni gerenda resp.*

‡ Cic. Acad. Q. l. iv. c. 5. De Invent. l. i. c. 31. De Orat. l. ii. c. 67. Quintil. Inst. l. ix. c. 2.

preceptor, but communicated useful instruction with all the ease and pleasantries of polite conversation.

Socrates was not less distinguished by his modesty than by his wisdom. His discourses betray no marks of arrogance or vanity. He professed "to know only this, that he knew nothing."* In this declaration, which he frequently repeated, he had no other intention than to convince his hearers of the narrow limits of the human understanding. Nothing was farther from his thoughts than to encourage universal scepticism : on moral subjects he always expressed himself with confidence and decision ; but he was desirous of exposing to contempt the arrogance of those pretenders to science who would acknowledge themselves ignorant of nothing. The truth was, that Socrates, though eminently furnished, as we have already seen, with every kind of learning, preferred moral to speculative wisdom. Convinced that philosophy is valuable, not as it furnishes questions for the schools, but as it provides men with a law of life, he censured his predecessors for spending all their time in abstruse researches into nature, and taking no pains to render themselves useful to mankind. His favourite maxim was ; † Whatever is above us, doth not concern us. He estimated the value of knowledge by its utility, and recommended the study of geometry, astronomy, and other sciences, only so far as they admit of a practical application to the purposes of human life. His great object, in all his conferences and discourses, was to lead men into an acquaintance with themselves ; to convince them of their follies and vices ; to inspire them with the love of virtue ; and to furnish them with useful moral instruction. Cicero might therefore very justly say to Socrates, that he was the first who called down Philosophy from heaven to earth, and introduced her into the public walks and domestic retirements of men, that she might instruct them concerning life and manners.‡

The moral lessons which Socrates taught he himself diligently practised ; whence he excelled other philosophers in personal merit no less than in his method of instruction. His conduct was uniformly such as became a teacher of moral wisdom.

Through his whole life, this good man discovered a mind superior to the attractions of wealth and power. Contrary to the general practice of the preceptors of his time, he instructed his pupils without receiving from them any gratuity. He frequently refused rich presents, which were offered him by Alcibiades and others, though importunately urged to accept them by his wife. The chief men of Athens were his stewards : they sent him in provisions, as they apprehended he wanted them : he took what his present wants required, and returned the rest. Observing the numerous articles of luxury which were exposed to sale in Athens, he exclaimed, "How many things are there, which I do not want !" With Socrates moderation supplied the place of wealth. In his clothing and food he consulted only the demands of nature. He commonly appeared in a neat, but plain cloak, with his feet uncovered. Though his table was only supplied with simple fare, he did not scruple to invite men of superior rank to partake of his meals. When his wife, upon some such occasion, expressed her dissatisfaction on being no better provided, he desired her to give herself no concern, for if his guests were wise men, they would be contented with whatever they found at his table ; if otherwise, they were unworthy of notice. "Whilst others," says he, "live to eat, wise men eat to live." He found by experience that temperance is the parent of health. It was owing

* Cic. Acad. Q. 1. i. c. 4.

† Xen. Mem. 1. iv.

‡ Tusc. Disp. 1. iv. Acad. Q. 1. i.

to his perfect regularity in this respect that he escaped infection in the midst of the plague, which proved so fatal to his fellow-citizens.*

Socrates was a great admirer of a fair external form, as the index of a mind possessed, or at least capable, of moral beauty, and conversed freely with young persons, of both sexes, in order to assist their progress in wisdom and virtue; but his enemies have never been able to fix upon him the stain of incontinence. Modern calumnies, which impute to this great man vices, with which he was never charged by his contemporaries, ought to be treated with universal contempt.† (a)

Though Socrates was exceedingly unfortunate in his domestic connexion, he converted this infelicity into an occasion of exercising his virtues. Xantippe, concerning whose ill-humour ancient writers relate many amusing tales,‡ was certainly a woman of a high and unmanageable spirit. But Socrates, whilst he endeavoured to curb the violence of her temper, improved his own. When Alcibiades expressed his surprise that his friend could bear to live in the same house with so perverse and quarrelsome a companion, Socrates replied, that being daily inured to ill-humour at home, he was the better prepared to encounter perverseness and injury abroad. After all, however, it is probable that the infirmities of this good woman have been exaggerated, and that calumny has had some hand in finishing her picture; for Socrates himself, in a dialogue with his son Lamprocles, allows her many domestic virtues; and we find her afterwards expressing great affection for her husband during his imprisonment.§ She must have been as deficient in understanding, as she was froward in disposition, if she

* Xen. Mem. l. iv. Laert. l. ii. sect. 25—28. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. iii. 32. Ælian, l. ix. c. 29. l. xiii. c. 27. 32. Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6.

† Max. Tyr. Diss. vii. ix. Quintil. Inst. l. viii. c. 4. Athen. l. v. 209. xiii. p. 566.

(a) It is surprising that calumnies, which carry their own refutation along with them, should still be repeated as facts "of which there is no room to doubt." A late writer (see Observer, No. 77.) speaks in this confident manner of the tales, which that literary scavenger Athenæus has swept up from the sewers of antiquity for the purpose of besmearing characters, which mankind have for ages beheld with admiration. The writer, whom Athenæus quotes in support of the infamous stories which this Essayist has retailed, is Herodicus; of whom we know little but from Athenæus himself, and who appears to have been not so much an historian, as a collector of humorous tales. (a) Aristoxenus, from whom Diogenes Laertius (an industrious compiler rather than a judicious biographer) borrowed one of the anecdotes told in this essay, is said by the writer to have been "a man of the most candid character, whose credit stands high with all true critics." Of this *candid* historian Aulus Gellius (b) relates, that he was so highly displeased that Aristotle chose Theophrastus to succeed him in the Peripatetic chair, that he loaded the memory of his master with foul reproaches. Such obscure and doubtful authorities (to which by the way no references are made) placed in opposition to the testimony of Xenophon and Plato, and to the general voice of antiquity, will certainly have little effect in changing the established opinion concerning the character of Socrates.—We must not take our leave of this Essayist without remarking, that he has even gone beyond his author in slander, by finishing the story of the dialogue between Socrates and Critobulus in a manner for which it will not be easy to produce any authority; and that, whilst he charges Ælian with blackening the character of Aristophanes by accusing him of intemperance, he conceals a circumstance, related by Athenæus in his story of Socrates' debauch—that the Comic Poet was of the party. Athenæus says, (c) that Socrates sat up carousing with Agatho and *Aristophanes*; the Essayist, to save the credit of his favourite poet, says, that Socrates sat up all night carousing with Agatho and *others*.—After these proofs of this writer's fairness and candour, the public will judge what right he has to hold up both Socrates and his admirers to ridicule, by calling him "decidedly the hero of all the Ciceros and declaimers upon morality."

(a) Vossius, de Hist. Græc. l. i. c. 21.

(b) Nöct. Att. l. iv. c. 11.

(c) Deipnosoph. l. v. c. 6.

‡ Laert. l. ii. Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 17. Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 11. Ælian, l. xi. c. 12. ix. 7. Plut. de Ira. Athen. l. v. p. 219.

§ Xen. Mem. l. ii.

had not profited by the daily lessons which for twenty years she received from such a master.

In the midst of domestic vexations and public disorders Socrates retained such an unruffled serenity, that he was never seen either to leave his own house, or to return home, with a disturbed countenance.* If upon any occasion he felt a propensity towards anger, he checked the rising storm by lowering the tone of his voice, and resolutely assuming a more than usual gentleness of aspect and manner. He not only refrained from acts of revenge, but triumphed over his adversaries, by despising the insults and injuries which they offered him. In all situations, as will more fully appear in the sequel, he exercised that self-command which is founded on virtuous principles, and strengthened by reflection and habit.

In acquiring this entire dominion over his passions and appetites, Socrates had the greater merit, as it was not effected without a violent struggle against his natural propensities. Zopyrus, an eminent physiognomist, declared that he discovered in the features of the philosopher evident traces of many vicious inclinations. The friends of Socrates, who were present, ridiculed the ignorance of this pretender to extraordinary sagacity. But Socrates himself ingenuously acknowledged his penetration, and confessed that he was, in his natural disposition, prone to vice, but that he had subdued his inclinations by the power of reason and philosophy.†

Through the whole course of his life, Socrates gave himself up to the direction of the divine power of reason. And this is, perhaps, all that we are to understand by the genius, or demon, which is said to have, from time to time, given him instruction: though his disciples, who admitted the ancient doctrine of the existence of demons, or spirits of a middle order between God and man, probably from obscure or figurative expressions which he had made use of, imagined that there was, in this matter, something supernatural;‡ a notion which they would the more easily admit, and be the more ready to propagate, as they would naturally conceive it to reflect great honour upon the memory of their master. It is possible, indeed, that Socrates himself might, in some degree, be influenced by superstitious credulity concerning this demon; for it is expressly attested by Xenophon§ that he believed that the gods sometimes communicate to men the knowledge of future events, and that on this principle he encouraged the practice of divination.||

* Ælian, l. ix. c. 7. 29. Laert. † Cic. Tusc. Q. l. v.

‡ Plut. de Genio Soc. Xen. Mem. l. i. Plato in Euthyr. Apuleius de Genio Soc. Olearius de Genio Soc. ap. Stanley. Simon. Crit. Hist. V. T. l. i. c. 14.

§ Mem. l. i.

|| Our Author seems loth to give any decisive opinion on this affair. "I had rather," says he, "suspend my judgment, than by conjecturing transgress the bounds of truth and probability; thinking it, in ancient history, of great use to perceive what those things are which cannot be known." A late writer advances a notion on this subject which appears to merit attention. Socrates, he remarks, believed in the gods of his country, and was not free from the superstition connected with that belief; whence it may be inferred that, in the expressions usually understood to refer to his demon, he alludes only to some species of *divination* perfectly analogous to the omens of his age and country. He called the sign, whatever it was, by means of which he supposed intimations to be communicated to him, a demon or divinity. This explanation of the matter is favoured by a passage in Plutarch's Essay on the Demons of Socrates: "How am I guilty of introducing new deities, when I say that the voice of the *divinity* gives me notice what I shall do? All men, as well as myself, are of opinion that the Deity foresees the future, and signifies it to whom he pleases: but the difference between us is this; they name the omens as the foretellers of what is to come; I call the same thing the divinity, and herein speak more truly and respectfully than they who attribute to birds the power which belongs to the gods."—See Nare's Essay on the Demon of Socrates, 8vo. 1782.

It was one of the maxims of Socrates,* “that a wise man will worship the gods according to the institutions of the state to which he belongs.” He taught, however, a doctrine concerning religion much more pure and rational than that which was delivered to the people by the priests, and he reprobated the popular fables concerning the gods. Convinced of the weakness of the human understanding, and perceiving that the pride of philosophy had led his predecessors into futile speculations on the nature and origin of things, he judged it most consistent with true wisdom to speak with caution and reverence concerning the divine nature. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that, whilst he did not deny the existence of inferior divinities, he acknowledged the being and providence of one Supreme Deity, and paid homage, with a pious mind, to the Sovereign Power.†

In fine, Socrates, both on account of his abilities as a moral preceptor, and on account of his personal merit, unquestionably deserves to be ranked in the first order of human beings. “The man,” says Xenophon,‡ “whose memoirs I have written, was so pious, that he undertook nothing without asking counsel of the gods; so just, that he never did the smallest injury to any one, but rendered essential services to many; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; and so wise, that he was able, even in the most difficult cases, without advice, to judge what was expedient and right. He was eminently qualified to assist others by his counsel; to penetrate into men’s characters; to reprehend them for their vices; and to excite them to the practice of virtue. Having found all these excellences in Socrates, I have ever esteemed him the most virtuous, and the happiest of men.”

The wisdom and the virtues of this great man, whilst they procured him many followers, also created him many enemies. There were at this time in Athens a large body of professional preceptors of eloquence, distinguished by the appellation of Sophists. By the mere pomp of words, these men made a magnificent display of wisdom, upon a slight foundation of real knowledge; and they taught an artificial structure of language, and a false method of reasoning, by means of which they were able, in argument, to make the worse appear the better cause.§ At the same time that they arrogantly assumed to themselves the merit of every kind of learning, they publicly practised the art of disputing with plausibility on either side of any question, and professed to teach this art to the Athenian youth. By these imposing pretensions, they collected, in their schools, a numerous train of young men, who followed them in hope of acquiring those talents which would give them weight and authority in popular assemblies. In such high repute were these Sophists, that they were liberally supported, not only by contributions from their pupils, but by a regular salary from the state, and were in many instances distinguished by public honours, and employed in offices of magistracy.||

That such systematical provision should be made for corrupting the principles and taste of the Athenian youth, was much lamented by all honest men, and particularly by Socrates,¶ whose good sense revolted against every idle abuse of language and pernicious perversion of reason, and whose public spirit would not suffer him to remain an inactive spectator of this growing evil. In order to dissipate the fascination which these pretenders to wisdom had spread over the minds of youth, Socrates daily employed himself, after his peculiar manner, in perplexing them with questions, which

* Xen. Mem. l. i. † Ib. l. i. iv. ‡ Ib. l. iv. fin. § Cic. de Orator. c. 12.

|| Kriek. Diss. de Soph. Jan. 1702. Walchii Diss. Acad. p. 104. Menag. ad Laert. l. i. sect. 12. ¶ Cic. Brut. c. 8.

were ingeniously contrived to expose their ignorance and convince the public of their dishonesty. The result was, that the Sophists began to be deserted, and the Athenian youth to return to the love and pursuit of true wisdom. The contest, though salutary to Athens, proved, in the issue, fatal to Socrates.

The Sophists, finding their reputation and emoluments daily declining, became inveterate in their enmity against this bold reformer, and eagerly seized every occasion of exposing him to public ridicule or censure. Whilst Socrates was prosecuting his design of instructing the Athenian youth with increasing reputation and success, his enemies devised an expedient, by means of which they hoped to check the current of his popularity. They engaged Aristophanes,* the first buffoon of the age, to write a comedy, in which Socrates should be the principal character. Aristophanes, pleased with so prominent an occasion of displaying his low and malignant wit, undertook the task, and produced the comedy of *The Clouds*, still extant in his works. In this piece Socrates is introduced hanging in a basket in the air, and thence pouring forth absurdity and profaneness. The philosopher, though he seldom visited the theatre, except when the tragedies of Euripides were performed, attended the representation of this play, at a time when the house was crowded with strangers, who happened to be at Athens during the celebration of a Bacchanalian festival. When the performer who represented Socrates appeared upon the stage, a general whisper passed along the benches on which the strangers sat, to inquire who the person was whom the poet meant to satirise. Socrates, who had taken his station in one of the most public parts of the theatre, observed this circumstance, and immediately, with great coolness, rose up, to gratify the curiosity of the audience, and continued standing during the remainder of the representation. One of the spectators, astonished at the magnanimity which this action discovered, asked him, whether he did not feel himself much chagrined to be thus held up to public derision? "By no means," replied Socrates, "I am only a host at a public festival, where I provide a large company with entertainment."

The Athenians, who had always a strong propensity to jealousy and detraction, foolishly suffered themselves to be amused by this infamous libel upon the first character in their city. But the seasonable confidence which Socrates discovered in his own innocence and merit, and the uniform consistency and dignity of his conduct, screened him for the present from the assaults of envy and malice. When Aristophanes attempted, the year following, to renew the piece with alterations and additions, the representation was so much discouraged that he was obliged to discontinue it. The consequence was, that the Sophists, and other opponents of Socrates, who appear to have made use of the expedient of theatrical representation in order to sound the inclinations of the public, chose to postpone the farther prosecution of their malignant intention to a more favourable opportunity.†

From this time Socrates continued, for many years, to pursue without interruption his laudable design of instructing and reforming his fellow-citizens. At length, however, when the inflexible integrity with which he had discharged the duty of a senator, and the firmness with which he had opposed every kind of political corruption and oppression, both under the democracy and the oligarchy, had greatly increased the number of his

* Aristoph. *Nubes*. Ælian, *Hist. Var.* l. ii. c. 13. Plut. *de Puer. Educ.*

† Conf. Schol. in Aristoph.; *Vie de Socr.* par M. Charpentier; and Stanley's *Life of Soc.*

enemies, the conspiracy which had long been concerted against his life was resumed. After the dissolution of the tyranny, clandestine arts were employed to raise a general prejudice against him. The people were industriously reminded that Critias, who had been one of the most cruel of the Thirty Tyrants, and Alcibiades, who had insulted religion by defacing the public statues of Mercury,* and performing a mock representation of the Eleusinian mysteries, had in their youth been disciples of Socrates.

The minds of the people being thus artfully prepared for the sequel, the enemies of Socrates preferred a direct accusation against him before the supreme court of judicature. His accusers were Anytus, a leather-dresser, who had long entertained a personal enmity against Socrates, for reprehending his avarice, in depriving his sons of the benefits of learning, that they might pursue the gains of trade; Melitus, a young rhetorician, who was capable of undertaking any thing for the sake of gain, and Lycon, who was glad of any opportunity of displaying his talents. The accusation, which was delivered to the senate under the name of Melitus, was this: "Melitus, son of Melitus, of the tribe of Pythos, accuseth Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, of the tribe of Alopeces. Socrates violates the laws, in not acknowledging the gods which the state acknowledges, and by introducing new divinities. He also violates the laws by corrupting the youth. Be his punishment DEATH."†

This charge was delivered upon oath to the senate, and Crito, a friend of Socrates, became surety for his appearance on the day of trial. Anytus soon afterwards sent a private message to Socrates, assuring him, that if he would desist from censuring his conduct, he would withdraw his accusation. But Socrates refused to comply with so degrading a condition, and with his usual spirit replied, "Whilst I live I will never disguise the truth, nor speak otherwise than my duty requires." The interval between the accusation and the trial he spent in philosophical conversations with his friends, choosing to discourse upon any other subject rather than his own situation. Hermogenes, one of his friends, was much struck with this circumstance, and asked him, why he did not employ his time in preparing his defence? "Because," replied Socrates, "I have never in my life done any thing unjust." The eminent orator Lysias‡ composed an apology, in the name of his master, which he requested him to adopt; but Socrates excused himself by saying that, though it was eloquently written, it would not suit his character.

When the day of trial arrived, his accusers appeared in the senate, and attempted to support their charge in three distinct speeches, which strongly marked their respective characters. Plato, who was a young man, and a zealous follower of Socrates, then rose up to address the judges in defence of his master; but, whilst he was attempting to apologise for his youth, he was abruptly commanded by the court to sit down. Socrates, however, needed no advocate. Ascending the chair with all the serenity of conscious innocence, and with all the dignity of superior merit, he delivered, in a firm and manly tone, an unpremeditated defence of himself, which silenced his opponents, and ought to have convinced his judges. After tracing the progress of the conspiracy which had been raised against him to its true source, the jealousy and resentment of men whose ignorance he had exposed, and whose vices he had ridiculed and reproved, he distinctly replied to the several charges brought against him by Melitus. To prove that he

* Laert. Plut. in Alcib.

† Laert. Plato in Apologia. Zen. Apol. Mem. l. iv.

‡ Cic. de Orat. l. i. c. 54.

had not been guilty of impiety towards the gods of his country, he appealed to his frequent practice of attending the public religious festivals. The crime of introducing new divinities, with which he was charged, chiefly, as it seems, on the ground of the admonitions which he professed to have received from an invisible power, he disclaimed, by pleading, that it was no new thing for men to consult the gods, and receive instructions from them. To refute the charge of his having been a corrupter of youth, he urged the example which he had uniformly exhibited of justice, moderation and temperance, the moral spirit and tendency of his discourses, and the effect which had actually been produced by his doctrine upon the manners of the young. Then, disdaining to solicit the mercy of his judges, he called upon them for that justice, which their office and their oath obliged them to administer, and professing his faith and confidence in God, resigned himself to their pleasure.

The judges, whose prejudices would not suffer them to pay due attention to this apology, or to examine with impartiality the merits of the cause, immediately declared him guilty of the crimes of which he stood accused. Socrates, in this stage of the trial, had a right to enter his plea against the punishment which the accusers demanded, and instead of the sentence of death, to propose some pecuniary amercement. But he at first peremptorily refused to make any proposal of this kind, imagining that it might be construed into an acknowledgment of guilt, and asserted that his conduct merited from the state reward rather than punishment. At length, however, he was prevailed upon by his friends to offer, upon their credit, a fine of thirty *minæ*. The judges, notwithstanding, still remained inexorable: they proceeded, without farther delay, to pronounce sentence upon him; and he was condemned to be put to death by the poison of hemlock. Socrates received the sentence with perfect composure, and by a smile testified his contempt both for his accusers and his judges. Then, turning to his friends, he expressed his entire satisfaction in the recollection of his past life, and declared himself firmly persuaded that posterity would do so much justice to his memory as to believe that he had never injured or corrupted any one, but had spent his days in serving his fellow-citizens, by communicating to them, without reward, the precepts of wisdom. Converting in this manner, he was conducted from the court to the prison, which he entered with a serene countenance and a lofty mind, amidst the lamentations of his friends.*

On the day of the condemnation, it happened that the ship, which was employed to carry a customary annual offering to the island of Delos, set sail. It was contrary to the law of Athens that, during this voyage, any capital punishment should be inflicted within the city. This circumstance delayed the execution of the sentence against Socrates for thirty days. So long an interval of painful expectation, however, only served to afford farther scope for the display of his constancy. When his friends were with him, he conversed with his usual cheerfulness. In their absence, he amused himself with writing verses. He composed a hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and versified a fable of Æsop. His friends, still anxious to save so valuable a life, urged him to attempt his escape, or at least to permit them to convey him away; and Crito went so far as to assure him that, by his interest with the jailor, it might be easily accomplished, and to offer him a retreat in Thessaly; but Socrates rejected the proposal, as a criminal violation of the laws; and asked them, whether there was any place out of Attica which death could not reach.

* Senec. Consol. ad Helv. c. 14.

News being at length brought of the return of the ship from Delos, the officers to whose care he was committed delivered to Socrates, early in the morning, the final order for his execution, and immediately, according to the law, set him at liberty from his bonds. His friends who came early to the prison that they might have an opportunity of conversing with their master through the day, found his wife sitting by him with a child in her arms. As soon as Xantippe saw them she burst into tears, and said, "O Socrates, this is the last time your friends will ever speak to you, or you to them." Socrates, that the tranquillity of his last moments might not be disturbed by her unavailing lamentations, requested that she might be conducted home. With the most frantic expressions of grief, she left the prison. An interesting conversation then passed between Socrates and his friends, which chiefly turned upon the immortality of the soul. In the course of this conversation Socrates expressed his disapprobation of the practice of suicide, and assured his friends that his chief support in his present situation was an expectation, though not unmixed with doubts, of a happy existence after death. "It would be inexcusable in me," said he, "to despise death, if I were not persuaded that it will conduct me into the presence of the gods, who are the most righteous governors, and into the society of just and good men: but I derive confidence from the hope that something of man remains after death, and that the condition of good men will then be much better than that of the bad." Crito afterwards asking him in what manner he wished to be buried, Socrates replied with a smile, "As you please, provided I do not escape out of your hands." Then, turning to the rest of his friends, he said, "Is it not strange, after all that I have said to convince you that I am going to the society of the happy, that Crito still thinks this body, which will soon be a lifeless corpse, to be Socrates? Let him dispose of my body as he pleases, but let him not, at its interment, mourn over it as if it were Socrates."

Towards the close of the day Socrates retired into an adjoining apartment to bathe, his friends, in the mean time, expressing to one another their grief at the prospect of losing so excellent a father, and being left to pass the rest of their days in the solitary state of orphans. After a short interval, during which he gave some necessary instructions to his domestics, and took his last leave of his children, the attendant of the prison informed him that the time for drinking the poison was come. The executioner, though accustomed to such scenes, shed tears as he presented the fatal cup. Socrates received it without change of countenance, or the least appearance of perturbation; then, offering up a prayer to the gods, that they would grant him a prosperous passage into the invisible world, with perfect composure he swallowed the poisonous draught. His friends around him burst into tears. Socrates alone remained unmoved. He upbraided their pusillanimity, and entreated them to exercise a manly constancy, worthy of the friends of virtue. He continued walking till the chilling operation of the hemlock obliged him to lie down upon his bed. After remaining for a short time silent, he requested Crito (probably in order to refute a calumny which might prove injurious to his friends after his decease) not to neglect the offering of a cock which he had vowed to Esculapius. Then covering himself with his cloak, he expired.* Such was the fate of the virtuous Socrates! "A story," says Cicero, "which I never read without tears."†

* Vid. Xenophont. Apolog. Memor. l. iv. Platon. Apol. Crito. Phædo. Eutyphron. Laert. l. ii. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 13.

† Nat. D. l. iii. c. 33.

The friends and disciples of this illustrious teacher of wisdom were deeply afflicted by his death, and attended his funeral with every expression of grief.* Apprehensive, however, for their own safety, they soon afterwards privately withdrew from the city, and took up their residence in distant places. Several of them visited the philosopher Euclid, of Megara, by whom they were kindly received.†

No sooner was the unjust condemnation of Socrates known through Greece than a general indignation was kindled in the minds of good men, who universally regretted that so distinguished an advocate for virtue should have fallen a sacrifice to jealousy and envy. The Athenians themselves, so remarkable for their caprice, who never knew the value of their great men till after their death, soon became sensible of the folly, as well as criminality, of putting to death the man who had been the chief ornament of their city, and of the age, and turned their indignation against his accusers. Melitus was condemned to death, and Anytus, to escape a similar fate, went into voluntary exile. To give a farther proof of the sincerity of their regret, the Athenians, for a while, interrupted public business; decreed a general mourning; recalled the exiled friends of Socrates; and erected a statue to his memory in one of the most frequented parts of the city.‡ His death happened in the first year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad,§ and in the seventieth year of his age.

Socrates left behind him nothing in writing;|| but his illustrious pupils, Xenophon and Plato, have, in some measure, supplied this defect. The Memoirs of Socrates, written by Xenophon, afford, however, a much more accurate idea of the opinions of Socrates, and of his manner of teaching, than the Dialogues of Plato, who every where mixes his own conceptions and diction, and, as we shall afterwards see, those of other philosophers, with the ideas and language of his master. It is related, that when Socrates heard Plato recite his *Lysis*, he said, "How much does this young man make me say which I never conceived!" Xenophon denies that Socrates ever taught natural philosophy, or any mathematical science, and charges with misrepresentation and falsehood those who had ascribed to him dissertations of this kind; probably referring to Plato, in whose works Socrates is introduced as discoursing upon these subjects. The truth appears to be, that the distinguished character of Socrates was that of a moral philosopher.¶

The doctrine of Socrates, concerning God and religion, was rather practical than speculative. But he did not neglect to build the structure of religious faith upon the firm foundation of an appeal to natural appearances. He taught that the Supreme Being, though invisible, is clearly seen in his works, which at once demonstrate his existence and his wise and benevolent providence. This point is established, with great perspicuity and force of reason, in his conferences with Aristodemus, and with Euthydemus. "Reflect," says he, "that your own mind directs your body by its volitions, and you must be convinced that the Intelligence of the universe disposes all things according to his pleasure.—Can you imagine that your eye is capable of discerning distant objects, and that the eye of God cannot, at the same instant, see all things; or that, whilst your mind contemplates the affairs of different countries, the understanding of God cannot attend, at once, to all the affairs of the universe? Such is the nature of the

* Plut. Vit. Isocr. Suidas. † Laert. l. i. sect. 43. Plut. de Invid. ‡ Laert.

§ B. C. 396. || Cic. de Orat. l. iii. Plut. de Fort. Alex. Laert. l. i. sect. 16.

¶ Cic. Tusc. Q. l. i. c. 5. Xen. Mem. l. iv. A. Gell. Noct. Att. l. xiv. c. 3. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 8.

Divinity, that he sees all things, hears all things, is every where present, and constantly superintends all events.”* Again—“He who disposes and directs the universe, who is the source of all that is fair and good, who amidst successive changes preserves the course of nature unimpaired, and to whose laws all beings are subject, this Supreme Deity, though himself invisible, is manifestly seen in his magnificent operations. Learn, then, from the things which are produced, to infer the existence of an invisible power, and to reverence the Divinity.”†

Besides the one Supreme Deity, Socrates admitted the existence of beings who possess a middle station between God and man, to whose immediate agency he ascribed the ordinary *phenomena* of nature, and whom he supposed to be particularly concerned in the management of human affairs.‡ Hence, speaking of the gods, who take care of men, he says, “Let it suffice you, whilst you observe their works, to revere and honour the gods; and be persuaded, that this is the way in which they make themselves known; for, among all the gods, who bestow blessings upon men, there are none who, in the distribution of their favours, make themselves visible to mortals.” Hence, he spoke of thunder, wind and other agents in nature, as servants of God, and encouraged the practice of divination, under the notion that the gods sometimes discover future events to good men.

If these opinions concerning the Supreme Being and the subordinate divinities be compared, there will be no difficulty in perceiving the grounds upon which Socrates, though an advocate for the existence of one sovereign power, admitted the worship of inferior divinities. Hence he declared it to be the duty of every one, in the performance of religious rites, to follow the customs of his country. At the same time, he taught that the merit of all religious offerings depends upon the character of the worshipper, and that the gods take pleasure in the sacrifices of none but the truly pious. “The man,” says he, “who honours the gods according to his ability, ought to be cheerful, and hope for the greatest blessings; for from whom may we reasonably entertain higher expectations, than from those who are most able to serve us? or how can we secure their kindness, but by pleasing them? or, how please them better than by obedience?”§

Concerning the human soul, the opinion of Socrates, according to Xenophon, was, that it is allied to the Divine Being, not by a participation of essence, but by a similarity of nature;|| that man excels all other animals in the faculty of reason, and that the existence of good men will be continued after death, in a state in which they will receive the reward of their virtue.¶ Although it appears that on this latter topic Socrates was not wholly free from uncertainty, the consolation which he professed to derive from this source in the immediate prospect of death leaves little room to doubt that he entertained a real belief and expectation of immortality. The doctrine which Cicero ascribes to Socrates, on this head, is, that the human soul is a divine principle, which, when it passes out of the body, returns to heaven; and that this passage is most easy to those who have in this life made the greatest progress in virtue.**

The system of morality, which Socrates made it the business of his life to teach, was raised upon the firm basis of religion. The first principles of virtuous conduct, which are common to all mankind, are, according to

* Xen. Mem. l. i. † Ib. l. iv. Cic. de Nat. D. l. ii. Plut. Plac. l. i. c. 3.

‡ Xen. Mem. l. iv. § Mem. l. iv. || Ibid. ¶ Xen. Mem. l. i. ** Lælius, c. iv.

this excellent moralist, laws of God; and the conclusive argument by which he supports this opinion is, that no man departs from these principles with impunity. "It is frequently possible," says he, "for men to screen themselves from the penalty of human laws, but no man can be unjust, or ungrateful, without suffering for his crime: hence, I conclude, that these laws must have proceeded from a more excellent legislator than man."* Socrates taught, that true felicity is not to be derived from external possessions, but from wisdom, which consists in the knowledge and practice of virtue; that the cultivation of virtuous manners is necessarily attended with pleasure, as well as profit; that the honest man alone is happy; and that it is absurd to attempt to separate things, which are in nature so closely united as virtue and interest.

But it is impossible, in detached sentences, to give the reader any tolerable idea of the moral doctrine of Socrates. We must therefore refer him, on this head, to that valuable treasure of ancient wisdom, *The Memorabilia of Socrates*; a work in which he will find his original conversations on many interesting topics related with that beautiful simplicity which distinguishes the writings of Xenophon.†

The followers of Socrates may be divided into three classes. The First Class consists of such as were neither philosophers by profession, nor addicted to the study of philosophy, but attended upon Socrates as a moral preceptor, for the purpose of correcting and improving their manners. Among these were several young men of the first rank in Athens, particularly Alcibiades and Critias.‡ In this class may also be placed the poets Evenes and Euripides, and the orators Lysias and Isocrates. The Second Class included all those who, after his death, became founders of particular sects, and, though they differed from each other greatly, were united under the general appellation of Socratic Philosophers. These were Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic sect; Phædo, of the Eliac; Euclid, of the Megaric; Plato, of the Academic; and Antisthenes, of the Cynic; whose history will be distinctly related in the sequel of this work. The Third Class comprehends those disciples of Socrates who, though their names are found in the catalogue of philosophers, did not institute any new sect. Among these Xenophon, Æschines, Simon, and Cebes, have sufficient celebrity to claim some notice in the history of the Socratic school.

XENOPHON, § an Athenian, born in the third year of the eighty-second Olympiad, || was unquestionably one of the most respectable characters among the disciples of Socrates. He strictly adhered to the principles of his master in action as well as opinion, and employed philosophy, not to furnish him with the means of ostentation, but to qualify him for the offices of public and private life. Whilst he was a youth, Socrates, struck with his external appearance (for he regarded a fair form as a probable indication of a well-proportioned mind) determined to admit him into the number of his pupils. Meeting him by accident in a narrow passage, the philosopher put forth his staff across the path, and stopping him, asked, where those things were to be purchased which are necessary to human life. Xenophon appearing at a loss for a reply to this unexpected salutation, Socrates proceeded to ask him, where honest and good men were to be found. Xenophon still hesitating, Socrates said to him, "Follow me,

* Mem. l. iv.

† Conf. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 417. l. iii. p. 478. l. v. p. 594. Cic. Off. l. i. c. 3. Max. Tyr. Diss. xi. Stob. Sermon. l. 3. 28, &c. Ant. et Max. Sermon. 53, &c.

‡ Xen. Mem. l. i. § Laert. l. ii. sect. 49, &c. Suidas. || B. C. 450.

and learn." From that time Xenophon became a disciple of Socrates, and made a rapid progress in that moral wisdom for which his master was so eminent.

Xenophon accompanied Socrates in the Peloponnesian war, and fought courageously in defence of his country.* He afterwards entered into the army of Cyrus as a private volunteer, in his expedition against his brother. This enterprise proving unfortunate, Xenophon, after the death of Cyrus, advised his fellow-soldiers rather to trust to their own bravery, than surrender themselves to the victor, and to attempt a retreat into their own country. They listened to his advice; and, having had many proofs of his wisdom as well as courage, they gave him the command of the army, in the room of Proxenus, who had fallen in battle. In this command he acquired great glory by the prudence and firmness with which he conducted them back, through the midst of innumerable dangers, into their own country. The particulars of this memorable adventure are related by Xenophon himself in his *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*.† After his return into Greece, he joined Agesilaus, king of Sparta, and fought with him against the Thebans in the celebrated battle of Chæronea.‡ The Athenians, displeased at this alliance, brought a public accusation against him for his former conduct in engaging in the service of Cyrus, and condemned him to exile. The Spartans, upon this, took Xenophon, as an injured man, under their protection, and provided him a comfortable retreat at Scillus in Elea. Here, with his wife and two children, he remained several years, and passed his time in the society of his friends, and in writing those historical works which have rendered his name immortal. A war at length arose between the Spartans and Eleans, and Xenophon was obliged to retire to Lepreos, where his eldest son had settled. He afterwards removed, with his whole family, to Corinth, where, in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad,§ he finished his days.||

The integrity, the piety, the moderation of Xenophon, rendered him an ornament to the Socratic school, and proved how much he had profited by the precepts of his master. His whole military conduct discovered an admirable union of wisdom and valour. And his writings, at the same time that they have afforded, to all succeeding ages, one of the most perfect models of purity, simplicity and harmony of language,¶ abound with sentiments truly Socratic. By his wife, Phitesia, Xenophon had two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, the former of whom fell with glory in the battle of Mantinea. The news of his death arriving whilst his father was offering sacrifice, he took off the crown from his head, saying, with a sigh, "I knew that my son was mortal:" but when he was told that he had fought bravely, and died with honour, he again put on the crown, and finished the sacrifice.** His works are, *Memoirs of Socrates; Apology for Socrates; Of the Affairs of Greece; The Expedition of Cyrus; The Institution of Cyrus; The Banquet; Of Æconomics; Of Tyranny; Praise of Agesilaus; Of the Republic of Athens; Of the Republic and Laws of Sparta; Of Taxes; Of the Office of Master of Horse; Of Hunting*.††

ÆSCHINES, an Athenian of low birth, discovered an early thirst after knowledge, and, though oppressed by poverty, devoted himself to the pursuit of wisdom under the tuition of Socrates.‡‡ When he first became his disciple, he told Socrates, that the only thing which it was in his

* Strabo, l. x. p. 402.

† Cyri Expeditio, passim.

‡ C. Nepos in Ages. c. 1.

Plut. in Ages. Xen. in Ages. Strabo, l. viii. p. 387.

Laert. § B. C. 360.

|| Laert.

¶ Cic. Orat. c. 19.

** Ælian, Hist. V. l. iii. c. 7.

Aul. Gell. l. xiv. c. 3.

Athen. l. xi. p. 504.

†† Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 72.

‡‡ Laert. l. ii. sect. 60. Sen. de Benef. l. i. c. 8.

power to present him, in acknowledgment of his kindness in instructing him, was himself. Socrates replied, that he accepted, and valued the present, but that he hoped to render it more valuable by culture. He adhered to his master with unalterable fidelity and perseverance, and enjoyed his particular friendship.

Having spent many years in Athens, without being able to rise above the poverty of his birth, he determined, after the example of Plato, and others, to visit the Court of Dionysius,* the tyrant of Sicily, who was at that time, either through vanity or jealousy, a general patron of philosophers. Upon his arrival in Syracuse, though slighted, on account of his poverty, by Plato, he was introduced to the prince by Aristippus, and was liberally rewarded for his Socratic dialogues. He remained in Sicily till the expulsion of the tyrant, and then returned to Athens. Here, not daring to become a public rival of Plato or Aristippus, he taught philosophy in private, and received payment for his instructions. Afterwards, in order to provide himself with a more plentiful subsistence, he appeared as a public orator; and Demosthenes, probably because he was jealous of his abilities (for he excelled in eloquence), became his opponent. Besides orations and epistles, Æschines wrote seven Socratic dialogues in the true spirit of his master, on temperance, moderation, humanity, integrity, and other virtues. Of these only three are extant.†

SIMON, another disciple of Socrates, was by occupation a leather-dresser in Athens. His shop being frequently visited by Socrates and his friends, he wrote down many conversations which passed in his hearing, and afterwards made them public. He is said to have been the first who published Socratic dialogues; but none of his pieces are extant. So much value did this man set upon freedom of inquiry, that when Pericles invited him to reside with him, under the promise of an ample recompense, he refused, saying, that he would not sell the liberty of speaking his mind at any price.‡

The name of CEBES, a Theban, deserves to be mentioned, on account of his beautiful allegory, entitled, *A Picture of Human Life*. This piece, which is still extant, in its moral spirit and character is truly Socratic, but contains some sentiments, which appear to have been borrowed from the Pythagorean school.§

About this time flourished TIMON OF ATHENS, so famous for the whimsical severity of his temper, and his hatred of mankind.|| His character has given birth to many humorous pieces.¶

* Plut. de Cohib. Iræ. † Ed. Clerici Amstelod. 1711. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 785.

‡ Laert. l. ii. sect. 122. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 734.

§ Laert. ii. sect. 125. Suidas. Plato in Phæd.

|| Laert. l. ix. sect. 112. Suidas. Plut. in Anton. et Alcib. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iv. c. 2. Plin. Hist. N. l. vii. c. 19. Lucian in Timone.

¶ Vidend. Jons. de Script. Hist. Ph. l. i. c. 2. 14. 18. Clerici Sylva Phil. c. 3. Boerner Menzer, Diss. de Socrate. La Vie de Socr. par M. Charpentier. Cooper's Life of Socrates. Fraquier, Diss. de Socr. ap. Mem. Acad. Inscript. t. vi. Potter's Arch. l. i. c. 9. Petav. Rat. Temp. p. i. l. iii. c. 8. Eschenbach. de Sympos. Sap. Diss. Ac. v. Prideaux, Hist. v. i. p. 511. Theodore, Therapeut. l. xii. Salv. de Gub. Dei, l. vii. Tertull. Apol. Le Clerc, Bib. Ch. t. 22. p. 426. Cleric. Log. p. iv. c. 9. Crouz. p. iv. c. 7. Perraltii Parall. des Anc. et des Mod. t. iv. p. 139. Heuman. Act. Ph. v. i. p. 473. Murat, Orat. p. 381. Lipsii Manud. Stoic. Diss. 18. Parker de Deo. Disp. 4. Casaubon de Enthous. Heinsii Orat. de Socr. Huet. de la Foiblesse, &c. l. i. c. 4. Reiman. Hist. Ath. c. 21. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 23. Zimmerm. Amœn. Lit. t. xi. p. 122. Rep. des Lett. t. vi. p. 186. Vavasor de Ludic. Dict. Op. p. 8. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, t. iii. c. 20. Olearius de Genio Soc. apud Stanley, Hist. Phil. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. viii. c. 14. Naudæi Apol. Mag. c. 13. N. Kreigh, Diss. de Elog. Soph. Jen. 1702. Mornæus de Ver. Rel. c. 33. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 5. Stollii Hist. Ph. Mor. Gent. sect. 48. Mascardi Diss. Mor. in Cebetis Tab. De Timon. Misc. Lips. t. iii. Obs. 57.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE CYRENAIC SECT.

FROM the school of Socrates many sects arose, who, though they held opinions essentially different from each other, and though most of them deviated widely from the simplicity of their master's doctrine, nevertheless affected to call themselves Socratic philosophers.* Of these, some were of short duration and little note; others obtained great distinction and permanency, and afterwards spread into new branches. The inferior sects in the IONIC succession were, the CYRENAIC, the MEGARIC, and the ELIAC or ERETRIAC. Those of higher celebrity, were the ACADEMIC, and the CYNIC, from which latter arose the PERIPATETIC, and the STOIC.

The CYRENAIC SECT was founded by Aristippus, and derived its name from his native city, Cyrene in Africa.

Of the descent and early education of ARISTIPPUS little is known; but, that his father was a man of some distinction, may be conjectured from his having sent his son to the Olympic games, and supported him at Athens, as a pupil of Socrates.† This would also be confirmed by the incident to which Horace alludes, when he says,‡

Quid simile isti
Græcus Aristippus? qui servos projicere aurum
In media jussit Libya, quia tardius irent
Propter onus segnes, &c. (a)

were it credible, that a man who was always fond of wealth and splendour should order his servant, on a journey, to throw away his money, in order to lighten his burden. Whilst Aristippus was attending the Olympic games, he heard reports concerning the wisdom of Socrates,§ which inspired him with an impatient desire of becoming one of his disciples, and immediately took up his residence in Athens. On his first arrival, he made Socrates an offer of money, as a gratuity for the privilege of attending his instructions; but the philosopher, after his usual manner, refused it. Admitted among the number of his followers, Aristippus discovered such marks of ability, and made so rapid a progress in knowledge, that he was, for some time, esteemed one of the chief ornaments of the Socratic school, and raised no small degree of envy among his fellow-disciples. But his mind was too frivolous, and probably his education had been too luxurious, to permit him heartily to adopt the principles, and imbibe the spirit of his master. After a long period of restraint, his natural temper, or early habits, prevailed, and he discovered a fondness for exterior ornament, and effeminate indulgence, which gave much offence to Socrates and his friends. This propensity in Aristippus, and his master's earnest desire to correct it, are illustrated in a beautiful dialogue preserved by Xenophon.|| The freedom of his manners at length became so displeasing to the sect with which he was connected, that he was obliged to withdraw from Athens.

* Cic. de Oratore, l. iii. c. 16. † Laert. l. ii. sect. 65, &c. ‡ Sat. 2. iii. 99.

(a) When Aristippus on the Libyan waste
Commands his slaves, because it stay'd their haste,
To throw away his gold, &c.

§ Plut. de Curiositate. || Mem. l. ii.

Aristippus now visited the island of Ægina, and there met with the celebrated Lais,* whom he accompanied to Corinth. A storm arising on his passage thither, which somewhat disconcerted him, one of the crew said to him, "Why are you philosophers afraid, when we illiterate seamen fear nothing?" "Because," replied Aristippus, "we have more to lose."† In his way from Corinth to Asia, he was shipwrecked upon the island of Rhodes. Accidentally observing, as he came on shore, a geometrical diagram drawn upon the sand, he said to his companions, "Take courage, I see the footsteps of men."‡ When they arrived at the principal town of the island, the philosopher soon found means to engage the attention of the inhabitants, and procured an hospitable reception for himself and his fellow-travellers; a fact which confirms one of this philosopher's aphorisms; "If you ask what advantage a man of learning has above one who is illiterate, send them together among strangers, and you will see."

After some interval, we find Aristippus in the court of Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. Here he incurred much odium from Plato and other philosophers, by countenancing the luxury and vanity of the prince. He possessed a versatility of disposition, and politeness of manners, which, whilst they enabled him to accommodate himself to every situation—

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res—§ (a)

eminently qualified him for the easy gaiety of a court. Perfectly free from the reserve and haughtiness of the preceptorial chair, he ridiculed the singularities which were affected by other philosophers, particularly the stately gravity of Plato, and the rigid abstinence of Diogenes.|| On a public festival, he appeared in a rich and splendid dress, and conversed and danced like a courtier. These captivating manners, united with a wonderful power of managing the humours of the tyrant, gave him the command of the royal favour. The rest of the philosophers, who found themselves counteracted in their attempts to subdue the stubborn mind of Dionysius to the severity of their discipline, and who were, perhaps, secretly mortified by neglect, beheld this rising favourite with envy. Although it is impossible wholly to exculpate Aristippus from the charge of libertinism, it seems not unreasonable to impute to the jealousy of rivalry many of those tales, to the discredit of this philosopher, which have been so industriously propagated both by ancient and modern writers.

There can be little doubt, that before the expulsion of Dionysius, Aristippus, with the rest of the philosophers, left Syracuse. Æschines, who had remained in Sicily till after the exile of the tyrant, upon his return to Athens, found him teaching in this seat of the muses.¶ But how long he remained in Greece; whether he ever returned into his own country; in what manner, and when he died, are circumstances concerning which we have, at this day, no certain information.

The particulars which have been related may suffice to afford us some idea of the character of Aristippus. If his natural disposition leaned more strongly towards pleasure than was consistent with the strictness of Socratic

* Cic. Ep. Fam. ix. 26. Athen. l. v. p. 216. xii. p. 554. xiii. p. 599.

† Aul. Gell. l. xix. c. 1. Ælian, Hist. Var. l. ix. 20.

‡ Laert. Vitruv. Archit. l. vi. Galen in Protrep. c. 5. Diod. Sic. l. xiv. p. 298.

§ Plut. in Dione. Suidas. Hor. Ep. l. xvii. 23.

(a) Yet Aristippus every dress became,
In every various state of life the same.

|| Laert. l. ii. sect. 62. 7. ¶ Laert. l. ii. sect. 62.

morals, he must, nevertheless, be allowed the credit of elegant manners, a thirst after knowledge, ready wit, and an ingenuous temper. Of this latter quality we have an example, in the manner in which he reconciled himself to his friend Æschines, who had offended him. In the midst of a dispute between them, which was growing violent, "Let us give over," said he, "and be friends, before we make ourselves the talk of servants: we have quarrelled, it is true; but I, as your senior, have a right to claim the precedence in the reconciliation." Æschines accepted the generous proposal, and acknowledged his superior merit. The following repartees may deserve to be selected from many others, as a specimen of this philosopher's ingenuity:—

In reply to the inquiry of Dionysius, why he visited his court, Aristippus said, "To give what I have, and to receive what I have not." His friend Polyxenus happening to call upon him when great preparations were making for an entertainment, entered into a long discourse against luxury: Aristippus grew tired with his harangue, and invited him to stay and sup with him; Polyxenus accepted the invitation: "I perceive then," said Aristippus, "it is not the luxury of my table that offends you, but the expense." To one who was boasting of his skill and activity in swimming he said, "Are you not ashamed to value yourself upon that, which every dolphin can do better?" When he was asked, what he had gained by philosophy? he replied, "A capacity of conversing, without embarrassment, with all classes of men." A wealthy citizen complaining that Aristippus, in requiring five hundred drachmas for the instruction of his son, had demanded as much as would purchase a slave; "Purchase one, then, with the money," said the philosopher, "and you will be master of two."*

Several maxims and observations are ascribed to Aristippus which are not unworthy of the Socratic school; for example: If there were no laws, a wise man would live honestly. It is better to be poor than illiterate; for the poor man only wants money, the illiterate wants the distinguishing characters of human nature. The houses of the wealthy are frequented by philosophers, for the same reason for which those of the sick are frequented by physicians. The truly learned are not they who read much, but they who read what is useful. Young people should be taught those things, which will be useful to them when they become men.†

Aristippus, however, did not uniformly adhere to the excellent model upon which these maxims were framed. From the imperfect accounts which remain of his doctrine, it appears that he was eminently the preceptor of pleasure. He agreed with Socrates in dismissing, as wholly unprofitable, all those speculations which have no connexion with the conduct of life. He compared those philosophers who neglected moral science, in the pursuit of that which is purely speculative, to Penelope's suitors, who preferred the handmaid to the mistress.‡ The distinguishing tenets of his system, as far as they can be collected from the casual, and perhaps unfair representations of prejudiced contemporaries, and from the adulterated and vague reports of later writers, are as follow:—

Perceptions alone are certain; of the external objects which produce them, we know nothing. No one can be assured that the perception excited in his mind by any external object is similar to that which is excited by the same object in the mind of another person.§ Human nature is subject to two contrary affections, pain and pleasure, the one a harsh, the other a gentle emotion. The emotions of pleasure, though they may

* Laert. † Ibid. ‡ Laert. l. ii. sect. 79, 80. Arist. Met. l. ii. c. 21.

§ Sextus Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 191. Cic. in Lucullo, c. 7. Acad. Q. l. iv. c. 7.

differ in degree, or in the object which excites them, are the same in all animals, and universally create desire. Those of pain are, in like manner, essentially the same, and universally create aversion. Happiness consists not in tranquillity or indolence, but in a pleasing agitation of the mind, or active enjoyment. Pleasure is the ultimate object of human pursuit; it is only in subserviency to this that fame, friendship, and even virtue, are to be desired. All crimes are venial because never committed but through the immediate impulse of passion. Nothing is just or unjust by nature, but by custom and law. The business of philosophy is to regulate the senses, in that manner which will render them most productive of pleasure. Since pleasure is to be derived, not from the past or the future, but the present, a wise man will take care to enjoy the present hour, and will be indifferent to life or death.*

It would have been wonderful if so indulgent a system of morals had not obtained some admirers; but it would have been more wonderful if a system, which only provided for the gratification of the senses and selfish passions, and left human nature destitute of its noblest ornaments and highest pleasures, had not soon fallen into the contempt which it deserved.

After the death of Aristippus, his doctrine was professed and taught by his daughter ARETE, a woman of learning and ability sufficient to give her a place in the catalogue of philosophers.†

Among the more eminent disciples of this school was HEGESIAS. His temper was too gloomy to find enjoyment upon his master's plan, and his principles furnished him with no other sources of happiness. He was so thoroughly dissatisfied with life that he thought it the only concern of man to avoid misery, and wrote a book to prove that death, as the cure of all evil, is the greatest good. Hence he obtained the appellation of *πεισιθάνατος*, the advocate for death. ‡ (a)

Another follower of Aristippus was ANICERRIS, a Cyrenean. He so far receded from the doctrine of his master, as to acknowledge the merit of filial piety, friendship, and patriotism, and to allow that a wise man might retain the possession of himself in the midst of external troubles; but he inherited so much of his frivolous taste, as to value himself upon the most trivial accomplishments, particularly upon his dexterity in being able to drive a chariot twice round a course in the same ring.§

THEODORUS, a disciple of Anicerris, for the freedom with which he spoke concerning the gods, was stigmatised with the name of Atheist, and banished from Cyrene.|| He took refuge in Athens; but his impiety would here have proved fatal to him had not Demetrius Phalereus, who, at that time, had great influence over the Athenians, interposed in his favour. Under his protection he gained access to the court of Ptolemy Lagus. Venturing, after a long interval, to return to Athens, it is related that he suffered death by hemlock: but whether his offence was, in reality, atheism, or whether it was merely contempt of the Grecian superstitions, has been

* Laert. l. ii. sect. 92—95. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 71. l. v. c. 128. Tusc. Q. l. iii. c. 13. ii. c. 6. De Offic. iii. 33. Athen. l. xii. p. 544. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. xiv. sect. 6.

† Laert. l. ii. sect. 86. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. p. 523.

‡ Laert. l. ii. sect. 94—95. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 34. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 9.

(a) The passage of Laertius, here referred to, is manifestly corrupted. The words *τὴν τὲ ζῶην τε, καὶ τὸν δὲ θάνατον αἰρετὸν*, "death and life are equally eligible," are inconsistent with what is just before said of Hegesias. Casaubon ingeniously connects the words, *τὴν τὲ ζῶην*, with the preceding clause, and reads the passage thus: *ὥστε ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν δὲ ζῶην. Τὸν δὲ θάνατον αἰρετόν*. "Since there is no real happiness in life, death is to be preferred."

§ Laert. l. ii. sect. 87. Suidas in Anicerr. || Laert. l. ii. sect. 98—102. Suidas. Bayle.

much disputed. Sextus Empiricus* joins Theodorus with Eumerus, and others, who maintained, that they who were esteemed gods were men who had possessed great power on earth: and Clemens Alexandrinus† expresses his surprise that Eumerus, Nicanor, Diagoras, Theodorus, and others, who had lived virtuously, should be pronounced atheists for their opposition to gentile polytheism.‡ If these testimonies be not sufficient to remove all suspicion of atheism from the character of Theodorus, it may at least serve to prevent any positive decision against him. The same remark may be applied to Eumerus, who flourished in the time of Cassander the younger, king of Macedonia, concerning whom it is related that he undertook long journeys in order to ascertain the places of the death and burial of the gods, and particularly that, in the island of Panchaia, in the Southern ocean, he saw a pillar dedicated to Jupiter Triphylus, on which the memorable actions of that deity were inscribed.§

Among the followers of Theodorus was BION, of Borysthenes, a man of low extraction. When young he was sold as a slave to an orator, who afterwards gave him his freedom, and left him large possessions. Upon this he went to Athens, and applied himself to the study of philosophy. He had several preceptors, but chiefly attached himself to the doctrine of Theodorus, for which he was a professed advocate. He flourished about the one hundred and twentieth Olympiad.||

The short duration of the Cyrenaic sect was owing, in part, to the remote distance of Cyrene from Greece, the chief seat of learning and philosophy; in part, to the unbounded latitude which these philosophers allowed themselves in practice as well as opinion; and in part, to the rise of the Epicurean sect, which taught the doctrine of pleasure in a more philosophical form.¶

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE MEGARIC OR ERISTIC SECT.

THE second sect which sprung from the school of Socrates was that which was instituted by Euclid of Megara, called, from the place which gave birth to its founder, the Megaric sect, and from its disputatious character, the Eristic. It had also the appellation of Dialectic; not because it gave rise to dialectics, or logical debates, which had before this time exercised the ingenuity of philosophers, particularly in the Eleatic school; but because the discourses and writings of this class of philosophers commonly took the form of dialogue.**

* Adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 51.

† Protrept. p. 24.

‡ Conf. Lactant. l. i. c. 12. Minuc. Fel. Oct. c. 8. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 14. Plut. Plac. l. i. c. 7.

§ Cic. de Nat. D. i. 42. Plut. de Is. et Os. Euseb. Præp. l. ii. Clem. Al. loc. cit.

|| Laert. l. iv. sect. 46—51. B. C. 300.

¶ Vidend. Menzii Aristippi Vet. Hal. 1719. Thomasii Introd. in Phil. Rat. c. 6. sect. 60. Parker de Deo. Diss. p. l. 8. Buddæus de Sceptic. Mor. sect. 9. Themistii Orat. 21. Voss. de Idol. Gent. l. i. c. 1. Reiman. Hist. Ath. c. 24. Mourgès, Plan de Pyth. t. i. c. 3. Gassend. Synt. Ph. Epic. p. ii. sect. 1. c. 3. Stollii Hist. Ph. Mor. sect. 55. Buddæi Thes. de Atheism. c. 1. sect. 17. Zimmerman, Epist. ad Nonn. ap. Musæum, Hist. Brem. v. i. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 11. Wowerius de Polymathia. Bayle in Aristipp. &c.

** Laert. l. ii. sect. 106. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. ii.

EUCLID of Megara,* endued by nature with a subtle and penetrating genius, early applied himself to the study of philosophy. The writings of Parmenides first taught him the art of disputation. Hearing of the fame of Socrates, Euclid determined to attend upon his instructions, and for this purpose removed from Megara to Athens. Here he long remained a constant hearer and zealous disciple of the Moral Philosopher; and when, in consequence of the enmity which subsisted between the Athenians and Megareans, a decree was passed by the former, that any inhabitant of Megara who should be seen in Athens should forfeit his life, he frequently came to Athens by night, from the distance of about twenty miles, concealed in a long female cloak and veil, to visit his master.† Not finding his natural propensity to disputation sufficiently gratified in the tranquil method of philosophising adopted by Socrates, he frequently engaged in the business and disputes of the civil courts. Socrates, who despised forensic contests, expressed some dissatisfaction with his pupil for indulging a fondness for controversy.‡ This circumstance probably proved the occasion of a separation between Euclid and his master; for we find him, after this time, at the head of a school in Megara,§ in which his chief employment was to teach the art of disputation. Debates were conducted with so much vehemence among his pupils, that Timon said of Euclid, that he had carried the madness of contention from Athens to Megara.|| That he was however capable of commanding his temper, appears from his reply to his brother, who in a quarrel had said, "Let me perish if I be not revenged on you!" "And let *me* perish," returned Euclid, "if I do not subdue your resentment by forbearance, and make you love me as much as ever!"¶ His kind reception of the disciples of Socrates, after the death of their master, has been already noticed. Euclid of Megara is not to be confounded with Euclid the mathematician, who flourished at a later period under Ptolemy Lagus, and died in the hundred and twenty-third Olympiad.**

In disputation, Euclid was averse to the analogical method of reasoning, and judged, that legitimate argumentation consists in deducing fair conclusions from acknowledged premises.†† He held that there is one supreme good, which he called by the different names of Intelligence, Providence, God; and that evil, considered as an opposite principle to the sovereign good, has no physical existence. The supreme good, according to Cicero, he defined to be that which is always the same. In this doctrine, in which he followed the subtilty of Parmenides rather than the simplicity of Socrates, he seems to have considered good abstractedly as residing in the Deity, and to have maintained that all things which exist are good by their participation of the first good, and consequently that there is, in the nature of things, no real evil.—It is said that when Euclid was asked his opinion concerning the gods, he replied, "I know nothing more of them than this, that they hate inquisitive persons."‡‡ If this apophthegm be justly ascribed to Euclid, it may serve to prove, either that he had learned from the precepts of Socrates to think soberly and respectfully concerning the divine nature, or that the fate of that good man had taught him caution in declaring his opinions.

* Laert. *ib.* Cic. *Qu. Acad.* l. iv. c. 24. Suidas.

† Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* l. vi. c. 10. ‡ Laert. l. ii. sect. 30. § *Ib.* l. iii. sect. 6.

|| *Ib.* l. vi. sect. 22. ¶ Plut. *de Armic. Frat.*

** Fabric. *Gr.* v. ii. p. 369. B. C. 283. †† Laert. *Cic. Qu. Ac.* l. iv. c. 42.

‡‡ Anton. *et Maxim. Serm.* 37.

Euclid was succeeded, in the Megaric school, by EUBULIDES of Miletus.* He was a strenuous opponent of Aristotle, and seized every occasion of censuring his writings, and calumniating his character. He introduced new subtleties into the art of disputation, several of which, though often mentioned as proofs of great ingenuity, deserve only to be remembered as examples of egregious trifling. Of these sophistical modes of reasoning, called by Aristotle Eristic syllogisms, a few examples may suffice:† 1. Of the sophism, called, from the example, *The Lying*: if, when you speak the truth, you say you lie, you lie: but you say you lie when you speak the truth; therefore, in speaking the truth, you lie. 2. *The Occult*. Do you know your father? Yes. Do you know this man who is veiled? No. Then you do not know your father; for it is your father who is veiled. 3. *Electra*. Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon, knew her brother, and did not know him: she knew Orestes to be her brother, but she did not know that person to be her brother who was conversing with her. 4. *Sorites*. Is one grain a heap? No. Two grains? No. Three grains? No. Go on, adding one by one; and, if one grain be not a heap, it will be impossible to say what number of grains make a heap.‡ 5. *The Horned*. You have what you have not lost; you have not lost horns; therefore you have horns. In such high repute were these silly inventions for perplexing plain truth, that Chrysippus wrote six books upon the first of these sophisms; and Philetas, a Coan, died of a consumption which he contracted by the close study which he bestowed upon it.§ The inscription upon his tomb was, 'Ο ψευδόμενος, "The deceived." A serious attempt to expose the futility of these disputes would now be justly deemed an idle waste of time and words.

Another disciple of the same school was DIODORUS of Caria, a great adept in this kind of verbal combat.|| A dialectic question was proposed to him in the presence of Ptolemy Soter (for such at that time was the amusement of princes) by Stilpo, another of this ingenious fraternity. He acknowledged himself incapable of giving an immediate answer, and requested time for the solution. The king ridiculed his want of ingenuity, and gave him the surname of Chronus. Mortified at this defeat, he retired from the entertainment, wrote a book upon the question, and at last, foolishly enough—died of vexation! This Diodorus is said to have invented the famous argument against motion:¶ If any body be moved, it is either moved in the place where it is, or in a place where it is not; but it is not moved in the place where it is, for where it is, it remains; nor is it moved in a place where it is not, for nothing can either act or suffer where it is not; therefore there is no such thing as motion. Diodorus, after the invention of this wonderful argument, was very properly repaid for his ingenuity. Having had the misfortune to dislocate his shoulder, the surgeon, whom he sent for to replace it, kept him some time in torture, whilst he proved to him, from his own method of reasoning, that the bone could not have *moved* out of its place. Diodorus has been ranked among the atomic philosophers, because he held the doctrine of small indivisible bodies, infinite in number but finite in magnitude: but it does not appear that he conceived the idea which distinguishes the atomic doctrine, as it

* Laert. l. ii. sect. 108, &c.

† Laert. Athen. l. viii. Cic. de Div. l. ii. c. 4. Qu. Ac. l. iv. c. 30. vi. c. 6. Lucian. in Vit. Auct. A. Gell. l. xvi. c. 2.

‡ Senec. Ep. 45.

§ Laert. l. vii. sect. 196. Athen. l. ix. 403. Suidas in Philetas.

|| Laert. l. ii. sect. 111. Sext. Emp. adv. Log. ii. 115.

¶ Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. ii. c. 22. sect. 142. 5.

was taught by Democritus and others, that the first atoms are destitute of all properties except extension and figure.*

Stilpo of Megara,† who lived about the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, is not only celebrated for his eloquence and his skill in dialectics, but for the success with which he applied the moral precepts of philosophy to the correction of his natural propensities. Though in his youth he had been much addicted to intemperance and licentious pleasure, after he ranked himself among philosophers, he was never known to violate the laws of sobriety or chastity.‡ With respect to riches, he exercised a virtuous moderation. When Ptolemy Soter, at the taking of Megara, presented him with a large sum of money, and requested him to accompany him into Egypt, he returned the greater part of the present, and chose to retire, during Ptolemy's stay at Megara, to the island of Ægina. Afterwards, when Megara was again taken by Demetrius,§ son of Antigonus, the conqueror ordered the soldiers to spare the house of Stilpo, and, if any thing should be taken from him in the hurry of the plunder, to restore it. The philosopher being required to give an account of any effects which he had lost, he replied, that he had lost nothing; for no one could take from him his learning and eloquence. At the same time he won the affections of the conqueror by the pathetic manner in which he recommended to him the exercise of humanity. So great was the fame of Stilpo, that when he visited Athens the people ran out of their shops to see him, and even the most eminent philosophers of Athens took pleasure in attending upon his discourses.

The peculiar doctrines of Stilpo were, that species, or universals, have no real existence, and that one thing cannot be predicated or asserted of another.|| He maintained that in using, for example, the word *man* as an universal term, we speak of nothing; for the term neither signifies this man nor that man, nor applies to any one man more than another. The doctrine which he held upon this subject was probably the same which was afterwards, in the scholastic ages, maintained with so much acrimony by the nominalists. To prove that one thing cannot be predicated of another, he said that *goodness* and *man*, for instance, are different things, which cannot be confounded by asserting the one to be the other: he argued farther, that goodness is an universal, and universals have no real existence; consequently, since nothing cannot be predicated of any thing, goodness cannot be predicated of man. Thus, whilst this subtle logician was, through his whole argument, predicating one thing of another, he denied that any one thing could be the accident or predicate of another. If Stilpo was serious in this reasoning; if he meant any thing more than to expose the sophistry of the schools, he must be confessed to have been an eminent master of the art of wrangling; and it was not wholly without reason that Glycera, a celebrated courtesan, when she was reproved by Stilpo as a corruptor of youth, replied, that the charge might be justly retorted upon him, who spent his time in filling their heads with sophistical quibbles and useless subtleties.

On moral topics, Stilpo is said to have taught that the highest felicity consists in a mind free from the dominion of passion; a doctrine similar to that of the Stoics.

* Cic. Ac. Q. l. iv. c. 47. Arrian, Diss. Epict. l. ii. c. 19. Mosheim in Cudworth, c. 1. p. 22. † Laert. l. ii. sect. 113—119. Suidas.

‡ Cic. de Fato, c. 5. Plut. adv. Colot. Sen. Ep. 9. De Constant. c. 5. Athen. l. x. p. 422. l. xiii. p. 496. § Plut. in Demet. et de Tranquil. Animi.

|| Laert. ibid. Senect. Ep. 9.

In reply to a question which Crates proposed to this philosopher, whether the gods take pleasure in the honours which are paid them by mortals, he said, "You fool! do not question me upon this subject in the public street, but when we are alone." From this circumstance, and from the freedom with which he is said to have ridiculed the statue of Minerva, it may be concluded that Stilpo had little reverence for the Athenian superstitions: * but there is no proof of his infidelity with respect to the existence of a Supreme Divinity. †

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE ELIAC AND ERETRIAC SCHOOL.

THE Eliac school, as far as we can at present learn, appears to have adhered so closely to the doctrine of Socrates, that it is scarcely to be considered as a separate sect. It is certain, however, that PHÆDO † of Elis established a distinct school of philosophy, which took its name from the place of his birth. He was descended from an illustrious family; but had the misfortune, early in life, to be deprived of his patrimony, and sold as a slave at Athens. It happened that Socrates, as he passed by the house where he lived, remarked in his countenance traces of an ingenuous mind, which induced him to persuade one of his friends, Alcibiades, or Crito, to redeem him. From that time Phædo applied himself diligently to the study of moral philosophy under Socrates; and, at the last, adhered to his master with the most affectionate attachment. He instituted a school at Elis, after the Socratic model, which was continued by Plisthanus, an Elian, and afterwards by Menedemus of Eretria.

MENEDEMUS, § though well descended, was obliged through poverty to submit to the manual employment of an housebuilder. He formed an early intimacy with Asclepiades, a Phliasian, who was a fellow-labourer with him in his humble occupation. || Having minds more formed for study than for labour, they determined to devote themselves to the pursuit of philosophy. For this purpose they left their native country, and went to Athens, where Plato then presided in the Academy. It was soon observed that these strangers had no visible means of subsistence; and, according to a law of Solon, they were cited before the court of Areopagus, to give an account of the manner in which they were supported. The master of one of the public prisons was, at their request, sent for, and attested that, every night, these two youths went among the criminals, and, by grinding with them, earned two drachmas, which enabled them to spend the day in the study of philosophy. The magistrates, struck with admiration at such an extraordinary proof of an indefatigable thirst after knowledge, dismissed them with high applause, and presented them with two hundred drach-

* Athen. l. x. p. 422.

† Vidend. Jonsii Script. Hist. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. Stoll. Hist. Mor. sect. 57. Gassend. in Log. Op. t. i. p. 40. Walchii Hist. Log. sect. 3. Parerg. Acad. p. 498. Rapin, Reflexions sur la Philosophie, sect. 28. Cudworth, c. 1. cum Mosh. Not. Lipsii Manud. l. iii. c. 7. Bayle.

‡ Laert. l. ii. sect. 106. Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 18. Suidas. Origen cont. Cels. l. i. p. 51. l. iii. p. 154. § Laert. l. ii. sect. 125—140. || Athen. l. iv. p. 168.

mas.* They met with several other friends, who liberally supplied them with whatever was necessary to enable them to prosecute their studies.

By the advice of his friend, and probably in his society, Menedemus went from Athens to Megara, to attend upon the instructions of Stilpo. He expressed his approbation of the manner in which this philosopher taught, by giving him the appellation of *The Liberal*. He next visited Elis, where he became a disciple of Phædo, and afterwards his successor. Transferring the Eliac school from Elis to his native city, he gave it the name of Eretrian. In his school he neglected those forms which were commonly observed in places of this kind: his hearers were not, as usual, placed on circular benches around him; but every one attended him in whatever posture he pleased, standing, walking, or sitting.

At first Menedemus was received by the Eretrians with contempt; and, on account of the vehemence with which he disputed, he was often branded with the appellations of *cur*, and *madman*. But afterwards he rose into high esteem, and was intrusted with a public office, to which was annexed an annual stipend of two hundred talents. He discharged the trust with fidelity, but accepted only a fourth part of the appointment. On several successive embassies to Ptolemy, Lysander and Demetrius, he rendered his countrymen essential services, by obtaining a diminution of their tribute, and rescuing them from other burdens. Antigonus entertained a personal respect for him, and professed himself one of his disciples. His intimacy with this prince created a suspicion amongst his countrymen that he had a secret intention to betray their city into his hands. To escape the hazards arising from their jealousy, he retired to Oropus in Bœotia, and afterwards fled to Antigonus, where mortification and disappointment soon put a period to his life. He precipitated his end by abstaining for several days from food. He died in the eighty-fourth year of his age and about the hundred and twenty-fourth Olympiad.†

Menedemus possessed great readiness and versatility of genius, and was able to dispute on every subject with keenness and fluency. He declared his opinions with freedom, inveighed with severity against the vices of others, and by the purity of his own manners commanded universal respect. He observed the strictest moderation in his manner of living.‡ His entertainments, which were frequented by many philosophers and men of distinction, were simple and frugal, consisting chiefly of vegetables, and were always enlivened by liberal conversation. His friendship for Asclepiades continued after his death. A favourite servant of his, coming late to the house of Menedemus, was refused admission by the servants; but the master ordered them to let him in, adding, that Asclepiades, though dead, had still the power of opening his doors.

Nothing farther is known concerning the preceptors of the Eliac or Eretriac school, but that they studiously avoided, and strenuously opposed the sophistical fooleries of the Megaric sect, and adhered closely to the simple doctrines and useful precepts which they had received from SOCRATES.§

* About six pounds.

† B. C. 284.

‡ Athen. l. x. p. 419.

§ Vidend. Jons. l. ii. c. 4. 6. Eschenbach, Diss. Acad. v. De Sympos. Sap. Hody de Bibl. Text. Orig. l. i. c. 7.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE ACADEMIC SECT.

SECTION I.—OF PLATO AND HIS PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING treated of those sects of philosophers derived from the school of Socrates, which were of inferior note and of short duration, we are now to trace the rise and progress of those which were more permanent and of greater celebrity. These were the ACADEMIC and the CYNIC sects; the former founded by Plato, the latter by Antisthenes. The Academic sect afterwards gave birth to the PERIPATETIC, and the Cynic to the STOIC.

Of all the disciples of Socrates, Plato, though he modestly calls himself the least,* was unquestionably the most illustrious. As long as philosophy continued to be studied among the Greeks and Romans, his doctrines were taught, and his name was held in the highest veneration. When other sects fell into oblivion, the Platonic philosophy, united with the Peripatetic, still flourished. Even to the present day, Plato has many followers; his writings still give a tincture to the speculations and language of philosophy and theology. An inquiry into the particulars of his life and doctrine is therefore an interesting part of our design. And it is the more necessary that this inquiry be made with diligence and accuracy, as his opinions have been frequently misrepresented, and his system, as we shall afterwards see, has undergone frequent and material alterations.

PLATO† was by descent an Athenian; but the place of his birth was the island of Ægina, where his father Aristo resided after that island became subject to Athens. His origin is traced back, on his father's side, to Codrus, and on that of his mother Parectonia, through five generations, to Solon.‡ The time of his birth is commonly placed in the first year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad;§ but perhaps it may be more accurately fixed in the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad.|| Fable has made Apollo his father, and has said that he was born of a virgin.¶ He gave early indications of an extensive and original genius. Whilst he was young, he was instructed in the rudiments of letters by the grammarian Dionysius, and trained in athletic exercises by Aristo of Argos. He applied, with great diligence, to the study and practice of the arts of painting and poetry. In the latter he made such proficiency as to produce an epic poem, which, however, on comparing it with Homer, he committed to the flames. At the age of twenty years he composed a dramatic piece, which he gave to the performers, to be represented upon the stage; but the day before the intended exhibition, happening to attend upon a discourse of Socrates, he was captivated by his eloquence, and from that moment determined to relinquish all pretensions to poetical distinction, and to turn his ambition into the channel of philosophy. He forsook the muses, burned his poems, and applied himself wholly to the study of wisdom.**

* Apol. Soc.

† Laert. l. iii. sect. 1, &c. Suidas.

‡ Proclus ad Timæum, p. 25.

§ B. C. 428.

|| B. C. 430.

¶ Plut. Sympos. l. viii. c. 1. Hieronym. adv. Jov. l. i. tom. iv. p. 186. ed. Par.

** Ælian, Hist. Var. l. x. c. 21. 27. 30. Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xi. c. 29. Cic. de Divin. l. i. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 7.

It is probable that Plato received the first tincture of philosophy from Cratylus and Hermogenes,* who taught the systems of Heraclitus and Parmenides. When he was twenty years old he became a stated disciple of Socrates, and remained with him in that relation eight years. During this period he frequently displeased the followers of Socrates, and sometimes gave Socrates himself occasions of complaint, by mixing foreign tenets with those of his master, and grafting upon the Socratic system opinions which were taken from some other stock. Plato, nevertheless, retained a zealous attachment to Socrates. When that great and good man was summoned before the senate, Plato, as we have seen, undertook to plead his cause, and began a speech in his defence; but the partiality and violence of the judges would not permit him to proceed. After the condemnation, he presented his master with money sufficient to redeem his life, which, however, Socrates refused to accept. During his imprisonment, Plato attended him, and was present at a conversation which he held with his friends concerning the immortality of the soul, the substance of which he afterwards committed to writing in the beautiful dialogue entitled *Phædo*,† not, however, without interweaving his own opinions and language. Upon the death of his master, he withdrew, with several other friends of Socrates, to Megara, where they were hospitably entertained by Euclid, and remained till the ferment at Athens subsided. Under Euclid he studied the art of reasoning, and probably increased his fondness for disputation.

Desirous of making himself master of all the wisdom and learning which the age could furnish, Plato travelled into every country which was so far enlightened as to promise him any recompence for his labour. He first visited that part of Italy called *Magna Græcia*, where a celebrated school of philosophy had been established by Pythagoras, and was instructed in all the mysteries of the Pythagorean system,‡ the subtleties of which he afterwards too freely blended with the simple doctrine of Socrates. He next visited Theodorus of Cyrene, and became his pupil in mathematical science. When he found himself sufficiently instructed in the elements of this branch of learning, he determined to study astronomy, and other sciences, in Egypt. That he might travel with safety, he assumed the character of a merchant, and as a seller of oil passed through the whole kingdom of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Wherever he came, he obtained information from the Egyptian priests concerning their astronomical observations and calculations. “Whilst studious youth,” (says Valerius Maximus,§ rather indeed in the style of oratory than history, for Plato had not yet instituted his school at Athens) “were crowding to Athens from every quarter in search of Plato for their master, that philosopher was wandering along the winding banks of the Nile, or the vast plains of a barbarous country, himself a disciple to the old men of Egypt.”

It has been asserted, that it was in Egypt that Plato acquired his opinions concerning the origin of the world, and learnt the doctrines of transmigration, and the immortality of the soul:|| but it is more probable that he learned the latter doctrine from Socrates, and the former from Pythagoras. It is not likely that Plato, in the habit of a merchant, could have gained access to the sacred mysteries of Egypt; for we shall afterwards see, in the case of Pythagoras, that the Egyptian priests were so unwilling to communicate their secrets to strangers, that even a royal

* Apuleius de Dogmat. Plat. Arist. Met. l. i. c. 6.

† Conf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 33.

‡ Apul. loc. cit. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 29. Quintil. l. i. c. 12. Photii Codex, 259. p. 712.

§ L. viii. c. 7.

|| Pausan. in Messen. p. 360.

mandate was scarcely sufficient, in a single instance, to procure this indulgence. Little regard is therefore due to the opinion of those * who assert that Plato derived his system of philosophy from the Egyptians.

Nor is there better foundation for supposing, † that during his residence in Egypt, Plato became acquainted with the doctrine of the Hebrews, and enriched his system with spoils from their sacred books. This opinion has, it is true, been strenuously maintained by several Jewish and Christian writers; but it has little foundation beyond mere conjecture; and it is not difficult to perceive that it originated in that injudicious zeal for the honour of revelation, which led these writers to make the Hebrew scriptures, or traditions, the source of all gentile wisdom.

The opinion, that Plato derived his philosophy originally from the Hebrews, and consequently from divine revelation, was commonly embraced by the fathers of the Christian church, and has been adopted by many learned divines. The chief grounds upon which this opinion rests are; 1. The authority of the Jewish writers, Josephus and Aristobulus, and of the Christian fathers, Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Ambrose, and others; ‡ 2. The opinion that a Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures appeared in Egypt before the time of Plato, which he might have seen and read, as Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius, on the testimony of Aristobulus, assert; 3. The presumption, that the Egyptians borrowed many of their tenets from the Israelites, and communicated them to Plato; and 4. The agreement of the doctrines of Plato with those of the Hebrews. But these arguments will not, we apprehend, appear satisfactory to those who are not inclined to pay implicit respect to ancient authority: for, 1. The testimony of the Christian fathers is, in the present question, of little value; for they had recourse to no authentic memorials or impartial witnesses, but gave credit to the suggestions of certain Jewish writers, who, several centuries after the time of Plato, to gratify their own vanity, and that of their countrymen, pretended that all gentile wisdom had been originally derived from Moses; and particularly that Plato, during his residence in Egypt, had been instructed in the Hebrew school. This notion was eagerly embraced by several learned Platonists, who in the second century were converted to Christianity, but still retained an attachment to their former master: and from this time it became a common practice, among those who affected the credit of Greek erudition, to maintain, that whatever opinions Plato and his followers held, similar to the doctrines of revelation, had been borrowed either from the Hebrews or the Christians. 2. A Greek version of the Hebrew scriptures, prior to the time of Alexander, never existed, but in the brain of Aristobulus, as will more fully appear when we come to treat of the Jewish philosophy. Neither the author, nor the occasion of this version can be produced, nor does any such work appear to those who might have been acquainted with it, and whose interest it would have been to have read it. Separated as the Jews were before the time of Alexander from all intercourse with other nations, and carefully as they concealed their mysteries and sacred books from gentile strangers, it is not easy to conceive how such a version could have been made; not to urge that Greek literature was first introduced into Egypt by Alexander. 3. Equally unsupported is the assertion, that the Egyptians, and even Plato himself, conversed with the Jews on theological subjects. Upon this question,

* Jamblich. *Myst. Æg.* l. i. c. 2. p. 3.

† Huet. *Dem. Pr.* iv. c. 2. sect. 15. Gale's *Court of the Gent.* Conf. Le Clerc, *Ep. Crit.* vii. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, c. 20.

‡ Vid. Lamy de Trinit. Florent. 1733.

learned men have confounded the time when the Greeks possessed Egypt with a preceding period, in which it would not be easy to prove that any such intercourse took place between the Egyptians and the Jews. Nor is it at all probable that the small remnant of the Jewish nation, who after the captivity went with Jeremiah into Egypt, would appear of so much consequence, as to engage the attention of all Egypt and Greece to their religious customs and tenets. Lastly, no proof of the point in question can arise from the supposed agreement between the Mosaic and Platonic doctrines; for either the agreement is imaginary, or it consists in such particulars as might easily be discovered by the light of reason. Besides, it has not been sufficiently attended to, that the true doctrine of Plato was, in the Alexandrian school, so far adulterated, and blended with other systems, that those fathers of the Christian church, who had studied Platonism in this school, might easily imagine a greater harmony between the Platonic doctrine and their own creed than in reality existed. The Christian fathers seem to have thought the supposition, that Heathen philosophy had been the result of the natural powers of the human mind, derogatory to the honour of revelation. But its grounds and principles are now too well understood to render it necessary to borrow any part of its credit and authority from Plato. But to return to the narrative.

When Plato had in his travels exhausted the philosophical treasures of distant countries, he returned into Italy, to the Pythagorean school at Tarentum,* where he endeavoured to improve his own system, by incorporating with it the doctrine of Pythagoras, as it was then taught by Archytas, Timæus, and others:† and afterwards, when he visited Sicily (as we shall presently relate), he retained such an attachment to the Italic school, that through the bounty of Dionysius he purchased,‡ at a vast price, several books, which contained the doctrine of Pythagoras, from Philolaus, one of his followers.

From the particulars which we have related concerning the manner in which Plato acquired his knowledge, we are enabled to ascertain, with some degree of precision, the sources of his philosophy. His dialectics he borrowed from Euclid of Megara: the principles of natural philosophy he learned in the Eleatic school from Hermogenes and Cratylus; and combining these with the Pythagorean doctrine of natural causes, he framed from both his system of metaphysics. Mathematics and astronomy he was taught in the Cyrenaic school, and by the Egyptian priests. From Socrates he imbibed the pure principles of moral and political wisdom; but he afterwards obscured their simplicity by Pythagorean speculations.

Returning home richly stored with knowledge of various kinds, Plato settled in Athens, and executed the design, which he had doubtless long had in contemplation, of forming a new school for the instruction of youth in the principles of philosophy. The place which he made choice of for this purpose was a public grove called the Academy, from Academus,§ who left it to the citizens for the purpose of gymnastic exercises. Adorned with statues, temples, and sepulchres, surrounded with high trees, and intersected by a gentle stream, it afforded a delightful retreat for philosophy and the muses. Of this retreat Horace speaks:||

Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.(a)

* Cic. Cato Maj. c. 16.

† Apul. loc. cit. Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 29.

‡ Conf. Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 17. Laert. iii. 9. viii. 84. Jamblich. Vit. Pyth. c. 31

§ Pausan. in Atticis. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xii. c. 1. Plut. in Cimone, et de Exil. Fabric. Bibliograph. Anc. c. 21. sect. 3. Potter's Arch. Græc. book i. c. 8.

|| Ep. ii. 45.

(a) 'Midst Academic groves to search for truth.

Within this inclosure he possessed, as a part of his humble patrimony, purchased at the price of 3000 drachmas, a small garden, in which he opened a school for the reception of those who might be inclined to attend his instructions. How much Plato valued mathematical studies, and how necessary a preparation he thought them for higher speculations, appears from the inscription which he placed over the door of his school: *Οὐδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσὶτω*, "Let no one, who is unacquainted with geometry, enter here."

This new school soon became famous, and its master was ranked among the most eminent philosophers. His travels into distant countries, where learning and wisdom flourished, gave him celebrity among his brethren of the Socratic sect. None of these had ventured to institute a school in Athens, except Aristippus; and he had confined his instructions almost entirely to ethical subjects, and had brought himself into discredit by the freedom of his manners. Plato alone remained to inherit the patrimony of public esteem which Socrates had left his disciples, and he possessed talents and learning adequate to his design of extending the study of philosophy beyond the limits within which it had been inclosed by his master. The consequence was, not only that young men crowded to his school from every quarter, but that people of the first distinction, in every department, frequented the Academy. Even females, disguised in men's clothes, often attended his lectures.* Among the illustrious names which appear in the catalogue of his followers are Dion, the Syracusan prince, and the orators Hyperides, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and Isocrates.

Such distinguished reputation naturally produced among the companions of Plato, formerly the disciples of Socrates, a spirit of emulation, which soon degenerated into envy, and loaded him with detraction and obloquy.† It can only be ascribed to mutual jealousy, that Xenophon and Plato, though they relatè the discourses of their common master, studiously avoid mentioning one another. Diogenes the Cynic ridiculed Plato's doctrine of ideas, and other abstract speculations. In the midst of these private censures, however, the public fame of Plato daily increased. His political wisdom was in such high estimation, that several states solicited his assistance in new-modelling their respective forms‡ of government. Applications of this kind from the Arcadians, and from the Thebans, he rejected, because they refused to adopt the plan of his republic, which required an equal distribution of property. He gave his advice in the affairs of Elis, and other Grecian states, and furnished a code of laws for Syracuse. Plato was in high esteem with several princes, particularly Archelaus, king of Macedon, and Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily. At three different periods he visited the court of this latter prince, and made several bold, but unsuccessful attempts to subdue his haughty and tyrannical spirit. A brief relation§ of the particulars of these visits to Sicily may serve to cast some light upon the character of our philosopher.

The professed object of Plato's first visit to Sicily, which happened in the fortieth year of his age, during the reign of the elder Dionysius, the son of Hermocrates, was, to take a survey of the island, and particularly to observe the wonders of Mount Ætna. Whilst he was resident at Syracuse, he was employed in the instruction of Dion, the king's brother-in-law, who possessed excellent abilities, though hitherto restrained by the

* Athen. l. vii. p. 279. J. xi. p. 546. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 69.

† Athenæus, l. xi. p. 507. Sen. de Vit. Beat. c. 18.

‡ Ælian, Hist. Var. l. ii. c. 42. Plut. adv. Colot. l. iii.

§ Platon. Epist. ii. vii. Plut. in Dione. Laert. l. iii.

terrors of a tyrannical government, and relaxed by the luxuries of a licentious court. Disgusted by the debauched manners of the Syracusans, he endeavoured to rescue his pupil from the general depravity. Nor did Dion disappoint his preceptor's expectations. No sooner had he received a taste of that philosophy which leads to virtue than he was fired with an ardent love of wisdom. Entertaining a hope that philosophy might produce the same effect upon Dionysius, he took great pains to procure an interview between Plato and the tyrant. In the course of the conference, whilst Plato was discoursing on the security and happiness of virtue, and the miseries attending injustice and oppression, Dionysius, perceiving that the philosopher's discourse was levelled against the vices and cruelties of his reign, dismissed him with high displeasure from his presence, and conceived a design against his life. It was not without great difficulty that Plato, by the assistance of Dion, made his escape. A vessel which had brought over Pollis, a delegate from Sparta, was fortunately at that time returning to Greece. Dion engaged Pollis to take the charge of the philosopher, and land him safely in his native country; but Dionysius discovered the design, and obtained a promise from Pollis that he would either put him to death, or sell him as a slave upon the passage. Pollis, accordingly, sold him in the island of Ægina, the inhabitants of which were then at war with the Athenians. Plato could not long remain unnoticed: Anicerris, a Cyrenaic philosopher, who happened to be at that time in the island, discovered the stranger, and thought himself happy in an opportunity of showing his respect for so illustrious a philosopher: he purchased his freedom for thirty *minæ*, and sent him home to Athens. Repayment being afterwards offered to Anicerris by Plato's relations, he refused the money, saying, with that generous spirit which true philosophy always inspires, that he saw no reason why the relations of Plato should engross to themselves the honour of serving him.

After a short interval, Dionysius repented of his ill-placed resentment, and wrote to Plato, earnestly requesting him to repair his credit by returning to Syracuse; to which Plato gave this high-spirited answer, that philosophy would not allow him leisure to think of Dionysius. Dion, who, through the influence of Plato's instructions had become a determined votary of virtue, was earnestly desirous of inspiring others with the same sentiments. In hope of making an advantageous impression upon the mind of the younger Dionysius, he took every occasion of making him acquainted with the doctrines and precepts of his master. The effect was such as Dion wished—the youth soon expressed an earnest desire to become acquainted with the philosopher. Letters were immediately despatched to Plato, from the tyrant, from Dion, and from several followers of Pythagoras, who were at that time resident in Sicily, importuning him to return to Syracuse, and take upon him the education of the young prince. After some hesitation, apprehending lest a refusal might seem to imply an unworthy neglect of the interest of philosophy, and entertaining some hope, that by cleansing the fountain of public manners in Sicily, he should be able to purify the stream, he consented. It has also been said,* and not without plausibility, that he was induced to undertake this second journey to Syracuse by a promise, on the part of Dionysius, that he would adopt the philosopher's plan of government. In the mean time, the enemies of Dion prevailed upon Dionysius to recall from exile Philistus, a man of tyrannical principles and spirit, from whom they hoped for a powerful oppo-

* Athenæus, l. xi. p. 507.

sition to the doctrine and the measures of Plato. The philosopher was conducted to Syracuse with public honours; the king himself received him into his chariot, and sacrifices were offered in congratulation of his arrival. New regulations were immediately introduced; the licentiousness of the court was restrained; moderation reigned in all public festivals; the king assumed an air of benignity; philosophy was studied by his courtiers; and every good man assured himself of a happy revolution in the state of public manners. But Philistus and his adherents, envious of the philosopher's increasing influence with the tyrant, soon found means to rekindle his jealousy. Through their intrigues, Dion became so obnoxious to Dionysius, that he ordered him to be imprisoned, and afterwards banished him into Italy. Plato, and the friends of Dion, were exceedingly alarmed at this measure, and began to be apprehensive for their own safety. Dionysius, however, continued to treat them courteously. Under the pretence of friendship, he allotted Plato an apartment in his palace, but at the same time placed a secret guard about him, that no one might visit him without his knowledge. At length, upon the commencement of a war, Dionysius sent Plato back into his own country, but not without a promise that he would recall both him and Dion upon the return of peace.

Dion, who now resided in Athens, diligently attended upon the lectures of his master, and so far profited by his moral precepts, as to lay aside every thing effeminate and luxurious in his manner of living. The tyrant, in the mean time, that he might, if possible, obliterate the ignominy which he had brought upon himself by the banishment of Plato, invited philosophers from every quarter to his court. Their discourses recalled his attention to philosophy, and he again became exceedingly desirous of Plato's return. The philosopher received his solicitations with coolness, pleaded in excuse his advanced age; and reminded the tyrant of the violation of his promise, that on the return of peace Dion should be restored. It was not till the request of Dionysius was seconded by the intreaties of the wife and sister of Dion, and by the importunities of Archytas of Tarentum, and other Pythagorean philosophers, to whom the tyrant had pledged himself for the performance of his promises, that he could be prevailed upon to return.

When Plato arrived the third time at Syracuse, the king met him in a magnificent chariot, and conducted him to his palace. The Sicilians too, whose hatred of Philistus inclined them to favour the party of Dion, rejoiced in his return, for they hoped that the wisdom of Plato would at length triumph over the tyrannical spirit of the prince. Dionysius seemed wholly divested of his former resentments, listened with apparent pleasure to the philosopher's doctrine, and, among other expressions of regard, presented him with eighty talents of gold. In the midst of a numerous train of philosophers, Plato now possessed the chief influence and authority in the court of Syracuse. Whilst Aristippus was enjoying himself in splendid luxury, whilst Diogenes was freely indulging his acrimonious humour, and whilst Æschines was gratifying his thirst after riches, Plato supported the credit of philosophy with an air of dignity, which his friends regarded as an indication of superior wisdom, but which his enemies imputed to pride. After all, it was not in the power of Plato to prevail upon Dionysius to adopt his system of policy, or to recall Dion from his exile. Mutual distrust, after a short interval, arose between the tyrant and the philosopher; each suspected the other of evil designs, and each endeavoured to conceal his suspicion under the disguise of respect. Dionysius attempted to impose upon Plato by condescending attentions, and Plato to deceive Dionysius

by an appearance of confidence. At length, the philosopher became so much dissatisfied with his situation, that he earnestly requested permission to return to Greece.

After some opposition on the part of the tyrant, permission was granted and a vessel of convoy was provided. But before the ship set sail Dionysius repented, and detained Plato in Syracuse against his inclination. From this time the freedom of the philosopher's complaints and reproofs became offensive to the tyrant, and Dionysius dismissed Plato from his court, and put him under a guard of soldiers, whom false rumours had incensed against him. His Pythagorean friends at Tarentum, being informed of his dangerous situation, immediately despatched an embassy to Dionysius, demanding an instant completion of his promise to Archytas. The tyrant, not daring to refuse this demand, but at the same time desirous to save himself, as much as possible, from the disgrace of having banished from his court the first philosopher of the age, gave Plato a magnificent entertainment, and sent him away loaded with rich presents. On his way to Athens, passing through Elis during the celebration of the Olympic games, he was present at this general assembly of the Greeks, and engaged universal attention.

From this narrative it appears, that if Plato visited the courts of princes, it was chiefly from the hope of seeing his ideal plan of a republic realised; and that his talents and attainments rather qualified him to shine in the academy than in the council or the senate.

Plato, now restored to his country and his school, devoted himself to science, and spent the last years of a long life in the instruction of youth. Having enjoyed the advantage of an athletic constitution, and lived all his days temperately, he arrived at the eighty-first, or according to some writers, the seventy-ninth year of his age, and died, through the mere decay of nature,* in the first year of the hundred and eighth Olympiad. He passed his whole life in a state of celibacy, and therefore left no natural heirs, but transferred his effects by will to his friend Adimantus. The grove and garden, which had been the scene of his philosophical labours, at last afforded him a sepulchre.† Statues and altars were erected to his memory; the day of his birth long continued to be celebrated as a festival by his followers; and his portrait is to this day preserved in gems; but the most lasting monuments of his genius are his writings, which have been transmitted, without material injury, to the present times.

The personal character of Plato has been very differently represented. On the one hand, his encomiasts have not failed to adorn him with every excellence, and to express the most superstitious veneration for his memory.‡ His enemies, on the other, have not scrupled to load him with reproach, and charge him with practices shamefully inconsistent with the purity and dignity of the philosophical character.§ We cannot so implicitly adopt the panegyrics of the former as to suppose him to have been free from human frailties, and we have a right to require much better proofs than his calumniators have adduced before we can suppose him to have been capable of sinking, from the sublime speculations of philosophy, into the most infamous vices. To load the character of a great man with infamy, upon slight suspicions, is a species of impiety.

Several anecdotes are preserved, which reflect honour upon the moral principles and character of Plato. Such was his command of temper that,

* Seneca, Ep. 58. Laert. l. iii. sect. 2. Cic. de Senect. c. 5.

† Pausan. Attic. ‡ Vid. Ficini Dedicat. Op. Plat. Seneca de Vita Beata, c. 18.

§ Athen. l. xi. p. 507. Laert. l. iii. c. 26. Cic. Tusc. Q. l. iv.

when he was lifting up his hand to correct his servant for some offence, perceiving himself angry, he kept his arm fixed in that posture, and said to a friend, who, coming in that instant, asked him what he was doing, "I am punishing a passionate man."* At another time, he said to one of his slaves, "I would chastise you, if I were not angry." At the Olympic games he happened to pass a day with some strangers, who were much delighted with his easy and affable conversation, but were no farther informed concerning him than that his name was Plato; for he had purposely avoided saying any thing concerning Socrates or the Academy. At parting, he invited them, when they should visit Athens, to take up their residence at his house. Not long afterwards they accepted his invitation, and were courteously entertained. During their stay they requested that he would introduce them to his namesake, the famous philosopher, and show them his Academy. Plato, smiling, said, "I am the person you wish to see." The discovery surprised them exceedingly; for they could not easily persuade themselves that so eminent a philosopher would condescend to converse so familiarly with strangers.† When Plato was told that his enemies were busily employed in circulating reports to his disadvantage, he said, "I will live so, that none shall believe them." One of his friends remarking, that he seemed as desirous to learn himself, as to teach others, asked him how long he intended to be a scholar? "As long," said he, "as I am not ashamed to grow wiser and better."

It is from the writings of Plato, chiefly, that we are to form a judgment of his merit as a philosopher, and of the service which he rendered to science. No one can be conversant with these without perceiving that his diction always retained a strong tincture of that poetical spirit which he discovered in his first productions. This is the principal ground of those lofty encomiums which both ancient and modern critics have passed upon his language, and particularly, of the high estimation in which it was held by Cicero,‡ who, treating on the subject of language, says, that "if Jupiter were to speak in the Greek tongue, he would borrow the style of Plato." The accurate Stagirite describes it as "a middle species of diction, between verse and prose."§ Some of his dialogues are elevated by such sublime and glowing conceptions, are enriched with such copious and splendid diction, and flow in so harmonious a *rhythmus*, that they may truly be pronounced highly poetical. Most of them are justly admired for their literary merit: the introductions are pertinent and amusing; the course of the debate, or conversation, is clearly marked; the characters are accurately supported; every speaker has his proper place, language, and manners; the scenery of the conference is painted in lively colouring; and the whole is, with admirable art, adorned and enlivened by those minute embellishments which render the colloquial mode of writing so peculiarly pleasing. Even upon abstract subjects, whether moral, metaphysical, or mathematical, the language of Plato is often clear as the running stream, and in simplicity and sweetness vies with the humble violet which perfumes the vale. In these beautiful parts of his works it has been conjectured, not without probability, that Socrates and Lysias were his models. At other times, however, we find him swelling into the turgid style, a tincture of which he seems to have retained from his juvenile studies, and involving himself in obscurities, which were the offspring of a

* Seneca de Ira, l. ii. c. 22. l. iii. c. 12.

† Ælian, Var. Hist. l. iv. c. 9. Plut. in Symp. Laert.

‡ Orat. c. 3. 20. De Offic. l. i. De Leg. l. ii. § Arist. apud Laert.

lofty fancy, or were borrowed from the Italic school. Several ancient critics have noticed these blemishes in the writings of Plato. Dionysius Halicarnassus* particularly censures Plato for the harshness of his metaphors, and his bold innovations in the use of terms, and quotes from his Phædrus examples of the bombast, the puerile, and the frigid style. The same inequality, which is so apparent in the style of Plato, may also be observed in his conceptions. Whilst he adheres to the school of Socrates, and discourses upon moral topics, he is much more pleasing than when he loses himself, with Pythagoras, in abstruse speculations.

The Dialogues of Plato, which treat of various subjects, and were written with different views, are classed by the ancients† under the two heads of DIDACTIC and INQUISITIVE. The Didactic are subdivided into SPECULATIVE, including *physical* and *logical*; and PRACTICAL, comprehending *ethical* and *political*. The second class, the Inquisitive, is characterised by terms taken from the athletic art, and divided into the Gymnastic and the Agonistic; the dialogues termed Gymnastic were imagined to be similar to the *exercise*, and were subdivided into the Maieutic, as resembling the teaching of the rudiments of the art, and the Peirastic, as represented by a skirmish, or trial of proficiency. The Agonistic dialogues, supposed to resemble the *combat*, were either Endeictic, as exhibiting a specimen of skill, or Anatreptic, presenting the spectacle of a perfect defeat. Instead of this whimsical classification, an arrangement of the dialogues, taken from the subjects on which they treat, would be much more obvious and useful. They may not improperly be divided into *physical*, *logical*, *ethical* and *political*.

The writings of Plato were originally collected by Hermodorus, one of his pupils; they consist of thirty-five dialogues, and thirteen epistles. They were first published, after the invention of printing, by Aldus Manutius, at Venice, in 1513.‡ The editions of Ficinus and Serranus are the most valuable; but their notes and interpretations are to be read with caution; for Ficinus, having formed his conceptions of the doctrine of Plato after the model of the Alexandrian school, frequently in his *Arguments* misrepresents the design of his author, and in his version obscures the sense of the original; and Serranus, for want of an accurate acquaintance with the doctrine of his author, and through the influence of a strong predilection for the scholastic system of theology, sometimes gives an incorrect and injudicious explanation of the text.

Many of the particulars, which have been related concerning Plato, had doubtless an influence upon the nature and form of his Philosophical System, to the consideration of which we are now to proceed. In order to discover, as far as we are able, the true characters of the Platonic doctrine, and at the same time to show from what causes it happens that this subject is necessarily involved in great obscurity, several general observations must be submitted to the reader's diligent attention.

Plato, disdaining the sober method of reasoning introduced by Socrates, left his first master in search of other preceptors. His natural propensity towards excessive refinement in speculation, and the celebrity of the Italic school, which abounded in subtleties, induced him to attach himself to the Pythagorean philosophy. He afterwards studied, as we have seen, under the Egyptian priests, who doubtless seduced him yet farther from the plain path of common sense, which had hitherto been followed in the Socratic school. One circumstance it is particularly necessary to remark that,

* Epist. ad Pomp.

† Laert. l. iii.

‡ Fabricius, Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 42.

among other things which Plato received from foreign philosophy, he was careful to borrow* the art of concealing his real opinions. His inclination towards this kind of concealment appears from the obscure language which abounds in his writings, and may indeed be learned from his own express assertions. "It is a difficult thing," says he,† "to discover the nature of the Creator of the universe; and, being discovered, it is impossible, and would even be impious, to expose the discovery to vulgar understandings." Again,‡ "It would be to no purpose to lay open to mankind at large the doctrines of philosophy, which are adapted only to the comprehension of a few intelligent persons, who, from imperfect hints, are capable of conceiving their full import." Plato did not, indeed, after the example of Pythagoras, shut up the door of the Academy, or demand an oath of secrecy from his disciples, but he purposely threw a veil of obscurity over his public instructions, which was only removed for the benefit of those who were thought worthy of being admitted to his more private and confidential lectures. This concealed method of philosophising he was induced to adopt from a regard to his personal safety, and from motives of vanity. He apprehended that this was the only way to secure himself from the inconveniences which several of his predecessors among the Greeks had brought upon themselves by an undisguised declaration of their opinions; and he had seen how successfully both the Pythagoreans and Egyptians had employed the arts of concealment to excite admiration of the vulgar, who are always inclined to imagine something more than human in things which they do not understand.

The colloquial form of instruction which had been introduced by Socrates in his contest with the Sophists, and which had been also adopted in the Dialectic schools, Plato found peculiarly convenient for the purpose of concealing his opinions. His success in the application of this expedient appears in almost every dialogue which he has written. The main question of the dialogue is so long kept in suspense by the minute detail of induction, and the business of the piece meets with such frequent colloquial interruptions, that it is not without great difficulty that the reader can follow the thread of argument, or perceive the general conclusion. More pains is taken to expose an inaccurate or inadequate definition or explanation of any subject than to substitute one more perfect in its stead. The writer's meaning is frequently lost in the obscurity of subtle distinctions, and sometimes, after the Egyptian manner, concealed under the cloak of fable. Cicero, though an enthusiastic admirer of Plato, was not insensible of the uncertainty which, from this cause, hangs upon his doctrine. "Plato," says he,§ "affirms nothing; but after producing many arguments, and examining a question on every side, leaves it undetermined."

Farther difficulties arise from the language in which Plato expresses his conceptions. Sometimes the reader is dazzled by the splendour of his poetical diction, and sometimes he is perplexed by studied ambiguities, and finds the same term used in different senses, and different terms employed to express the same meaning.|| Plato has also greatly increased the obscurity of his writings by frequently mixing the ideas and language of mathematics with those of metaphysics. Had he made use of mathematical learning merely as a preparatory exercise for sublimer conceptions, his pupils might

* Porph. Vit. Pyth. p. 49. Apul. flor. c. 15. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. i. De Fin. l. v.

† In Timæo, ed. Serrani, tom. iii. p. 28.

‡ Epist. vii. t. iii. p. 341. Ep. ii. ad Dionys.

§ Acad. Qu. l. i.

|| Laert. l. iii. sect. 63, 64.

have reaped much benefit from the practice; but he attempted, after the example of the Pythagorean school, to express philosophical conceptions by mathematical diagrams and proportions, and thus involved in artificial perplexity subjects in themselves sufficiently obscure.*

But the principal cause of a want of perspicuity in the writings of Plato is, after all, the extreme subtlety of his speculations upon abstract and sublime topics. The implicit followers of this philosopher have been willing to exculpate their master from the charge of obscurity by accusing his readers of dulness in their conceptions. But those who have attended to the origin of the Platonic philosophy will acknowledge that it partakes largely of the characters of subtlety and enthusiasm, which, as we shall afterwards see, distinguished the Pythagorean system. It was not without reason that Xenophon, or whoever else was the author of the epistle to Æschines preserved in his works, censures Plato for neglecting the sober philosophy of Socrates, and through a vain affectation of extraordinary refinement, and a fond partiality for the mysteries of Egypt, and for the prodigies of Pythagoras, devoting himself to subtle speculations, and becoming a haughty professor of wisdom. That this remark was not dictated by envy, but founded on truth, the whole constitution of the Platonic philosophy clearly proves. Raising man above his condition and nature, he unites him to certain imaginary divine principles; leads him through various orders of emanation, and forms of intelligence, to the Supreme Being, and represents these fictions of fancy† as the first principles of wisdom. In such a wondrous maze of words does Plato involve his notions, that none of his disciples, not even the sagacious Stagirite, could unfold them: and yet we receive them as sacred mysteries, and, if we do not perfectly comprehend them, imagine that our intellects are too feeble to penetrate the conceptions of this divine philosopher, and that our eyes are blinded by that resplendent blaze of truth upon which his eagle sight could gaze without injury.‡

The truth appears to have been that Plato, ambitious of the honour of forming a new sect, and endued by nature with more brilliancy of fancy than strength of judgment, collected the tenets of other philosophers, which were, in many particulars, contradictory, and could by no exertion of ingenuity be brought to coalesce, and that out of this heterogeneous mass he framed a confused system, destitute of form or consistency. This will be acknowledged by every one who, in perusing the philosophical writings of Plato, is capable of divesting himself of that blind respect for antiquity by which the learned so frequently suffer themselves to be misled. In confirmation of the propriety of this judgment, we need only refer to the dialogue entitled *Timæus*, a chaotic mass of opinions, which no commentators have yet been able to reconcile, or to explain.§

The followers of Plato, far from dispersing the clouds which, from the first, hung over his system, appear to have entered into a general combination to increase its obscurity. The successive changes which took place in the Academy after the death of its founder, by introducing a succession of new opinions, continually increased the difficulty of arriving at the true sense of Plato. And when, in a subsequent period, the Platonic philosophy was professed in Alexandria, it was still farther adulterated by an injudicious and absurd attempt to mould into one system the doctrines of Plato,

* Burnet, Archæolog. l. i. c. 11.

† *Τεταρίσματα*, so Aristotle calls Plato's *ideas*. Anal. Poster. l. i. c. 19. Conf. Metaph. l. i. c. 7.

‡ Burnet, l. c.

§ Cic. ad Attic. l. vii. Ep. 13. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. i. c. 13.

the traditionary tenets of Egypt and the eastern nations, and the sacred creeds of the Jews and Christians; a coalition which, as we shall afterwards see, proved exceedingly injurious both to philosophy and religion.

If these several circumstances be duly considered, it will be acknowledged to be no easy task to delineate an accurate sketch of the Platonic philosophy. In our attempt to exhibit, in miniature, a faithful portrait of the mind of Plato, we have found it necessary chiefly to rely upon his own writings, and upon the representations of those ancient writers who were free from the spirit of confusion which possessed the schools of the later Platonists. Among the purest sources of secondary information upon this subject, we have seen reason to place the philosophical writings of Cicero and the methodical arrangements of Apuleius and Alcinous.

The philosophy of Plato, as he himself suggests, and his interpreters unanimously allow, may be divided into three branches, the first of which treats of the art of reasoning, or dialectics; the second, of theoretical questions concerning nature, or physics; the third of practical subjects respecting life and manners, or ethics. Before we enter upon the distinct examination of each of these branches, it will be necessary to premise a few words concerning the Platonic notion of philosophy in general.

Wisdom, in the strict Platonic sense of the term, is the knowledge of those things which truly exist, and are comprehended by the intellect, particularly those which respect God, and the human soul as distinct from the body.* Philosophy is the desire of divine science, or the liberation of the mind from the body, and its direction towards those real essences which are perceptible only by the understanding.† A philosopher must possess a mind naturally turned towards contemplation, an ardent love of truth, a penetrating judgment, and a retentive memory. He must, withal, be inured to the exercise of temperance and fortitude, that nothing corporeal may divert him from the pursuit of wisdom.‡ Philosophy, as it is employed in the contemplation of truth, is termed theoretical; as it is conversant in the regulation of actions, it is practical.§ Theoretical philosophy produces a contemplative life, in which the mind, occupied in meditations purely intellectual, acquires a resemblance to the Divinity. Practical philosophy leads to an active life, and applies the principles of wisdom to the benefit of society.¶ Besides the contemplation of truth and virtue, the philosopher will inquire into the right conduct of the understanding, and the powers of speech, in the pursuit of knowledge, or will study the art of reasoning and disputation. The office of philosophy then is threefold, DIALECTIC, THEORETICAL, and PRACTICAL.

On DIALECTICS, the sum of Plato's doctrine, as collected from his dialogues, is this:

Truth is discerned, not by the senses, but by the understanding. The human intellect is employed, either upon things which it comprehends by itself, and which are in their nature simple and invariable, or upon things which are subject to the senses, and which are perpetually liable to fluctuation and change.|| The contemplation of the former creates science; attention to the latter produces opinion.¶ Sense is the passive perception of the soul through the medium of the body.** When the forms of things are, by means of the corporeal organs, so deeply impressed upon the mind,

* In Phæd. t. iii. p. 278.

† Protag. t. i. p. 313.

Phæd. t. iii. p. 247.

‡ Rep. l. vi. t. ii. p. 484. 495. Alcinous, c. 2.

§ Philebo, t. ii. p. 57.

|| De Rep. l. vii. t. ii. p. 531. 4. Phileb. t. ii. p. 63.

¶ Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 5. Platon. Theæt. t. i. p. 186. Phæd. t. i. p. 74.

** Theæt. p. 186. Phileb. t. ii. p. 34.

as not to be easily effaced by time, this permanent impression is called memory. From the union of sense and memory, or from the comparison of a present with a recollected perception arises opinion. Where these agree, the opinion is true; where they differ, it is false. The seat of perception and memory is like a waxen tablet or picture, which the mind contemplates, and thence frames opinions.* In meditation, the soul converses with itself thought flows through the lips by means of the vocal organs. Intellection is the operation of the understanding contemplating intelligible forms, or ideas. It is twofold; the first, that of the soul contemplating ideas before it descends into the body; the other, that which it exercises after it is immersed in the body, which may be also termed natural knowledge.† This kind of knowledge consists in the recollection of those things which the mind had known in its pre-existent state, and differs from memory in the object; memory being employed upon sensible things, reminiscence upon things purely intelligible.‡ The intelligible objects of contemplation are either primary or secondary; the primary are ideas, which will be farther explained under the next head; the secondary are the forms inseparable from material objects.§ The mind, in exercising its judgment, considers theoretically what is true or false, and practically what may or may not be done.||

Dialectics consider the essence and the accidents of things: concerning the former, it makes use of division, definition, and analysis.¶ Division separates the genus into its species, the whole into its parts, and the like. Definition expresses the genus of the thing to be defined, and distinguishes it from all others by adding its specific difference. Analysis rises from objects of sense to intelligibles; from demonstrable propositions to axioms, or from hypothesis to experience. Induction rises from individuals to universals. Syllogism produces a conclusion by means of some intermediate proposition.**

These topics are cursorily touched upon by Plato, and it is rather by examples than by precepts that he teaches the true art of reasoning, or exposes the fallacies of sophistry. The ingenious artifices and deceptions practised by the Sophist are clearly represented in several of Plato's dialogues, particularly in his *Euthydemus* and his *Sophista*. Rhetoric is an art which Plato thought unfavourable to the study of philosophy: he inveighs against it with great vehemence in his *Gorgias*; and the ground of his invective is judiciously explained by Quintilian.†† Etymology is a subject on which Plato particularly treats in his *Cratylus*,‡‡ in which he maintains that names, when rightly given, correspond to the nature of the things which they represent: but what he advances on this head is too fanciful to merit attention. §§

These are the principal particulars to be collected from the discourses of Plato concerning the dialectic art, as distinguished from theology and physics.

THEORETICAL philosophy Plato divides into three branches, THEOLOGICAL, PHYSICAL, and MATHEMATICAL.

On THEOLOGY, the fundamental doctrine of Plato, as of all other ancient

* Theæt. t. i. p. 191. 202.

† In *Timæo*, t. iii. p. 30.

‡ Phæd. t. i. p. 75.

§ *Parmenid.* t. iii. p. 135.

|| Phæd. t. iii. p. 266.

¶ Theæt. t. i. p. 146. Polit. t. ii. p. 262. Phæd. t. iii. p. 266.

** Theæt. p. 147. 210. Laert. l. iii. sect. 80. Apul. de Dogm. Plat. l. iii. p. 313.

†† *Instit. Orat.* l. ii. c. 15.

‡‡ T. i. p. 383. Conf. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 8. Sophist. t. i. p. 216. 253.

§§ *Menag.* ad Laert. l. iii. sect. 23.

philosophers, is, that from nothing nothing can proceed. This universal axiom, applied not only to the infinite efficient, but to the material cause, Plato, in his *Timæus*,* lays down as the ground of his reasoning concerning the origin of the world. In this dialogue, which comprehends his whole doctrine on the subject of the formation of the universe, matter is so manifestly spoken of as externally co-existing with God, that this part of his doctrine could not have been mistaken by so many learned and able writers, had they not been seduced by the desire of establishing a coincidence of doctrine between the writings of Plato and Moses. It is certain, that neither Cicero,† nor Apuleius,‡ nor Alcinous,§ nor even the later commentator Chalcidius,¶ understood their master in any other sense than as admitting two primary and incorruptible principles, God and matter; to which we shall afterwards see reason to add a third—namely, ideas. The passages quoted by those who maintain the contrary opinion are by no means sufficient for their purpose. Plato, it is true, in his *Timæus*, calls God “the parent of the universe,” and in his *Sophista* speaks of him as “creating animate and inanimate beings, which did not before exist;” but these expressions do not necessarily imply that this offspring of Deity was produced from nothing, or that no prior matter existed, from which these new beings were formed. Through the whole dialogue of the *Timæus*,** Plato supposes two eternal and independent causes of all things; one, that *by* which all things are made, which is God; the other, that *from* which all things are made, which is matter. He distinguishes between God, matter, and the universe, and supposes the Architect of the world to have formed it out of a mass of pre-existent matter. Plutarch seems to have given a just representation of the doctrine of Plato, when he speaks†† of matter as neither made nor produced, but as presenting itself before the great Artificer to receive form and arrangement. Laetius, to the same purpose, relates‡‡ that Plato unfolded two principles in nature, God and matter; that to the former he gave the appellation of mind and cause; and that he conceived the latter to have been immense, without form, and perpetually agitated, and to have been at length collected and arranged by that Deity who preferred order to confusion. And Plato himself, in his *Timæus*,§§ expresses the same doctrine, nearly in the same language.

MATTER, according to Plato, is an eternal and infinite principle. His doctrine on this head is thus explained by Cicero: ||| “Matter, from which all things are produced and formed, is a substance without form or quality, but capable of receiving all forms and undergoing every kind of change; in which, however, it never suffers annihilation, but merely a solution of its parts, which are in their nature infinitely divisible, and move in portions of space which are also infinitely divisible. When that principle which we call quality is moved, and acts upon matter, it undergoes an entire change, and those forms are produced from which arises the diversified and coherent system of the universe.” This doctrine Plato unfolds at large in his *Timæus*, and particularly insists upon the notion that matter has originally no form, but is capable of receiving any. He calls it the mother and receptacle of forms, by the union of which with matter the universe becomes perceptible to the senses; and maintains that the visible world owes its forms to the energy of the divine intellectual nature.

* T. iii. p. 28. Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 4. 8. Cic. de Div. l. ii.

† Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 6.

‡ L. i. p. 284.

§ C. 12.

¶ Op. p. 3. Comment. in Tim. c. 13. sect. 305.

** T. iii. p. 28, &c.

†† De gen. Anim. t. iii. p. 78.

‡‡ L. iii. sect. 69.

§§ Loc. cit.

||| Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 8.

It is easy to perceive that Plato's notion of matter is essentially different from that which supposes it to consist of small indivisible particles, and consequently that Plato is not to be ranked amongst the atomic philosophers. Sometimes indeed he seems to assert that all bodies are composed of particles. "The parts of bodies," says he,* "must be conceived so minute, as to be singly invisible, and it is by collecting many of these into one mass that they become visible." But in this passage Plato is speaking of small corpuscles already endowed with forms or qualities, and not of primary matter, which, according to him, was without form, and infinitely divisible.

Another conception respecting matter, which arises from the preceding is,† that matter is not body, but that from which bodies are formed. Body is that which is produced from matter by the energy of the efficient cause. This distinction is found in almost all the ancient systems of philosophy: it is therefore necessary, in examining them, not to understand the terms *incorporeal* and *immaterial* as synonymous.‡

It was also a doctrine of Plato that there is in matter a necessary, but blind and refractory force; and that hence arises a propensity in matter to disorder and deformity, which is the cause of all the imperfection which appears in the works of God, and the origin of evil. On this subject Plato writes with wonderful obscurity; but, as far as we are able to trace his conceptions, he appears to have thought that matter, from its nature, resists the will of the Supreme Artificer, so that he cannot perfectly execute his designs, and that this is the cause of the mixture of good and evil which is found in the material world. "It cannot be," says he,§ "that evil should be destroyed, for there must always be something contrary to good:" and again, "God wills, *as far as it is possible*, every thing good, and nothing evil." What property there is in matter, which opposes the wise and benevolent intentions of the First Intelligence, our philosopher has not clearly explained; but he speaks of it as *ἐμφυτος ἐπιθυμία*, "an innate propensity" to disorder; || and says, "that before nature was adorned with its present beautiful forms it was inclined to confusion and deformity, and that from this habitude arises all the evil which happens in the world." Plutarch supposes the Platonic notion to be,¶ that there is in matter an unconscious irrational soul; and this supposition has been adopted by several modern writers. But there is no proof from the writings of Plato that he conceived the imperfection of matter to arise from any cause distinct from its nature. Such a notion is incongruous with Plato's general system, as far as we are able to discover it. To this we may add, that it is contrary to the doctrine of the Pythagorean school, to which Plato was probably indebted for his notions on this subject; for the philosophers of that sect held that motion is the effect of a power essential to matter.

The principle opposite to matter, in the system of Plato, is God. He taught, that there is an Intelligent Cause, which is the origin of all spiritual being, and the former of the material world.** The nature of this great being he pronounced it difficult to discover, and when discovered, impossible to divulge.†† The existence of God he inferred from the marks of intelligence which appear in the form and arrangement of bodies in the visible world:‡‡ and from the unity of the material system he concluded, that the mind by which it was formed must be one. §§ God, according to

* In Timæo. † Cic. l. c. ‡ Stobæus, Ecl. Phys. c. 14. § Theæt. t. i. p. 176.

|| Phileb. ¶ De Anim. Procr. t. ii. p. 155. ** Tim. t. iii. p. 29. Phæd. t. i. p. 78.

†† Tim. l. c. Ep. vii. t. iii. p. 341. ‡‡ De Legibus, t. ii. p. 886.

§§ Tim. t. iii. p. 30. Polit. t. ii. p. 174. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 7.

Plato, is the Supreme Intelligence, incorporeal, without beginning, end, or change, and capable of being perceived only by mind. He certainly distinguished the Deity, not only from the body, and whatever has corporeal qualities, but from matter itself, from which all things are made. He also ascribed to him all those qualities which modern philosophers ascribe to immaterial substance, and conceived him to be in his nature simple, uncircumscribed in space, the author of all regulated motion, and, in fine, possessed of intelligence in the highest perfection. But whether he entirely separated all ideas of extension from his conception of the Deity, is a question which we find ourselves unable to solve. Thus much however is certain, that whatever were Plato's conceptions respecting the essence of Deity, he ascribed to him power and wisdom sufficient for the formation and preservation of the world, and supposed him possessed of goodness, which inclined him to desire, and as far as the refractory nature of matter would permit, to produce the happiness of the universe.* This great being he distinguished by the appellation of τὸ Ἀγαθόν, *The Good*.

"God, that he might form a perfect world, followed that eternal pattern which remains immutable, and which can only be comprehended by reason." These are the express words of Plato,† who every where inculcates this doctrine as fundamental in cosmology. But concerning this pattern, or archetype, he writes so obscurely, that his interpreters and followers have been led to adopt very different opinions. He frequently speaks of God under the appellation of *mind*, and represents him as the Cause of all things. "That good Cause," says he, "which appointed the years, and months, and hours, justly claims the appellation of Wisdom and Intelligence."‡ And again, "You must confess in the nature of God himself a ruling mind, and the energy of an efficient cause." From these and similar passages some have inferred that the whole of Plato's doctrine, on the formation of the world, amounts to nothing more, than that the Deity employed his understanding or reason in planning and executing the system of the universe; and consequently, that, by Ideas existing in the Reason of God, are only meant conceptions formed in the Divine mind. But by Ideas Plato appears to have meant something much more mysterious; namely, patterns, or archetypes, subsisting by themselves, as real beings, ὄντως ὄντα, in the Divine Reason, as in their original and eternal region, and issuing thence to give form to sensible things, and to become objects of contemplation and science to rational beings. It is the doctrine of the Timæus, that ὁ λογισμὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, the Reason of God, comprehends exemplars of all things, and that this reason is one of the primary causes of things. Plutarch says§ that Plato supposes three principles, God, Matter, and Idea. Justin Martyr,|| Pseudo-Origen,¶ and others, assert the same. Laetius, indeed, represents the principles in nature, according to the Platonic system, to be two, God and Matter; but he may be supposed to speak only of the two sources of being which are primary and independent; for the third, namely, the Idea or exemplar, is only to be considered as instrumental, and dependent upon the efficient cause: "The exemplar," says Seneca,** "is not the efficient cause of nature, but an instrument necessary to the cause." The Divine Reason, the eternal region of Ideas or forms, Plato speaks of †† as having always existed, λογισμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ αἰεὶ ὄντως, and as the divine principle which established the order of the world, λόγον τῶν πάντων θεϊότατον, ὃς ἔταξε τὸν κόσμον. He appears to have conceived of this principle, as

* Polit. t. ii. p. 174. De Leg. l. x. t. ii. p. 899.

† Tim. t. iii. p. 29.

‡ Philebo, t. ii. p. 30, &c.

§ Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 10.

|| Ad Græc. p. 7.

¶ Philosophum, c. 19. p. 108.

** Ep. 65.

†† Tim. l. c. Epinomid. t. ii. p. 986.

distinct not merely from matter, but from the efficient Cause, and as eternally containing within itself Ideas, or intelligible forms, which, flowing from the fountain of the divine essence, have in themselves a real existence, and which, in the formation of the visible world, were, by the energy of the efficient Cause, united to matter to produce sensible bodies. These Ideas Plato defines to be the peculiar natures of things, or essences as such; and asserts that they always remain the same, without beginning or end.*

That this is the true Platonic doctrine of Ideas will appear probable, if we attend to the manner in which Plato framed his system of opinions concerning the origin of things. "Having been from his youth," says Aristotle,† "conversant with Cratylus, a disciple of Heraclitus, and instructed in the doctrine of that school, that all sensible things are variable, and cannot be proper objects of science, he reasonably concluded, that if there be any such thing as science, there must exist, besides sensible objects, certain permanent natures, perceptible only by the intellect." Such natures, divine in their origin, and eternal and immutable in their existence, he admitted into his system, and called them Ideas. These objects of contemplation and science Plato seems to have found in the school of Pythagoras, whose theology and metaphysics he had studied, and whom, as Aristotle asserts, he followed in many things: for we shall find in the sequel that the Numbers of Pythagoras agreed in many leading characters with the Ideas of Plato, and were employed for the same purposes, namely, to furnish objects of true science, and to elevate the human mind to a resemblance of the Divine. Plato, at the same time that, after Heraclitus, he retained the fluctuating world of sense as the object of opinions, adopted from Pythagoras the permanent world of intelligible natures, as the object of science. Visible things were regarded by Plato as fleeting shades, and Ideas as the only permanent substances. These he conceived to be the proper objects of science, to a mind raised, by divine contemplation, above the perpetually varying scenes of the material world. His conceptions on this subject are beautifully expressed in a passage of his Republic,‡ in which he compares the state of the human mind with respect to the material and the intellectual world, to that of a man, who, in a cave into which no light can enter but by a single passage, views upon a wall opposite to the entrance the shadows of external objects, and mistakes them for realities. So strongly was the imagination of Plato impressed with this conception, that,§ in the election of magistrates for his republic, he required that no one should be chosen who had not, by the habitual contemplation of the world of Ideas attained a perfect power of abstraction.

It was another doctrine in the Platonic system, that the Deity formed the material world after a perfect archetype, which had eternally subsisted in his Reason, and endued it with a soul. "God," says he,|| "produced mind prior in time as well as excellence to the body, that the latter might be subject to the former."—"From that substance which is indivisible and always the same, and from that which is corporeal and divisible, he compounded a third kind of substance, participating of the nature of both." This substance, which is not eternal but produced, and which derives the superior part of its nature from God, and the inferior from matter, Plato supposed to be the animating principle in the universe, pervading and adorning all things.¶ This third principle in nature is, in the Platonic

* Tim. t. iii. p. 28. Parmen. t. iii. p. 135.

† Metaph. l. i. c. 6. l. xiii. c. 4.

‡ L. vii. init. t. ii. p. 515.

§ Rep. l. vii. t. ii. p. 518.

|| Tim. t. iii. p. 34.

¶ Cratyl. t. iii. p. 53. Conf. Arist. Metaph. l. xiv. c. 6.

system, inferior to the Deity, being derived from that Divine Reason which is the seat of the ideal world; herein differing fundamentally from the Stoical doctrine of the soul of the world, which supposed the essence of the Divine nature diffused through the universe.

The doctrine of a two-fold soul of the world, the one *ὑπερκόσμιον*, presiding over it, the other *ἐγκόσμιον*, residing in it, is an appendage to the ancient Platonic system introduced by the later Platonists* to accommodate this system to the notions adopted by many of the Christian fathers concerning the Divine nature.

It is evident, from the preceding account of the doctrine of Plato concerning God and the soul of the world, that it differs materially from the doctrine of the Trinity afterwards received in the Christian church. Plato did not suppose three subsistences in one divine essence, separate from the visible world; but taught, that the *Λόγος*, or Reason of God, is the seat of the intelligible world, or of Ideas, and that the Soul of the World is a third subordinate nature, compounded of intelligence and matter. In the language of Plato, the universe, being animated by a soul that proceeds from God, is the Son of God; and several parts of nature, particularly the heavenly bodies, are gods.† He probably conceived many subordinate divinities to have been produced at the same time with the Soul of the World,‡ and imagined that the Supreme Being appointed them to the charge of forming animal bodies, and superintending the visible world; a doctrine which he seems to have borrowed from the Pythagoreans, and particularly from Timæus the Locrian, who says, “The Ruler of all assigned the inspection of human affairs to demons, and committed to them the government of the world.”

Upon the foundation of the doctrine, which has been explained, concerning God, Matter, Ideas, the Soul of the World, and Demons, Plato raised the structure of his physics.

Plato taught, that the Supreme Architect, by uniting eternal and immutable Ideas or Forms to variable matter, produced the visible world. That he believed the world to have had a beginning in time, and not to have existed from eternity, appears from the whole course of his reasoning in his Timæus concerning the formation of the world. Aristotle,§ indeed, intimates, that when Plato seems to assert this doctrine, he speaks of the Author of nature, as prior to his works, not in time, but in the order of our conceptions: but this interpretation was probably offered merely for the sake of reconciling the doctrine of his master with his own opinion concerning the eternity of the world. The Epicureans, in their disputes with the Platonists upon this question, as they are stated by Cicero, proceeded upon the supposition, that there was a period, in infinite duration, when the universe did not exist. “I ask,” says Velleius,|| “why the architects of the world, after having slept through innumerable ages, so suddenly displayed their power; or why, in the field of infinite space they desisted from their operations?”

Other tenets included in the Platonic doctrine of nature were, that the universe is one animated being,¶ including within its limits all animated natures; that in the formation of the visible and tangible world fire and earth were first formed, and were afterwards united by means of air and water;

* Plotin. Ennead. iii. l. v. c. 2.

† Tim. l. c. Tim. Locr. t. iii. p. 95. Op. Plat. Laert. l. iii. sect. 75.

‡ Tim. t. iii. p. 40. Conviv. t. iii. p. 201. Apolog. Soc.

§ De Cælo, l. i. c. 10.

¶ Tim. t. iii. p. 32.

|| De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 9.

that from perfect parts one perfect whole was produced, of a spherical figure, as most beautiful in itself, and best suited to contain all other figures;* that the elementary parts of the world are of regular geometrical forms, the particles of earth being cubical, those of fire pyramidal, those of air in the form of an octoedron, and those of water in that of an icosoedron; that these are adjusted, in number, measure, and power, in perfect conformity to the geometrical laws of proportion; that the soul which pervades this sphere is the cause of its revolution round its centre; and lastly, that the world will remain for ever; but, that by the action of its animating principle, it accomplishes certain periods, within which every thing returns to its ancient place and state. This periodical revolution of nature is called the Platonic, or Great year.

Plato refers to the head of the philosophy of nature his doctrine concerning the Human Soul; a doctrine which he treats obscurely, on the ground of his assumed hypothesis concerning spiritual emanations from the Divine nature. He appears to have taught, that the soul of man is derived by emanation from God; but that this emanation was not immediate, but through the intervention of the soul of the world, which was itself debased by some material admixture; and consequently, that the human soul, receding farther from the First Intelligence, is inferior in perfection to the soul of the world.† He conceived the soul of man to be, in the material part of its nature, formed for conversing with sensible objects, and, in its intellectual part, capable of spiritual contemplation:‡ but what he meant by *ὄχημα*, the material vehicle of the soul, is uncertain. The relation which the human soul, in its original constitution, bears to matter, Plato appears to have considered as the source of moral evil.§ Since the soul of the world, by partaking of matter, has within itself the seeds of evil, he inferred that this must be the case still more with respect to the soul of man. Upon the great question, in what manner the soul acts upon the body, Plato speaks obscurely and inconsistently, but it is probable that, as he conceived the soul of the world to produce the motion of the earth, and the heavenly bodies, by means of that part of its nature which is material; so he supposed the power of moving bodies, which belongs to the human soul, to be the effect of its material principle.

To account for the origin and present state of human souls, Plato supposes, that when God formed the universe, he separated from the soul of the world inferior souls, equal in number to the stars, and assigned to each its proper celestial abode; but that these souls (by what means, or for what reason, does not appear) were sent down to the earth into human bodies, as into a sepulchre or prison. He ascribes to this cause the depravity and misery to which human nature is liable; and maintains, that it is only by disengaging itself from all animal passions, and rising above sensible objects to the contemplation of the world of intelligence, that the soul of man can be prepared to return to its original habitation.||

Not inconsistently with the preceding doctrine, our philosopher frequently speaks of the soul of man as consisting of three parts;¶ the first, the seat of intelligence; the second, of passion; the third, of appetite; and assigns to each its proper place in the human body. The first of these *portions* or *faculties* of the soul (for Plato speaks of them under both these denominations) he conceived to have been derived from God; the second and

* Tim. t. iii. p. 32. † Ib. p. 41. ‡ Phileb. t. ii. p. 30. De Leg. l. x. t. ii. p. 899.

§ Chalcid. in Tim. sect. 51. p. 298.

|| Tim l. c. Phæd. t. i. p. 66. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 11.

¶ Tim. t. iii. p. 59.

third, from matter. The irrational parts of the soul, in the Platonic system, are not, however, to be confounded with the blood and nerves, which they were supposed to inhabit, and to move.

Lastly, Plato teaches, in express terms, the doctrine of the immortality of the rational soul; but he has rested the proof of this doctrine upon arguments drawn from the more fanciful parts of his system.* For example: in nature, all things terminate in their contraries; the state of sleep terminates in that of waking; and the reverse: so, life ends in death, and death in life. The soul is a simple indivisible substance, and therefore incapable of dissolution or corruption. The objects to which it naturally adheres are spiritual and incorruptible; therefore its nature is so. All our knowledge is acquired by the reminiscence of ideas contemplated in a prior state: as the soul therefore must have existed before this life, it is probable that it will continue to exist after it. Life being the conjunction of the soul with the body, death is nothing more than their separation. Whatever is the principle of motion must be incapable of destruction. Such is the substance of the arguments for the immortality of the soul, contained in the celebrated dialogue of the *Phædo*. It is happy for mankind that their belief of this important doctrine rests upon firmer grounds than such futile reasonings.

Preparatory to the study of theoretical philosophy, Plato required from his disciples a knowledge of the elements of mathematics.† Although he has left no direct treatise upon this subject, he has made frequent use of mathematical ideas and language to explain and illustrate his philosophical tenets; and he recommends these studies, as peculiarly adapted to raise the mind from sensible to intellectual objects, and to inure it to abstract and general conceptions.

Plato was a zealous advocate for the importance of that kind of science which is purely speculative; and, though a disciple of Socrates, censured those who make utility the only measure of the value of learning. Notwithstanding this predilection for abstract speculation, he did not, however, neglect in his writings to deliver precepts of practical philosophy. On the subjects of policy and morals, he prescribes rules, which are intended for the direction of societies and individuals in the offices of life, but which would be much more valuable were they less tinctured with his theoretical doctrines.

Concerning policy, Plato has written at large in his *Republic*, and in his *Dialogue on Laws*. He was so much enamoured with his own conceptions on this subject, that it was chiefly the hope of having an opportunity to realise his plan of a republic which induced him to visit the court of Dionysius. But they who are conversant with mankind, and capable of calmly investigating the springs of human actions, will easily perceive, that his projects were chimerical, and could only have originated in a mind replete with philosophical enthusiasm. Of this nothing can be a clearer proof than the design of admitting, in his republic, a community of women,‡ in order to give reason an entire control over desire. The main object of his political institutions appears to have been, the subjugation of the passions and appetites, by means of the abstract contemplation of ideas. A system of policy, raised upon such fanciful grounds, cannot merit a more distinct consideration.

The chief heads of Plato's moral doctrine, as it may be gathered up from

* *Phædo*, t. i. p. 69, &c.

† *Rep.* l. vii. t. ii. p. 522.

‡ *Rep.* l. v. t. ii. p. 457. 461. *Tim.* t. iii. p. 18.

detached passages in his writings (for he seldom treats directly on any moral topic), are these:

Our highest good consists in the contemplation and knowledge of the first good, which is Mind, or God.* All those things, which are called good by men, are in reality such only so far as they are derived from the first and highest good. The only power in human nature which can acquire a resemblance to the Supreme Good, is reason. The minds of philosophers are fraught with valuable treasures; and, after the death of the body, they shall be admitted to divine entertainments; so that, whilst, with the gods, they are employed in surveying the fields of truth, they will look down with contempt upon the folly of those who are contented with earthly shadows.† Goodness and beauty consist in the knowledge of the first good, and the first fair. That only which is becoming, is good: therefore virtue is to be pursued for its own sake; and, because it is a divine attainment, it cannot be taught, but is the gift of God.‡ He alone, who has attained the knowledge of the first good, is happy. The end of this knowledge is, to render man as like to God as the condition of human nature will permit. This likeness consists in prudence, justice, sanctity, temperance.§ In order to attain this state, it is necessary to be convinced that the body is a prison, from which the soul must be released before it can arrive at the knowledge of those things which are real and immutable.|| Virtue is the most perfect habit of mind, which adorns the man, and renders him firm, resolute and consistent, in action and speech, in solitude and society.¶ The virtues are so nearly allied, that they cannot be separated; they are perfect, and therefore neither capable of increase nor of diminution.** The passions are motions of the soul, excited by some apparent good or evil: they originate in the irrational parts of the soul, and must be regulated and subdued by reason.†† Friendship is, strictly speaking, reciprocal benevolence, which inclines each party to be as solicitous for the welfare of the other as for his own. This equality of affection is created and preserved by a similarity of disposition and manners.‡‡

On the whole, although many just and sublime sentiments on moral subjects are to be found in the writings of Plato, it will appear, upon an impartial examination, that his ethical doctrine is in some particulars defective, and in others extravagant and absurd. The fanciful notions which he entertained concerning the Divine nature, the world of Ideas, and matter, seem to have given a romantic and enthusiastic turn to his conceptions on morals; a defect, which may be in part ascribed to his connexion with the Pythagorean school, but which was perhaps chiefly owing to the peculiar propensity of his genius towards metaphysical fiction.§§

* *Parmenid.* t. iii. p. 134. *Rep.* l. vi. t. ii. p. 505, 506. *Phileb.* t. ii. p. 20. *Protag.* t. i. p. 351. *Gorg.* t. i. p. 467. † *Rep.* l. vii. ‡ *Alcib.* t. ii. p. 116. *Menon.* t. ii. p. 98.

§ *Leg.* l. iv. t. ii. p. 716. *Theæt.* t. i. 176. *Cratyl.* t. i. p. 402. || *Phæd.* t. i. p. 66.

¶ *Leg.* l. vii. t. ii. p. 804. *Gorg.* t. i. p. 506. *Protag.* t. i. p. 329.

** *Protag.* p. 345. *Phæd.* t. iii. p. 102.

†† *Phil.* t. ii. p. 47.

‡‡ *Lysid.* t. ii. p. 214.

§§ *Vidend.* *Jons. Scrip. Hist. Phil.* l. i. c. 6. 11. 13. l. iii. c. 10. *Olympiodor. de Vit. Plat. post Laert. ed. Causab. Ficinus de Vit. Plat. Guarinus de Vit. Illust. Græc. Rapin, Comp. Plat. et Aristot. Dacier, Vit. Plat. Delin. Melancthon, de Vit. Plat. Petav. Rat. Temp.* l. iii. c. 13. *Cyrl. contra Julian.* l. vi. *Æn. Gaza de Immort.* p. 12. *Eugben. de Perenni Phil.* l. i. c. 27. *Hanschius de Enthus. Plat. Balt Defens des S. Peres,* l. iv. c. 22. *Lamius de Trinit. Florent. 1733. Cleric. Epist. Cr. vii. 177. Budd. Hist. Vet. Test.* t. ii. p. 1006. *L'Enfant, Diss. Bibl. Germ. t. ii. art. 5. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 1056. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, t. iv. c. 3, 4. Gundling. Hist. Phil. Mor. c. 1. sect. 1. Paschius de Var. Mod. Trad. Mor. c. 1. sect. 9. Meurs. Ceramic. c. 19. Fabric. Bibl. Antiq. c. 21. Potter, Arch. l. i. c. 8. Schmidii Diss. de Gymnas. Junius de Acad. Herm.*

SECTION II.—OF THE OLD, THE MIDDLE, AND THE NEW ACADEMY.

THE school of Plato long continued famous, but passed through several changes, on account of which it was successively distinguished into the OLD, the MIDDLE, and the NEW ACADEMY.*

THE OLD ACADEMY consisted of those followers of Plato who taught the doctrine of their master without mixture or corruption. The first of these was SPEUSIPPUS,† an Athenian, a nephew of Plato: he occupied the chair of instruction during the term of eight years from the death of his master. Through the interest of Plato he enjoyed an intimate friendship with Dion whilst he was resident at Athens; and it was at his instigation that Dion,‡ encouraged by the promise of support from the malcontents of Syracuse, undertook his expedition against Dionysius the tyrant, by whom he had been banished. Contrary to the practice of Plato, Speusippus required from his pupils a stated gratuity. He placed statues of the Graces in the school which Plato had built. On account of his infirm state of health, he was commonly carried to and from the Academy in a vehicle. On his way thither he one day met Diogenes, and saluted him: the surly philosopher refused to return the salute, and told him, that such a feeble wretch ought to be ashamed to live; to which Speusippus replied, that he lived not in his limbs, but in his mind.§ At length, being wholly incapacitated, by a paralytic stroke, for the duties of the chair, he resigned it to Xenocrates. He is said to have been of a violent temper, fond of pleasure, and exceedingly avaricious. Speusippus wrote many philosophical works, which are now lost, but which Aristotle thought sufficiently valuable to purchase at the expense of three talents. || From the few fragments which remain of his philosophy, it appears that he adhered very strictly to the doctrine of his master. Concerning the supreme mind he taught, Τὸν νοῦν οὔτε τῷ ἑνὶ οὔτε τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸν αὐτὸν, ἰδιόφω ἢ δὲ εἶναι, that “it is neither the same with unity nor goodness, but of a nature peculiar to itself.”

XENOCRATES,¶ a Chalcedonian, born in the ninety-fifth Olympiad,** at first attached himself to Æschines, but afterwards became a disciple of Plato, who took much pains in cultivating his genius, which was naturally heavy. Plato, comparing him with Aristotle, who was also one of his pupils, called the former a dull ass, who needed the spur, and the latter a mettlesome horse, who required the curb. His temper was gloomy, his aspect severe, and his manners little tinged with urbanity. These material defects his master took great pains to correct; frequently advising him to sacrifice to the Graces; and the pupil was patient of instruction, and knew how to value the kindness of his preceptor. He compared him-

Conring. Anc. Acad. p. 197. Blount, Cens. Cel. Vir. p. 26. Bessario contra Trapezuntium. Voss. de Idol. l. i. c. 4. Vavasser de Dict. ludic. c. 3. Caussin. de Eloq. t. i. c. 69. Fleury, Diss. de Plat. adject. lib. de Stud. Instit. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 11. Brucker. Hist. Ath. de Ideis. ed. Aug. Vind. 1723. Suppl. Amœn. Lit. t. viii. Diss. de Numeris Pyth. Am. Lit. t. 7. Puffendorf, Diss. de Theol. Plat. inter Opusc. Benii Theol. Plat. Cudworth, c. iv. v. cum Not. Mosh. Crispus de Platone caute legendo. Trevener. Diss. de Theol. Plat. et Arist. Zimmerman, de Ath. Plat. Amœn. Lit. t. 9. 12. 13. Reimann. Hist. Ath. c. 22. Wolf. de Manich. sect. 32. Bayle, Art. Zoroast. n. E. Javelli Mor. Phil. Plat. Ven. 1536. Omeisii Ethica Plat. Altdorf. 1698. Zentgravii Spec. Doct. Plat. de Jure Nat. *Soverain Platonisme dévoilé.*

* Cic. Qu. Acad. passim. † Laert. l. iv. sect. 1. Suidas. ‡ Plut. in Dione.

§ Laert. l. c. Stobæus, Serm. 273. p. 583.

|| Fabric. Bibl. Græc. v. ii. p. 230. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. l. iii. sect. 17.

¶ Laert. l. iv. sect. 9. 14. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 507. Ælian, H. V. l. xiv. c. 9. ** B. C. 400.

self* to a vessel with a narrow orifice, which receives with difficulty, but firmly retains whatever is put into it. So affectionately was Xenocrates attached to his master; that when Dionysius, in a violent fit of anger, threatened to find one who should cut off his head, he said, "not before he has cut off this;" pointing to his own. As long as Plato lived, Xenocrates was one of his most esteemed disciples; after his death he closely adhered to his doctrine; and, in the second year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad,† he took the chair in the Academy, as the successor of Speusippus. Aristotle, who about this time returned from Macedonia, in expectation, as it should seem, of filling the chair, was greatly disappointed and chagrined at this nomination; and immediately instituted a school, in the Lyceum, in opposition to that of the Academy, where Xenocrates continued to preside till his death.

Xenocrates was celebrated among the Athenians, not only for his wisdom, but for his virtues.‡ So eminent was his reputation for integrity, that when he was called upon to give evidence in a judicial transaction, in which an oath was usually required, the judges unanimously agreed that his simple asseveration should be taken, as a public testimony to his merit. Even Philip of Macedon found it impossible to corrupt him. When he was sent, with several others, upon an embassy to that prince, he declined all private intercourse with him, that he might escape the temptation of a bribe. Philip afterwards said,§ that of all those who had come to him on embassies from foreign states, Xenocrates was the only one whose friendship he had not been able to purchase. During the time of the Lamiac war,|| being sent as ambassador to the court of Antipater, for the redemption of several Athenian captives, he was invited by the prince to sit down with him at supper, but declined the invitation in the words of Ulysses to Circe: ¶

ᾠ Κίρκη, τίς γάρ κεν ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἐναΐσιμος εἴη,
Πρὶν τλαίῃ πάσασθαι ἐδῆτύος, ἥδ' ἐ ποτῆτος,
Πρὶν λύσασθ' ἐτάρους καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι;(a)

This pertinent and ingenious application of a passage in Homer, or rather the generous and patriotic spirit which it expressed, was so pleasing to Antipater, that he immediately released the prisoners. It may be mentioned, as another example of moderation in Xenocrates, that when Alexander,** to mortify Aristotle, against whom he had an accidental pique, sent Xenocrates a magnificent present of fifty talents, he accepted only thirty *mina*, returning the rest to Alexander with this message; that the large sum which Alexander had sent was more than he should have been able to spend during his whole life. So abstemious was he with respect to food, that his provision was frequently spoiled before it was consumed. His chastity was invincible. *Lais*,†† a celebrated Athenian courtesan, attempted, without success, to seduce him. Of his humanity, no other proof can be necessary than the following pathetic incident. A sparrow, which was pursued by a hawk, flew into his bosom: he afforded it shelter and protection till its enemy was out of sight, and then let it go, saying, that he

* Plut. de Auditione, t. iv. p. 144. † B. C. 339.

‡ Val. Max. l. ii. c. 10. Cic. ad Att. ii. 16. Laert. l. iv. sect. 7.

§ Laert. l. iv. sect. 8. || Ib. sect. 9, 10. Plut. in Phoc. ¶ Odyss. l. x. ver. 383.

(a) What man, whose bosom burns with gen'rous worth,
His friends enthrall'd, and banish'd from his sight,
Would taste a selfish, solitary joy?

** Plut. in Alex. t. v. p. 551. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 22. Suidas. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Stob. Ecl. 37. †† Laert. l. iv. sect. 7. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

would never betray a suppliant.* He was fond of retirement, and was seldom seen in the city. He was discreet in the use of his time, and carefully allotted a certain portion of each day to its proper business.† One of these he employed in silent meditation. He was an admirer of the mathematical sciences, and was so fully convinced of their utility, that when a young man, who was unacquainted with geometry and astronomy, desired admission into the Academy, he refused his request, saying, that he was not yet possessed of the handles of philosophy. In fine, Xenocrates was eminent both for the purity of his morals, and for his acquaintance with science, and supported the credit of the Platonic school by his lectures, his writings, and his conduct.‡ He lived to the first year of the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad,§ or the eighty-second of his age, when he lost his life by accidentally falling, in the dark, into a reservoir of water.||

The philosophical tenets of Xenocrates were truly Platonic; but in his method of teaching he made use of the language of the Pythagoreans. He made Unity and Diversity principles in nature, or gods; the former of whom he represented as the father, and the latter as the mother of the universe. He taught, that the heavens are divine, and the stars celestial gods; and that besides these divinities, there are terrestrial demons, of a middle order between the gods and man, which partake of the nature both of mind and body, and are therefore, like human beings, capable of passions, and liable to diversity of character.¶ After Plato, he probably conceived the superior divinities to be the Ideas, or intelligible forms, which immediately proceeded from the Supreme Deity, and the inferior gods, or demons, to be derived from the soul of the world, and therefore, like that principle, to be compounded of a simple and a divisible substance, or of that which always remains the same, and that which is liable to change.**

The direction of the Academy, after the death of Xenocrates, devolved upon POLEMO,†† an Athenian of distinction, who in his youth had been addicted to infamous pleasures. The manner in which he was reclaimed from his licentious course of life, and brought under the discipline of philosophy, affords a memorable example of the power of eloquence when it is employed in the cause of virtue. As he was one morning, about the rising of the sun, returning home from the revels of the night, clad in a loose robe, crowned with garlands, strongly perfumed, and intoxicated with wine, he passed by the school of Xenocrates, and saw him surrounded with his disciples. Unable to resist so fortunate an opportunity of indulging his sportive humour, he rushed, without ceremony, into the school, and took his place among the philosophers. The whole assembly was astonished at this rude and indecent intrusion, and all but Xenocrates discovered signs of resentment. Xenocrates, however, preserved the perfect command of his countenance, and, with great presence of mind, turned his discourse from the subject on which he was treating to the topics of temperance and modesty, which he recommended with such strength of argument, and energy of language, that Polemo was constrained to yield to the force of conviction. Instead of turning the philosopher and his doctrine to ridicule, as he at first intended, he became sensible of the folly of his former conduct, was heartily ashamed of the contemptible figure which he made in so respectable an assembly, took his garland from his head, concealed his naked arm under his cloak, assumed a sedate and thoughtful aspect, and, in short, resolved from

* Ælian, l. xiii. c. 31. † Laert. ‡ Plut. de Virt. Mor. t. ii. p. 399. § B. C. 316.

|| Laert. ¶ Laert. Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 3. Plut. de Is. et Osir. t. ii. p. 157.

** Plut. de Anim. Gen. t. iii. p. 75. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 13. Laert.

†† Laert. l. iv. sect. 16. Suidas.

that hour to relinquish his licentious pleasures, and devote himself to the pursuit of wisdom. Thus was this young man, by the powerful energy of truth and eloquence, in an instant converted from an infamous libertine to a respectable philosopher.* In such a sudden change of character it is difficult to avoid passing from one extreme to another. Polemo, after his reformation, in order to brace up his mind to the tone of rigid virtue, constantly practised the severest austerity and most hardy fortitude. From the thirtieth year of his age till his death he drank nothing but water. When he suffered violent pain, he showed no external sign of anguish. In order to preserve his mind undisturbed by passion, he habituated himself to speak in a uniform tone of voice, without elevation or depression. The austerity of his manners was, however, tempered with urbanity and generosity. He was fond of solitude, and passed much of his time in a garden near his school. He died at an advanced age, of a consumption.† Of his tenets little is said by the ancients, because he strictly adhered to the doctrine of Plato. He is said to have taught that the world is God;‡ but this was, doubtless, according to the Platonic system, which made the Soul of the World an inferior divinity.

Polemo was succeeded by CRATES, § an Athenian, to whom he had long been attached by a similarity of dispositions and pursuits. While they lived, their friendship continued inviolate, and they were both buried in the same grave.

The last celebrated name in the Old Academy is CRANTOR, || who studied under Xenocrates and Polemo. He adhered to the Platonic system, and was the first who wrote commentaries on the works of Plato, but as he died before Polemo and Crates, he could not succeed them in the Academic chair. He was highly celebrated for the purity of his moral doctrine, as may be inferred from the praises which are bestowed by the ancients upon his discourse "On Grief," which Cicero ¶ calls "a small but golden piece, adapted to heal the wounds of the mind, not by encouraging stoical insensibility, but by suggesting arguments drawn from the purest fountains of philosophy." That Crantor acquired great reputation as a moral preceptor Horace** also intimates:

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit. (a)

Hitherto the pure doctrine of Plato continued to be taught in his school. But after the death of Crates a new tribe of philosophers arose, who on account of certain innovations in their manner of philosophising, which in some measure receded from the Platonic system without entirely deserting it, have been distinguished by the name of the MIDDLE ACADEMY.

The first preceptor who appears in this class is ARCESILAUS, †† a native of Æolis, who was born in the first year of the hundred and sixteenth Olympiad. ‡‡ He was early initiated in mathematical science and polite literature, and was intended by his elder brother, who had the charge of his education, for the profession of the law, but chose rather to devote himself to the study of philosophy. He first attended upon Theophrastus,

* Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Lucian in bis accusato, t. ii. p. 677. Cic. de Fin. l. iv. c. 6.

† Laert. Athenæus, l. ii. p. 44.

‡ Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 3.

§ Laert. l. iv. sect. 21.

|| Laert. ib.

¶ Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 44.

Tusc. Qu. l. iii. c. 6.

** Ep. l. i. ep. 2. v. 3.

(a) Who better taught fair virtue's sacred rules
Than Crantor or Cratippus in the schools.

†† Laert. l. iv. sect. 28, &c. Euseb. Præp. l. xiv. c. 9.

‡‡ B. C. 316.

then upon Aristotle, and afterwards became a disciple of Polemo. Among his intimate friends and fellow-disciples, were Crantor the moralist, and Zeno, the celebrated founder of the Stoic sect. After the death of Crates, Sosicrates, who had taken the Academic chair, resigned it to the superior abilities and learning of Arcesilaus, whose method of instruction was universally admired. He was intimately conversant with the ancient poets, particularly Homer and Pindar, and frequently in conversation quoted pertinent passages from their works.* Though he reprehended the faults of his pupils with great freedom, his address was so captivating, and his powers of persuasion so commanding, that he seldom failed to conciliate their affection. He possessed a happy facility in adapting his discourses and conversation to every occasion and character. His singular accomplishments, as well as the station which he filled in the Academy, brought him many followers. But his generosity was so far superior to his vanity, that he frequently advised his disciples to visit the schools of other masters. When one of his pupils, a Chian youth,† expressed his predilection in favour of another philosopher, Hieronymus, he took him by the hand, and conducted him to his school, and requested the philosopher to treat him in a manner suitable to his merit. This action was the more generous, as Hieronymus was of the Peripatetic sect, and a violent opponent of the Academy. Arcesilaus, with extensive learning, sweetness of temper, and elegance of manners, united many moral qualities which could not fail to procure him universal esteem. In bestowing favours, he was liberal without ostentation. Visiting a sick friend, whom he observed to be in poverty, he silently conveyed a purse of gold under his pillow. When the attendant discovered it, the sick man said with a smile, “This is one of the generous frauds of Arcesilaus.”‡ He employed a great part of the plentiful income which he received from an estate at Pitane in similar acts of liberality. The merit of his virtues was, however, contaminated by several vices.§ Like Aristippus, he was fond of splendid entertainments, and a luxurious manner of living; and there is little doubt that he frequently indulged his natural propensities in a manner not very consistent with the character of a philosopher. He spent the greater part of his time in the Academy, but sometimes on festivals visited Hierocles the governor of Munychia, and the Pyræus, where the freedom of his manners often exposed him to danger. He died in the fourth year of the hundred and thirty-fourth Olympiad,|| at the age of seventy-five, in a delirium occasioned by excessive drinking.¶

Arcesilaus was the author of those innovations in the Platonic school on account of which it assumed the appellation of the Middle Academy. In order to obtain a clear idea of the nature and causes of this revolution, it will be necessary to take a retrospect of the state of opinions in the preceding period.

From the survey which we have taken of the rise and progress of philosophical tenets, it appears, that not only the Greek, but also the barbaric philosophers held that there can be no certain knowledge of things so variable and fluctuating as those material objects which fall under the notice of the senses. Not that human reason is supposed wholly incapable of arriving at truth, or that the doctrine of universal scepticism was admitted in the infancy of philosophy. But in excluding material objects from the field of

* Laert. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. v. i. p. 354.

† Laert.

‡ Laert. Seneca de Benef. l. ii. c. 10.

§ Athen. l. vii. p. 276.

|| B. C. 241.

¶ Laert. l. iv. sect. 45. Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 31.

perfect science, the first philosophers discovered an inclination to inquire with modesty concerning the nature of things, to divest themselves of prejudice, and to satisfy themselves with a sober assent to such truths as lay within the reach of the human intellect. It is also sufficiently clear that the earlier barbaric philosophers, and after them the Greeks, had two kinds of doctrine, the popular, and the concealed; the former of which was intended to amuse the vulgar, the latter was only discovered to those disciples who were admitted to their more retired and confidential instruction. By this expedient, they at once secured themselves from danger, and gave the authority of mysterious sanctity to their doctrine.

Such was the state of philosophy when Socrates appeared. This great man did much to regulate the conduct of the human understanding. In opposition to the Sophists, who boasted that they knew every thing, he confessed that he knew nothing. By this confession, however, he did not mean to assert the universal uncertainty of human knowledge, but merely to convince his followers of the futility of those speculations, which do not rest upon the firm foundation of experience, and to teach them modesty in their inquiries, and diffidence in their assertions.

Of the sects which arose from the school of Socrates the greater part soon forsook the plain path of moral discipline, and turned aside into the thorny mazes of disputation. They resumed the Sophistic manner of arguing on either side of every question, and perplexed themselves and others with trifling quibbles and idle cavillings. This was particularly the case, as we have already seen, in the Megaric, Eliac, and Eretriac schools. Plato, from natural disposition as well as education, was inclined to a stricter method of philosophising; and whilst he disputed publicly in the Socratic manner, refuting the opinions of others, but leaving his hearers undecided concerning his own, he fully explained the principles of his philosophy, in private, to those of his pupils who were honoured with his confidence. His doctrine was, that no certain knowledge can be obtained concerning the varying forms of natural bodies, and that Ideas are the only objects of science. This doctrine was universally taught in the Old Academy; but before the time of Arcesilaus it was never denied that useful opinions may be drawn from the senses.*

About this time two new sects arose; one founded by Pyrrho, which held the doctrine of universal scepticism; the other under Zeno, which maintained the certainty of human knowledge, and taught, with great confidence, a system and doctrine essentially different from that of Plato. These sects, especially the latter, became so popular, as to threaten the destruction of the Platonic system.

In this situation, Arcesilaus thought it necessary to exercise a cautious reserve with respect to the doctrine of his master, concealing his opinions from the vulgar, under the appearance of doubt and uncertainty.† His maxim was, that it was safer to *unteach* those who had been ill instructed, than to teach those who were not well inclined to receive instruction. He was more desirous to prevent the progress of other innovators, than to become himself the author of a new sect. He therefore professed to derive his doctrine concerning the uncertainty of knowledge from Socrates, Plato, and other philosophers‡

The doctrine of Arcesilaus was, that although there is a real certainty in the nature of things, every thing is uncertain to the human understand-

* Cic. Acad. Qu. l. i. c. 8. 32.

† Laert. l. iv. sect. 28. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iii. 18 iv. c. 6. De Fin. l. ii. c. 1. August. contr. Acad. l. iii. c. 17. t. i. p. 219.

‡ Plut. adv. Colot.

ing, and consequently that all confident assertions are unreasonable. He thought it disgraceful to assent to any proposition, the truth of which is not fully established, and maintained that in all questions opposite opinions may be supported by arguments of equal weight. He disputed against the testimony of the senses, and the authority of reason; but at the same time acknowledged that they are capable of furnishing probable opinions sufficient for the conduct of life.* In all this, his secret design seems to have been to establish the doctrine of Plato, that every kind of knowledge derived from sensible objects is uncertain, and that the only true science is that which is employed upon the immutable objects of intelligence, or ideas.

During the interval between the death of Arcesilaus and the appearance of Carneades in the Academic chair, the Platonic school was successively under the care of † Lacidas, Evander, and Egesinus, none of whom were sufficiently distinguished to merit particular notice. Lacidas assumed his office in the fourth year of the hundred and thirty-fourth Olympiad. He is said to have been the founder of a new school, not because he introduced any new doctrine, but because he changed the place of instruction, and held his school in the garden of Attalus, still however within the limits of the Academic grove. In the second year of the hundred and forty-first Olympiad he died of a palsy, into which he had fallen by excessive drinking. ‡

Arcesilaus, in the violence of his opposition to the Stoic, and other dogmatical philosophers, carried his doctrine of uncertainty to such an height as to alarm not only the general body of philosophers, but even the governors of the state; § the former treating him as a common enemy to philosophy, and the latter beginning to apprehend that his tenets would produce the dissolution of all the bonds of social virtue and of religion. Hence his successors found it difficult to support the credit of the Academy; and Carneades, one of the disciples of this school, thought it expedient to relinquish, in words at least, some of the more obnoxious tenets of Arcesilaus. From this period the Platonic school took the appellation of the **NEW ACADEMY**.

CARNEADES, || one of the most illustrious ornaments of the Academy, was an African, a native of Cyrene. The time of his birth has been a subject of much debate: it is probable that he was born in the third year of the hundred and forty-first Olympiad. ¶ He received his first knowledge of the art of reasoning from Diogenes the Stoic; whence he used sometimes to say, in the course of a debate, "If I have reasoned right I have gained my point; if not, let Diogenes return me my *minæ*,"** meaning the price he had paid him for his instruction. Afterwards, becoming a member of the Academy, he attended upon the lectures of Hegesinus, and by assiduous study became an eminent master of the method of disputing which Arcesilaus had introduced: he succeeded Hegesinus in the chair, and restored the declining reputation of the Academy. With Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic, he was sent on an embassy †† from Athens to Rome, to complain of the severity of a fine inflicted upon the Athenians, under the authority of the Romans, by their neighbours the

* Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 6. 12, &c. Laert. † Laert. l. iv. sect. 59—61. Suidas.

‡ Laert. ib. Ælian, l. ii. c. 41. Athen. l. x. p. 438. § Laert. ib. August. l. c.

|| Laert. l. iv. sect. 62, &c. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. iv. c. 6. Suidas. ¶ B. C. 214.

** Cic. ib. c. 30.

†† Plut. Vit. Caton. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. l. vii. c. 14. Ælian, Var. Hist. l. iii. c. 17. Macrobian. Sat. l. i. c. 5.

Sicyonians, for having laid waste Oropus, a town in Bœotia. The Athenians would undoubtedly, upon this occasion, employ none but those in whose judgment, eloquence, and integrity, they could confide. The three philosophers whom they entrusted with their embassy, whilst they were in Rome, gave the Roman people many specimens of Grecian learning and eloquence, with which till then they had been unacquainted. Carneades excelled in the vehement and rapid, Critolaus in the correct and elegant, and Diogenes in the simple and modest kind of eloquence. Carneades particularly attracted the attention and admiration of his new auditors, by the subtlety of his reasoning, and the fluency of his language. Before Galba, and Cato the Censor, he harangued, with great variety of thought, and copiousness of diction, in praise of justice.* The next day, to establish his doctrine of the uncertainty of human knowledge, he undertook to refute all his former arguments. Many were captivated by his eloquence; but Cato, apprehensive lest the Roman youth should lose their military character in the pursuit of Grecian learning, persuaded the senate to send back these philosophers, without further delay, to their own schools.

From this incident, of which we shall afterwards have further occasion to take notice, it sufficiently appears that Carneades was an eminent orator and philosopher. He obtained such high reputation in his school, that other philosophers, when they had dismissed their scholars, frequently came to hear him.† In application to study he was indefatigable. So intensely did he fix his thoughts upon the subject of his meditations, that even at meals he frequently forgot to take the food which was set before him.‡ He strenuously opposed the Stoic Chrysippus, but was always ready to do justice to his merit. He used to say, that if there were no Chrysippus, there would be no Carneades; intimating, that he derived much of his reputation as a disputant from the abilities of his opponent. His voice was remarkably strong, and he had such a habit of vociferation, that the master of the gymnastic exercises, in the public field, desired him not to speak so loud: in return, he requested some measure to regulate his voice; to which the master very judiciously replied, “You have a measure, the number of your hearers.”§ As Carneades grew old, he discovered strong apprehensions of dying; and frequently lamented that the same nature which had composed the human frame could dissolve it. He paid the last debt to nature in the eighty-fifth,|| or, according to Cicero¶ and Valerius Maximus,** in the ninetieth year of his age.

It was the doctrine of the New Academy,†† that the senses, the understanding, and the imagination, frequently deceive us, and therefore cannot be infallible judges of truth; but that, from the impressions which we perceive to be produced on the mind, by means of the senses, we infer appearances of truth, or probabilities. These impressions Carneades called phantasies, or images. He maintained that they do not always correspond to the real nature of things, and that there is no infallible method of determining when they are true or false, and consequently that they afford no certain criterion of truth. Nevertheless, with respect to the conduct of life, and the pursuit of happiness, Carneades held that probable appearances are a sufficient guide, because it is unreasonable not to allow some degree of credit to those witnesses who commonly give a true report.

* Lactant. Inst. l. v. c. 14. Quint. Inst. l. xii. c. 1. Cic. de Leg. l. i.

† Laert. l. iv. sect. 63.

‡ Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

§ Laert.

|| Ib.

¶ Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 6.

** Loc. cit.

†† Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. Sextus Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 153.

Probabilities he divided into three classes; simple, uncontradicted, and, confirmed by accurate examination. The lowest degree of probability takes place where the mind, in the casual occurrence of any single image, perceives in it nothing contrary to truth and nature; the second degree of probability arises when, contemplating any object in connexion with all the circumstances associated with it, we discover no appearance of inconsistency or incongruity, to lead us to suspect that our senses have given a false report; as when we conclude, from comparing the image of any individual man with our remembrance of that man, that he is the person we supposed him to be. The highest degree of probability is produced when, after an accurate examination of every circumstance, which might be supposed to create uncertainty, we are able to discover no fallacy in the report of our senses. The judgments arising from this operation of the mind are, according to the doctrine of the New Academy, not science, but opinion, which is all the knowledge that the human mind is capable of attaining.

This doctrine of Carneades, concerning truth, may serve to show in what sense we are to understand an assertion, which has been advanced respecting this philosopher and his sect,* that they would not allow it to be certain that things which are equal or similar to the same thing, are equal or similar to one another. They did not, probably, deny this axiom, considered as an abstract truth; but merely maintained that, in its application to any particular case some uncertainty must arise, from our imperfect knowledge of the things which are brought into comparison, so that it is impossible to prove the absolute equality of any two things to a third, or to one another. It appears, moreover, that the chief point of difference between Arcesilaus and Carneades, or between the Middle and the New Academy was, that the latter taught the doctrine of uncertainty in less exceptionable terms than the former. Arcesilaus, through his earnest desire of overturning all other sects, gave his opponents some pretence for charging him with having undermined the whole foundation of morals: Carneades, by leaving the human understanding in possession of probability, afforded sufficient scope for the use of practical principles of conduct. Arcesilaus was chiefly employed in opposing the doctrines of other philosophers in logic and physics, and paid little attention to ethics: Carneades, at the same time that he taught the necessity of suspense in speculative researches, prescribed rules for the direction of life and manners.†

Carneades, as Cicero‡ has related at large, strenuously opposed the doctrine of the Stoics concerning the gods; but this he did, adds Cicero, not with a view to destroy the belief of superior powers, but merely to prove that the theological system of the Stoical school was unsatisfactory. He was likewise earnestly desirous of refuting their doctrine concerning fate.§ On this subject he assumed, on the ground of experience, the existence of a self-determining power in man, and hence inferred that all things did not happen, as the Stoics maintained, in a necessary series of causes and effects, and consequently, that it is impossible for the gods to predict events dependent on the will of man. As the foundation of morals, he taught that the ultimate end of life is the enjoyment of those things towards which we are directed by the principles of nature.

Such is the general idea which the ancients have left us concerning the doctrine of Carneades. But after all, it must be owned that his real tenets

* Bayle, Carn. note C.

† Numenius ap. Euseb. l. xiv. c. 7, 8. August. l. c.

‡ De Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 18. Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 140, &c.

§ Cic. de Fato, c. 14.

are not certainly known. Even his immediate successor, Clitomachus, confessed that he was never able to discover them.

CLITOMACHUS* was a native of Carthage. In his early years he acquired a fondness for learning, which induced him to visit Greece for the purpose of attending the schools of the philosophers. From the time of his first arrival in Athens he attached himself to Carneades, and continued his disciple till his death, when he became his successor in the Academic chair. He studied with great industry, and made himself master of the systems of the other schools, but professed the doctrine of suspension of assent, as it had been taught by his master. Cicero relates that he wrote four hundred books upon philosophical subjects. At an advanced age he was seized with a lethargy. Recovering in some measure the use of his faculties, he said, "The love of life shall deceive me no longer," and laid violent hands upon himself. He entered upon the office of preceptor in the Academy immediately after the death of Carneades, and held it thirty years, that is, till the hundred and seventieth Olympiad.† According to Cicero, he taught that there is no certain criterion by which to judge of the truth of those reports which we receive from the senses, and that therefore a wise man will either wholly suspend his assent, or decline giving a peremptory opinion; but that, nevertheless,‡ men are strongly impelled by nature to follow probability. His moral doctrine§ established a natural alliance between pleasure and virtue. He was a professed enemy to rhetoric, and thought that no place should be allowed in society to so dangerous an art.||

PHILO of Larissa,¶ the successor of Clitomachus, or according to some, the founder of a fourth Academy, is celebrated by Cicero for his learning and eloquence, and for the elegance of his manners. In the Mithridatic war, he took refuge at Rome, and Cicero attended his lectures. He held, that truth in its nature is comprehensible, but not by the human faculties. CHARMIDAS, the companion of Philo, is celebrated for the compass and fidelity of his memory, and for his moral wisdom.**

The last preceptor of the Platonic school in Greece was ANTIOCHUS of Ascalon.†† He attempted to reconcile the tenets of the different sects, and maintained that the doctrines of the Stoics were to be found in the writings of Plato. Cicero greatly admired his eloquence, and the politeness of his manners, and Lucullus took him as his companion into Asia. He resigned the Academic chair in the hundred and seventy-fifth Olympiad.‡‡ After his time the professors of the Academic philosophy were dispersed by the tumults of war, and the school itself was transferred to Rome. §§

* Laert. l. iv. sect. 67, &c. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 31, 32. † B. C. 100.

‡ Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 33. § Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 30.

|| Sext. Emp. adv. Rhet. sect. 20.

¶ Cic. de Orat. l. iii. c. 16. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 33. Plut. Vit. Cic. Cic. Ep. ad Fam. l. xiii. ep. 1. l. ix. ep. 8. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 4. 6.

** Tusc. Qu. l. i. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. x. c. 16. Stobæus, Serm. 212.

†† Sext. Emp. l. c. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 4. 22. 35. 43. 45. De Fin. l. v. c. 3. 5. De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 7. Plut. l. c. ‡‡ B. C. 80.

§§ Vidend. Meurs. de Archont. Ath. l. iii. c. 9. Potter, Arch. l. i. c. 10. l. iv. c. 20. Amæn. Lit. t. vii. p. 232. t. viii. p. 326. Reiman. Hist. Ath. c. 22. sect. 6. c. 33. sect. 5. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 24. Jons. de Scrip. l. ii. c. 13, 14. Bayle. Fouchier, Diss. de Phil. Acad. Par. 1692. Huet de la Foiblesse, &c. August. contr. Acad. Gassen. de Log. l. ii. c. 4. Carpzovii Diss. de Critolao.

CHAPTER IX.

OF ARISTOTLE AND THE PERIPATETIC SECT.

SECTION I.—OF ARISTOTLE AND HIS PHILOSOPHY.

IN the preceding chapter we have traced the rise and progress of the Ionic school, from Thales, through Socrates, and his pupil Plato, into the several forms which it assumed in the Old, Middle, and New Academy. We are next to inquire into the history of another principal branch of this school, the Peripatetic sect, founded by Aristotle; a philosopher, whose extensive and penetrating genius has entitled him to immortal fame, and whose doctrines have been transmitted, through various channels, to the present day, and have been surprisingly interwoven with almost the whole circle of the sciences. The history of his life and opinions will require a minute and impartial discussion.

ARISTOTLE* was a native of Stagira, a town of Thrace,† on the borders of the bay of Strymon, which at that time was subject to Philip of Macedon. His father was a physician, named Nicomachus; his mother's name was Eestida. From the place of his birth he is called the Stagirite. Ancient writers are generally agreed in fixing the time of his birth in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad.‡ He received the first rudiments of learning from Proxenus, of Atarna in Mysia, of whom he always retained a respectful remembrance. In gratitude for the care which he had taken of his early education, he afterwards honoured his memory with a statue, instructed his son Nicanor in the liberal sciences, and adopted him as his heir.§ At the age of seventeen Aristotle went to Athens, and devoted himself to the study of philosophy in the school of Plato.|| The uncommon acuteness of his apprehension, and his indefatigable industry, soon attracted the attention of Plato, and obtained his applause. Plato used to call him the *Mind of the school*; and to say, when he was absent, "Intellect is not here." His acquaintance with books was extensive and accurate, as sufficiently appears from the concise abridgment of opinions, and the numerous quotations which are found in his works. According to Strabo,¶ he was the first person who formed a library. Aristotle continued in the Academy till the death of Plato, that is, till the thirty-seventh year of his age. After the death of his master he erected a monument to his memory, on which he inscribed an epitaph expressive of the highest respect, of which a Latin version is preserved: **

Gratus Aristoteles struit hoc altare Platoni,
Quem turbæ injustæ vel celebrare nefas. (a)

He likewise wrote an oration and elegies in praise of Plato, and gave other

* Laert. l. v. sect. 1, &c. Suidas. Ammonii Vita Arist. apud Proleg. Categ.

† Herod. Polymn. p. 265. Pausan. Eliac. p. 462.

‡ Laert. Dionys. Hal. Epist. 1. ad Ammæum. B. C. 384.

§ Laert. Ammon. Dion. Hal. loc. cit. || Philopon. de Mundi Etern.

¶ L. xiii. p. 608. ** Ammon.

(a) To Plato's sacred name this tomb is rear'd,
A name by Aristotle long revered!
Far hence, ye vulgar herd! nor dare to stain
With impious praise this ever hallow'd fane.

proofs of respect for his memory. Little regard is therefore due to the improbable tale related by Aristoxenus* of a quarrel between Aristotle and Plato, which terminated in a temporary exclusion of Aristotle from the Academy, and in his erection of a school in opposition to Plato during his life. We find no proof that Aristotle instituted a new system of philosophy before the death of Plato.

* It is certain, however, that when Speusippus, upon the death of his uncle, succeeded him in the Academy, Aristotle was so much displeased, that he left Athens, and paid a visit to Hermias, king of the Atarnenses, who had been his friend and fellow-disciple, and who received him with every expression of regard.† Here he remained three years, and during this interval diligently prosecuted his philosophical researches. At the close of this term, his friend Hermias was taken prisoner by Memnon, a Rhodian, and sent to Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who put him to death. Upon this, Aristotle placed a statue of his friend in the temple at Delphos, and out of respect to his memory married his sister, whom her brother's death had reduced to poverty and distress.‡ Upon the death of Hermias, Aristotle removed to Mitylene,§ but from what inducement does not appear. After he had remained there two years, Philip, king of Macedon, having heard of his extraordinary abilities and merit, made choice of him as preceptor to his son Alexander, and wrote him the following letter: §

“PHILIP TO ARISTOTLE, *wisheth health* :

“Be informed that I have a son, and that I am thankful to the gods, not so much for his birth, as that he was born in the same age with you; for if you will undertake the charge of his education, I assure myself that he will become worthy of his father, and of the kingdom which he will inherit.”

Aristotle accepted the charge, and in the second year of the hundred and ninth Olympiad, || when Alexander was in his fifteenth year, he took up his residence in the court of Philip. He had been himself well instructed, not only in the doctrines of the schools, but in the manners of the world, and therefore was excellently qualified for the office of preceptor to the young prince. Accordingly, we find that he executed his trust so perfectly to the satisfaction of Philip and Olympia, that they admitted him to their entire confidence, and conferred upon him many acceptable tokens of esteem.¶ Philip allowed him no small share of influence in his public counsels; and it reflected great honour upon Aristotle that he made use of his interest with his prince rather for the benefit of his friends and the public than for his own emolument.** At his intercession the town of Stagira, which had fallen into decay, was rebuilt, and the inhabitants were restored to their ancient privileges. In commemoration of their obligations to their fellow-citizen, and as a testimony of respect for his merit, they instituted an annual Aristotelian festival.†† Alexander entertained such an affection for his preceptor that he professed himself more indebted to him than to his father; declaring that Philip had only given him life, but that Aristotle had taught him the art of living well.‡‡ He is said not only to have instructed his pupil in the principles of ethics and policy, but also to have communicated to him the most abstruse and concealed doctrines of philosophy. But it may be questioned, whether a preceptor, who was himself so well trained by experience in the prudential maxims of life, would

* Euseb. Præp. l. xv. c. 2. Suidas in Aristox. Ælian, l. iii. c. 19.

† Laert. l. c.

‡ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 610. Euseb. l. c. Conf. Athen. l. xv. p. 694.

§ Strabo, ib. Aul. Gell. l. ix. c. 3. Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 346.

|| B. C. 343.

¶ Ammonius, l. c.

** Plut. l. c. Laert.

†† Ammonius, l. c.

‡‡ Plut. Alex. t. ii. p. 346.

think of conducting a youth, who was destined to wield a sceptre, through the intricate mazes of metaphysics, or whether a pupil of Alexander's enterprising spirit would be able to bend his mind to such studies. What is related concerning the pains which Aristotle took to make his pupil acquainted with Homer, and to inspire him with a love of his writings, is much more credible; for he certainly could not have adopted a more judicious method of enriching the mind of the young prince with noble sentiments, or of inspiring him with ambition to distinguish himself by illustrious actions.

Immediately after the death of Philip, which happened in the first year of the hundred and eleventh Olympiad,* Alexander, whose ambitious spirit could not bear to be enclosed within the limits of his paternal kingdom, formed the design of his Asiatic expedition. It is not improbable that Aristotle, who after eight years daily intercourse must have been well acquainted with the character of his pupil, approved of this enterprise. For his own part, however, he preferred the enjoyment of literary leisure to the prospect of sharing with Alexander the glory of conquest, and therefore determined to return to Athens.† His nephew Callisthenes remained with the hero, and accompanied him in his exploits.

After Aristotle had left his pupil they carried on a friendly correspondence, in which the philosopher prevailed upon Alexander to employ his increasing power and wealth in the service of philosophy, by furnishing him, in his retirement, with the means of enlarging his acquaintance with nature. Alexander accordingly‡ employed several thousand persons in different parts of Europe and Asia to collect animals of various kinds, birds, beasts, and fishes, and send them to Aristotle, who, from the information which this collection afforded him, wrote fifty volumes on the history of animated nature, only ten of which are now extant. Callisthenes,§ in the course of the Asiatic expedition, incurred the displeasure of Alexander|| by the freedom with which he censured his conduct: the aversion was by a natural association transferred to Aristotle; and from that time a mutual alienation and jealousy took place between the philosopher and his prince. But there is no sufficient reason to believe¶ that their attachment was converted into a settled enmity, which at length led them to form designs against each other's life.

Aristotle, upon his return to Athens, finding the Academy, in which he probably intended to preside, occupied by Xenocrates, resolved to acquire the fame of a leader in philosophy by founding a new sect in opposition to the Academy, and teaching a system of doctrines different from that of Plato.** The place which he chose for his school was the Lyceum,†† a grove in the suburbs of Athens, which had hitherto been made use of for military exercises. Here he held daily conversations on subjects of philosophy with those who attended him, walking as he discoursed; whence his followers were called Peripatetics.‡‡

According to the long established practice of philosophers among the Grecians, Egyptians, and other nations, Aristotle had his public and his secret doctrine, the former of which he called the Exoteric, and the latter the Acroamatic or Esoteric. Hence§§ he divided his auditors into two classes,

* B. C. 336. † Laert. &c. ‡ Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 16. § Laert.

|| Q. Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.

¶ Plut. l. c. Patricii Discussiones Peripateticæ, Basil, 1571.

** Laert. l. c. Cicero de Orat. l. iii. c. 35. Quintil. Inst. Orat. l. iii. c. 1.

†† Laert. Suidas in Lyc. ‡‡ Laert. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 4.

§§ Aul. Gellius, l. xx. c. 4.

to one of which he taught his Exoteric doctrine, discoursing on the principal subjects of logic, rhetoric, and policy; the other he instructed in the Acroamatic, or concealed and subtle doctrine, concerning Being, Nature, and God. His more abstruse discourses he delivered in the morning to his select disciples, whom he required to have been previously instructed in the elements of learning, and to have discovered abilities and dispositions suited to the study of philosophy. He delivered lectures to a more promiscuous auditory in the evening, when the Lyceum was open to all young men without distinction. The former he called his Morning Walk, the latter his Evening Walk. Both were much frequented.

Aristotle continued his school in the Lyceum twelve years;* for, although the superiority of his abilities, and the novelty of his doctrines created him many rivals and enemies, during the life of Alexander the friendship of that prince protected him from insult. But after Alexander's death, which happened in the first year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad,† the fire of jealousy,‡ which had long been smothered, burst into a flame of persecution. His adversaries instigated Eurymedon, a priest, to accuse him of holding and propagating impious tenets. What these were, we are not expressly informed, but it is not improbable that the doctrine of Aristotle concerning fate might be construed into a denial of the necessity of prayers and sacrifices, and might consequently be resented as inimical to the public institutions of religion. This would doubtless be thought, on the part of the priesthood, a sufficient ground of accusation, and would be admitted by the judges of the Areopagus as a valid plea for treating him as a dangerous man. That Aristotle himself was apprehensive of meeting with the fate of Socrates appears from the reason which he gave§ his friends for leaving Athens: "I am not willing," says he, "to give the Athenians an opportunity of committing a second offence against philosophy." It is certain that he retired, with a few of his disciples, to Chalcis, where he remained till his death. He left Athens in the second year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad,|| and died at Chalcis the third year of the same Olympiad, and the sixty-third year of his age.¶ Many idle tales are related** concerning the manner of his death. It is most likely that it was the effect of premature decay, in consequence of excessive watchfulness, and application to study. His body was conveyed to Stagira, where his memory was honoured with an altar and a tomb.

Aristotle was twice married, first to Pythias, sister to his friend Hermias, and after her death to Herpilis, a native of Stagira.†† By his second wife he had a son named Nichomachus, to whom he addressed his *Magna Moralia*, "Greater Morals." His person‡‡ was slender; he had small eyes, and a shrill voice, and when he was young hesitated in his speech. He endeavoured to supply the defects of his natural form by an attention to dress, and commonly appeared in a costly habit, with his beard shaven, and his hair cut, and with rings upon his fingers. He was subject to frequent indispositions, through a natural weakness of stomach; but he corrected the infirmities of his constitution by a temperate regimen.

Concerning the character of Aristotle nothing can be more contradictory than the accounts of different writers. Some of his panegyrists, not con-

* Laert. l. v. sect. 5.

† B. C. 324.

‡ Athen. l. xv. p. 697. Orig. cont. Cels. l. i. p. 52. l. ii. p. 68.

§ Ælian, l. iii. c. 36.

|| B. C. 323.

¶ Laert.

** Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 5. Just. Martyr. Cohort. ad Græc. p. 34. Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 79. Hesychius. Suidas. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 166.

†† Laert.

‡‡ Id. Cic. ad Attic. l. iv. Ep. 9. Gronov. Thes. Græc. t. ii. Tab. 90.

tented with ascribing to him the virtues of a philosopher, or rather perhaps jealous of the credit which heathen philosophy might acquire from so illustrious a name, have ascribed his wisdom to divine revelation. Jews have said * that he gained his philosophy in Judea, and borrowed his moral doctrine from Solomon, and have even asserted that he was of the seed of Israel, and the tribe of Benjamin. Christians have assigned him a place amongst those who were supernaturally ordained to prepare the way for divine revelation,† and have acknowledged themselves indebted to the assistance of the Peripatetic philosophy for the depth and accuracy of their acquaintance with the sublime mysteries of religion.‡ Others, who have confined their encomiums within the limits of probability, have said§ that Aristotle was an illustrious pattern of gratitude, moderation, and the love of truth; and, in confirmation of this general praise, have referred to his behaviour to his preceptor, his friends, and his countrymen, and to the celebrated apophthegm which has been commonly ascribed to him—*Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, magis tamen amica veritas*; “I respect Plato, and I respect Socrates, but I respect truth still more.” On the other hand, there have not been wanting writers who have represented Aristotle as the most infamous of human beings, and charged him with every kind of impiety and wickedness. Many of the calumnies against his memory which have been transmitted to posterity doubtless originated in the jealousy and envy of the rival sects which were contemporaries with the Peripatetic school. To this source may be fairly referred the abuse of Timæus the Tauromenite, who says|| that Aristotle, when he was a young man, after wasting his patrimony in prodigality, opened a shop for medicine in Athens; and that he was a pretender to learning, a vile parasite, and addicted to gluttony and debauchery. To the same origin we may ascribe the inconsistent and absurd cavils which have been raised against his reputation, on the ground of his attachment to Hermias, and the honours which he paid to his memory, and to that of his wife Pythias.

If, without regard to the fictions either of calumny or panegyric, the merit of Aristotle be weighed in the equal balance of historical truth, it will perhaps be found that neither were his virtues of that exalted kind which command admiration, nor his faults so highly criminal as not to admit of some apology. He may perhaps be justly censured for having taught his pupil Alexander principles of morals and policy which were accommodated to the manners of a court, and which might easily be rendered subservient to his ambitious views; and it cannot be doubted that his philosophical doc-

* Joseph. contr. Apion, l. i. Clem. Alex. Str. l. i. Euseb. Præp. l. ix. c. 5. R. Gedalias in Schalcheleth, p. 102. ed. Ven. Bartoloccus, Bibl. Rabb. t. i. p. 476. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, t. iii. c. 7. sect. 14. Fabric. Bib. Gr. t. ii. p. 162.

† It is said that Aristotle cried out, in the article of death, *Causa causarum, miserere mei*—and that he said to his attendants that Homer had well said the gods have descended upon earth for the salvation of men. (a) But these are unquestionably to be ranked among the lying tales so plentifully produced in the ages of monkish ignorance and credulity: they were probably invented by the ingenious author of the book *De Pomo*, &c. “Of the apple which Aristotle held in his hand just before his death, and with the smell of which he refreshed himself, whilst he discoursed to his friends concerning the Contempt of Death, and the Immortality of the Soul;” a book which Aristotle himself is said to have dictated in his last moments, in order to show that wise men need not lament their exit from their lodging of clay. About the year 1200 an Hebrew version of the Arabic translation from the supposed original was rendered into Latin by Manfred, son of the Emperor Frederic I. Vid. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 166.

‡ Euseb. Pr. l. xv. c. 8.

§ Ammonius, &c.

|| Suidas. Athen. l. viii. p. 354. Euseb. Præp. l. c.

(a) Cæl. Rodigin. Ant. l. xviii. c. 31. Liber de Pomo, ed. Losii, Giessæ, 1706.

trines concerning nature were not favourable to the public forms of religion. But neither his doctrine, nor his life, afford sufficient ground for condemning him as an advocate for immorality or impiety.

As a writer there can be no doubt that Aristotle is entitled to the praise of deep erudition. At the same time it must be owned that he is frequently deserving of censure, for giving a partial and unfair representation of the opinions of his predecessors in philosophy, that he might the more easily refute them; and that he seems to have made it the principal object of his extensive reading to depreciate the wisdom of all preceding ages. In short, whilst in point of genius we rank Aristotle in the first class of men, and whilst we ascribe to him every attainment which, at the period in which he lived, indefatigable industry, united with superior abilities, could reach, we must add, that his reputation in philosophy is in some measure tarnished by a too daring spirit of contradiction and innovation; and in morals, by an artful conformity to the manners of the age in which he lived.

A large catalogue of the writings of Aristotle is given by Laertius, Fabricius, and others, from which it appears that he wrote many books besides those which have been transmitted to the present times. Few of his works were made public during his life, and it was not long after his death before spurious productions were mixed with his genuine writings, so that it became difficult to distinguish them. Those which are at present generally received under his name may be classed under the several heads of logic, physics, metaphysics, mathematics, ethics, rhetoric, and poesy.

The LOGICAL writings of Aristotle are the "Categories," attributed by some to Archytas, a Pythagorean; "Of the Explanation of Nouns and Verbs," a work which explains the philosophical principles of grammar; "Analytics," including the whole doctrine of syllogism and demonstration; eight books of "Topics," or commonplaces, from which probable arguments are to be drawn; and "Sophistic Arguments," enumerating the several species of false reasoning. These logical pieces are usually published in one volume under the general title of the *Organon* of Aristotle. His PHYSICAL writings are, "On the Doctrine of Nature," explaining the principles and properties of natural bodies; "On the Heavens;" "On the Production and Dissolution of Natural Bodies;" "On Meteors;" "Of Animal Life;" "Physical Miscellanies;" "On the Natural History of Animals;" "On the Anatomy of Animals;" "On Plants;" "On Colours;" "On Sound;" "A Collection of Wonderful Facts;" "Against the Doctrine of Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias;" "On the Winds;" "On Physiognomy," and, "Miscellaneous Problems." The METAPHYSICS of Aristotle are contained in fourteen books. Under the head of MATHEMATICS are included a "Book of Questions in Mechanics," and another "On Incommensurable Lines." His doctrine of ETHICS is contained in ten books "To Nichomachus," "The Greater Morals;" seven books "To Eudemus," ascribed by some to Theophrastus; a book "On Virtue and Vice;" two "On Economics;" and eight "On Government." He treats, in three distinct books, "On the Art of Rhetoric," and in another "On the Art of Poetry."*

The works of Aristotle, together with his library, passed very early through hazards which have rendered it a subject of critical inquiry how far the present volumes which bear his name are genuine.† Aristotle left

* Of the entire works of Aristotle, the most valuable editions are those of Casaubon, Lugd. 1590, 1646, and Du Val, Par. 1629, 1654.

† Fabricii Bib. Græc. v. ii. p. 109, &c. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 609. Plut. in Sylla. Ammon. Athen. l. i. p. 3.

his own writings, together with his library, to his successor Theophrastus, who, doubtless, knew their value. Theophrastus, at his death, bequeathed all his books to Neleus, of Scepsis. Some of them were sold to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and shared the fate of the Alexandrian library. The heirs of Neleus, in order to secure the rest from being seized by the kings of Pergamus, under whose jurisdiction the town of Scepsis was, and who were industriously collecting a library, buried them in a subterraneous cavern, where they lay an hundred and thirty years, and suffered much injury. They were after this sold to Apellicon, a Teian, a great collector of books, who was particularly attached to the Peripatetic philosophy. Finding the manuscripts injured by time, he had them transcribed, and, with injudicious industry supplied, from his own conjectures, and those of his copyists, such passages as were become illegible. It is impossible to say how many corruptions were by this means introduced into the text. After the death of Apellicon, Sylla, at the taking of Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and seventy-third Olympiad,* seized his library, and ordered it to be conveyed to Rome. Here Tyrannio, a grammarian, obtaining permission to make use of the manuscripts of Aristotle, employed ignorant amanuenses to take copies of them, which he suffered to pass out of his hands without proper correction. These errors have been increased by the officiousness of later transcribers and commentators, who have frequently introduced variations, according to their own conjectures, into the original text. To this we must add, that there is reason to believe that the ancient arrangement of the books has been disturbed, so that it is now become impossible to reduce them to their original order.

From these circumstances many errors must have crept into the writings of Aristotle. But, besides these incidental causes of obscurity, there are others, arising from the nature and scope of his philosophy, and the peculiarity of his diction, which it will be necessary particularly to remark.

Most of the subjects on which Aristotle treats are in the highest degree abstruse, and difficult to be comprehended. Universal ideas of existence, attributes, and relations, separated from real being; modes of reasoning considered abstractedly; metaphysical disquisitions concerning matter, mind, and deity; explanations of nature, deduced from conjecture rather than experience; vague and indeterminate notions, which were probably never clearly conceived by the author himself; and subtle distinctions, merely verbal, are the materials which chiefly fill up the voluminous writings of Aristotle.

The obscurity necessarily arising from the nature of the subjects which the Stagirite discusses is greatly increased by the manner in which he treats them. Aulus Gellius relates† that, when Alexander complained to Aristotle that he had divulged in his writings his Esoteric doctrines, Aristotle replied, that these doctrines were published and not published; since what he had written upon these subjects was intelligible only to such as had been his hearers. The story will be easily credited by those who are conversant with his works. No writer ever afforded more frequent examples of the poet's maxim,

—— Brevis esse laboro,
Obscurus fio ——— (a)

He affects close periods and a concise diction. He often supposes things

* B. C. 85.

† Noct. Att. l. xx. c. 5.

(a) ——— I strive to be concise;
I prove obscure.

to be known, which have either not been before explained, or may easily have escaped the reader's memory. Sometimes he makes use of different terms to express the same idea, and at other times annexes different ideas to the same term. It is not an uncommon practice with him to use new words in an artificial and technical sense, which, nevertheless, he does not clearly define. His transitions are frequently so abrupt, or his progress from his premises to his conclusions so rapid, that it is extremely difficult for the reader to perceive the train of his reasoning. Through artifice, negligence, or a change of opinion, many contradictions occur, which the ingenuity of criticism has never yet been able to reconcile. His general propositions are frequently obscure for want of examples; and even his examples themselves, when he condescends to introduce them, are often as incomprehensible as the doctrines they are intended to elucidate. Mathematical ideas, with which he was exceedingly conversant, he sometimes applies to subjects to which they have no natural relation, and thus incumbers with artificial difficulties disquisitions which are in themselves sufficiently obscure. Lastly, in quoting the opinions of former philosophers, whether to examine, confirm, or confute them, he takes so little care to mark the transition from their words to his own, that the reader is frequently at a loss to determine whether Aristotle is giving his own opinion, or reporting that of some other philosopher.

It will serve to account, in some measure, for the obscurity of Aristotle's writings, if the leading design with which he formed his system of philosophy be considered. There can be little doubt that an ambitious desire of distinguishing himself above all other philosophers induced him to become the founder of a new sect; and that, for the sake of increasing the lustre of his own system, he made use of every expedient to eclipse that of others. His object was to erect his own edifice upon the ruin of every other structure. As Lord Bacon has finely remarked,* "Like a Turkish despot, he thought he could not reign secure, unless all his brethren were slain." Innovating rather in words than in reality, and determining to oppose his new philosophy to ancient tenets, many of which were founded on truth and experience, he sometimes misrepresents the opinions of former philosophers; sometimes selects those which were most trifling, or most easily refuted; and sometimes has recourse to uncertain principles and vague terms, in hopes that obscurity will be mistaken for novelty.

Another circumstance in the life of Aristotle, which had no small influence upon his philosophy, was, that from his childhood he had frequented the court of Amyntas with his father Nicomachus, and acquired the habits and manners of high life; and that afterwards, when he was chosen preceptor to Alexander, he had occasion to accommodate his philosophy to the rules of the court, and to the ambition of the young prince whom he was to educate. Deserting therefore the fanciful republic of Plato, and finding the morals of Socrates too confined for his purpose, he constructed a system of ethics for himself, which would allow full scope for the aspiring views of Alexander and his friends.

These remarks are not, however, intended entirely to depreciate the writings of Aristotle. Although we cannot approve of the blind veneration for antiquity, which has led many, in contempt of better guides, to extol the Aristotelian philosophy, as the highest effort of human ability; although we are of opinion that the writings of this philosopher abound with trifles, and are in some places clouded with impenetrable obscurity; we neverthe-

* De Augment. Scient. l. iii. c. 4.

less readily admit that many parts of his voluminous remains discover profound penetration and great strength of genius. His treatises on rhetoric and poetry have perhaps scarcely obtained applause equal to their merit.

The philosophy of Aristotle, of which we now proceed to take a more particular survey, may be divided into three distinct branches, INSTRUMENTAL, THEORETICAL, and PRACTICAL. Under the first head are included his doctrines concerning LOGIC; under the second, his principles of PHYSICS, PNEUMATOLOGY, ONTOLOGY, and MATHEMATICS; and under the third, his system of ETHICS and POLICY.

The sum of Aristotle's doctrine concerning LOGIC is as follows:—*

The end of logic is the discovery of truth, either probable or certain. Analytics investigate the truth by incontrovertible demonstration. Dialectics establish opinions by probable arguments. Logic, whether analytic or dialectic, searches after truth by means of syllogisms. Syllogisms consist of propositions, and propositions of simple terms. Terms are of three kinds;† Homonymous, where a common word is applied to different things; Synonymous, or univocal, where the meaning of the word, and the definition of the thing coincide; and Paronymous, where the word only varies in case or termination. The Peripatetic preceptors added to these, which they called antipredicaments, analogical terms, where the same word belongs to one thing primarily, and to another secondarily and improperly. They also premised the doctrine of Predicables, or general modes of predicating. Aristotle having left nothing on this subject, Porphyry wrote an Introduction to his works, in which he treats of the five predicables, Genus, Species, Difference, Property, and Accident.

Univocal terms are reduced to ten classes, which are called Categories, or Predicaments. These are, 1. Substance; which is either primary, and can neither be predicated of, nor inherent in, any other subject; or secondary, which subsists in primary substances, as genera or species. 2. Quantity, continued or discrete; which has no contrary, and denominates things equal or unequal. 3. Relation, expressing the manner in which one thing is affected towards another. 4. Quality, by which a thing is said to be such as it is. 5. Action, signifying the motion of the agent. 6. Passion, signifying the state of the patient. 7. When, denoting time. 8. Where, denoting place. 9. Situation, expressing the external circumstance of local relation. 10. Habit, expressing the external circumstance of being habited.‡ In order to supply the deficiencies of this arrangement five other general heads were afterwards added, Opposition, Priority, Coincidence, Motion, and Possession. Excepting Substance, all the categories and their supplements may be comprised under the general head of Accident.§

The arrangement of the Categories was borrowed from the Pythagorean school, in which the number ten was esteemed the most perfect. It is said that it was first invented by Archytas of Tarentum. From him Plato probably received it when he conversed with him in Italy; and from Plato it would of course pass to Aristotle.

Of Terms are formed enunciative Propositions, or sentences, in which something is affirmed or denied.|| Every proposition consists of a Subject, a Predicate, and a Copula, or expresses the thing concerning which the assertion is made, the accident which is asserted or predicated of it, and

* Laert. l. v. sect. 28, &c.

† Aristot. de Categ. c. i. t. i. Op. p. 8.

‡ De Categ. c. 10.

§ See Harris's Philosophical Arrangements.

|| Arist. De Interpretatione, t. i.

the assertion itself. From propositions are formed Syllogisms, in which from given premises certain conclusions are drawn. A Syllogism consists of three propositions, of which the two former are the Premises, and the third, the Conclusion, and in which three terms are variously arranged. These three terms are called the Major, the Minor, and the Middle term. The Predicate of the Conclusion is called the Major Term, the subject, the Minor, and both together the Extremes. The Middle Term is that which is introduced to show the connexion between the Major and Minor, and thus bring out the conclusion. The Matter of a Syllogism is, the propositions of which it consists; the Form is, the framing and disposing these according to Figure and Mode. Figure is the proper disposition of the Middle Term. Mode is the arrangement of the propositions according to quantity and quality; that is, as they are universal or particular, affirmative or negative.*

The figures of Syllogisms are three; in the First the middle term is the subject of the major proposition, and the predicate of the minor. It contains four modes which are conclusive. In the Second the middle term is the predicate of both the extremes; it has also four conclusive modes. In the Third the middle term is the subject of both the extremes; it has six modes. Every Syllogism is constituted of some one of these three figures; but the first is the most perfect. Other forms of reasoning may easily be reduced to the Syllogistic.†

On the invention and application of syllogisms Aristotle treats with a degree of minuteness and subtlety, which produces obscurity. His logical dissertations would have been clearer, as well as more concise, had he carefully distinguished between words and ideas, and confined his attention chiefly to the latter.

* *Analyt. prior. l. i. t. i. p. 40.*

† *Analyt. prior. l. ii. c. 23.*

The Aristotelian doctrine of Syllogisms may be illustrated by the following examples:—

The sentence, *God is omnipotent*, is a Proposition, in which *God* is the Subject; *Omnipotent*, the Predicate, and *is*, the Copula.

In the following Syllogism :

Our Creator must be worshipped :
God is our Creator;
Therefore God must be worshipped :

the two former propositions are the Premises; the third, the Conclusion. The three Terms are *Worship—God—Creator*. The first, the Major; the second, the Minor; the third, the Middle Term, introduced to show the connexion between the two ideas of *God* and *Worship*.

Syllogism of the First Figure.

Every bad man is miserable :
All tyrants are bad men ;
Therefore all tyrants are miserable.

Syllogism of the Second Figure.

No deceiver is to be credited :
Every good historian is to be credited ;
Therefore no good historian is a deceiver.

Syllogism of the Third Figure.

All honest men are beloved :
All honest men have faults ;
Therefore some who have faults are beloved.

Concerning demonstrative reasoning, Aristotle lays it down as a fundamental principle that all disquisition producing science rests upon some previous knowledge of the subject. Demonstration can only arise from principles which are true in themselves, and not referable to any prior truth, which involve in them, by immediate consequence, the conclusion to be demonstrated; and lastly, which are clearly perceived, and perfectly known. Demonstrative syllogisms respect certain truths, and therefore consist of propositions, which necessarily arise from the nature of things, or the definition of terms. The proper subjects of demonstration are those common natures, or universal attributes, subsisting in individuals, which make them to be what they are, and which may be predicated of them. It is one thing to know *that* a thing is so, and another to know *why* it is so; hence arises two kinds of demonstration; one τοῦ ὅτι, which demonstrates the existence of the cause from its effects; the other, τοῦ διότι, which reasons from the nature of causes. No science can arise immediately from the senses, which are only conversant with individual objects; for science is employed upon those universal natures which are discovered from the induction or collection of particulars perceived by the senses.* Dialectics† deduce conclusions from probable premises; that is from premises which appear probable to all, or at least to the most intelligent part of mankind. The art of dialectic reasoning is conjectural, and therefore does not always certainly attain its end. Dialectic propositions express Genus and Difference, Definition, Property, or Accident; or declare concerning any subject to what class it belongs, and wherein it differs from others; by what terms its nature may be explained; what particular properties it possesses, or what casual circumstances attend it. Refutation ἑλεγχος,‡ contradicts a conclusion drawn by the opponent from assumed premises; and for this purpose either makes use of legitimate syllogisms in defending truth, or of sophistical arts in support of error. Of these latter the principal are: 1. By departing from the point, and proving something which seems to determine the question, but in reality does not. 2. By supposing what is not allowed, or taking for granted in other terms that which is to be proved. 3. By reasoning in a circle, when, in a series of arguments, the same things are mutually made use of, both as the medium of proof, and as the conclusion. 4. By assigning a false cause, or making that to be the cause of any effect which either does not exist at all, or does not exist as a cause in the present question. 5. By representing a mere accident as essential to the nature of the subject. 6. By deducing an universal assertion from that which is true only in particular circumstances, and the reverse. 7. By asserting any thing in a compound sense, which is only true in a divided sense; and the reverse. 8. By an abuse of the ambiguity of words. To this latter source of fallacy several of the former may be easily reduced.§

This brief sketch of the logic of Aristotle may suffice to give the reader a general idea of the first branch of his philosophy, the Instrumental. We next proceed to the second branch, the THEORETICAL, comprehending his doctrine of physics, metaphysics, and mathematics.

1. OF PHYSICS. The principles of nature are neither the Similar Parts of Anaxagoras, nor the Atoms of Leuippus and Democritus, nor the Sensible Elements of Thales, nor the Unity of Parmenides, nor the

* Analytic. poster. l. i. c. 1, 2. 4. 8. 10. 18.

† Topic. l. i. c. 1. 3, 4. 10.

‡ De Elench. Sophist. t. i. p. 173.

§ For examples of these several kinds of sophisms, see Watts' Logic, part ii. ch. 3. sect. 1.

Numbers of Pythagoras, nor the Ideas of Plato. There must necessarily be in nature opposite principles, independent and underived, from which all things proceed. But since from two contrary principles nothing could be produced, but they would rather destroy each other, a third is necessary to the existence of natural bodies. These three principles are,* Form, Privation, and Matter; the two former contrary to each other; the third, the common subject of both. Matter and Form are the constituent principles of things; Privation enters not into their constitution, but is accidentally associated with them. All things are produced from that which exists potentially, namely,† the First Matter; not from that which exists actually, nor from pure nihility. Matter is neither produced nor destroyed, but is the first infinite subject from which things are formed, and into which they are at last resolved. Form is the nature and essence of any thing, or that which makes it to be what it is. Matter cannot be separated from form and real existence.

It may perhaps cast some light upon this part of Aristotle's doctrine to remark the prior state of opinions on this subject. Before his time, all the philosophers, who had treated on natural causes, had agreed in the opinion that there is some substance from which all bodies were made, and upon which the forms of things are impressed; and to this substance most of them gave the name of Matter. Although they could not deny the existence of this substance, they were unable to say what it was, or in what manner it received the forms of things. The common idea was, that matter consisted of indefinitely small particles which had been eternally in motion; and it was for the most part believed, that these particles were collected and united by the agency of an intelligent principle. It was also generally supposed, that different particles of matter originally possessed different qualities; but, in explaining the nature of this difference various hypotheses were advanced. Empedocles, Thales, and others, taught that there are in matter four primary elements, which are the basis of all corporeal forms; whilst Anaxagoras and his followers maintained that all bodies consist of indefinitely small particles, each similar in form to the whole. Plato, dissatisfied with these theories, had recourse to the doctrine of Ideas, and held that the Essential Forms of things, proceeding by emanation from the Deity, had a real existence, and that in the union of these with matter consisted the formation of bodies. Aristotle had too much penetration not to see that these hypotheses were inadequate to the solution of the great question concerning the formation of nature. In hopes of succeeding better than his predecessors, he assumed as the basis of a new system, First Matter,‡ entirely destitute of all qualities, and therefore not body, but the eternal subject on which forms might be impressed, and in which they might inhere. This notion of a primary substance, without quantity or quality, form or figure, or any properties of body, that is incorporeal matter, though in reality borrowed from the Pythagoreans,§ Aristotle claimed as his own invention; boasting|| that he was the first who had discovered the true principle of bodies.

Concerning Nature, Aristotle speaks with more than usual obscurity. He defines it to be the principle and cause of motion and of rest, wherever it exists primarily and not by accident. Nature, he says, subsists in material substances, and consists of two parts, matter and form; but form has

* Laert. l. v. sect. 23. Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 3, 4.

† Phys. c. 8, 9.

‡ Metaph. l. i. c. 6. t. ii. p. 450. l. vii. c. 3. p. 708.

§ Timæus Locrus de Anima Mundi. Op. Phys. Galei, p. 554. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 7.

|| De Gent. et Corr. l. i. c. 2.

more of nature than matter, because it is in act.* By nature he certainly does not mean, as some writers have supposed, a substance different from material things, by which they are produced and arranged;† for he considers nature as intimately connected and necessarily combined with matter.‡ The truth seems to be, that Aristotle, in framing his system, finding himself in want of a principle by which form and matter might be united, and being determined to advance something new, conceived in his mind a vague notion of some internal cause of motion and arrangement, to which he applied the term Nature; and thus cut the knot which he was not able to untie. To endeavour further to elucidate his doctrine concerning the principle which he calls Nature, would therefore only be to add to the number of unmeaning words which have been already thrown away upon this subject.

Causes are distinguished by this philosopher into four kinds; Material, of which things are made; Formal, by which a thing is that which it is, and nothing else; Efficient, by the agency of which any thing is produced; and Final, or the end, for which it is produced.§

Motion, or change of any kind, is successive with respect to time, finite, and produced by some cause, either external or internal.

Substances are of three kinds;|| two of these are natural substances; the first, eternal, as the heavens; the second, perishable, as animal bodies; the third, is the immutable nature; of which more hereafter.

The heavens¶ are perfect, because they are composed of perfect bodies, and comprehend all perfection, being comprehended by nothing. Circular motion about a centre is peculiar to the heavenly sphere; it has therefore a distinct nature from all terrestrial bodies, whose motion is rectilinear. From its circular motion, it appears that the heavenly sphere has neither levity nor gravity. Because it has no contrary, it is not liable to any increase, diminution, or change, and is eternal.** The natural motion of the heavenly sphere is circular; but this motion is not of one kind through the whole heavenly region; for there are other spheres, which move in a direction contrary to that of the first sphere, in order to produce the vicissitudes of terrestrial things. The motion of first sphere, or *Primum Mobile*, “that which is first moved,” is equable and uniform, without beginning, middle, or end; the *Primum Mobile*, and the First Mover, being eternal and immutable. The stars are of the same nature with the spheres by which they are supported, but more dense; they communicate light and heat to the air, and thence to the inferior world, by means of friction.†† They are moved in consequence of the motion of the spheres in which they are placed. The earth is a spherical body immovably fixed, and is the centre of motion to all the spheres. The first sphere revolves with the greatest velocity, and its motion is from West to East; the inferior spheres revolve from East to West. The velocities of the spheres of the seven planets are inversely as their distances from the first sphere.‡‡

The world is not infinite, nor is there any infinite body beyond it; for no body can be infinite. There cannot be more than one world, for if there were more, they would move towards each other, out of their respective places. The world is eternal, without beginning or end.§§

Bodies are either simple or compound. Simple bodies are the elements,

* Phys. l. ii. c. 1. p. 26.

† Cudworth's Intellectual System, p. 157.

‡ Phys. l. ii. c. 11.

§ Phys. l. ii. c. 3. p. 165.

|| Metaph. l. xi. c. 1. p. 738.

¶ De Cælo, l. i. c. 3. 4. p. 337, 338.

** Ibid. c. 3. 12.

†† Ib. l. ii. c. 3—11.

‡‡ Ib. l. ii. c. 13, 14.

§§ Ib. l. iii. c. 7, 8. 12.

or secondary matter, produced by the union of primary matter and form. Compound bodies are those which are produced from the combination of elementary bodies. Elements being produced, and capable of dissolution, are not eternal. The elements are four; fire, air, water, and earth. There are in elementary bodies two principles of motion, gravity and levity; by the former, bodies descend towards the centre of the world; by the latter, they rise towards the heavens. The element of earth has simple gravity; that of fire simple levity; air and water partake of both. Compound bodies descend or ascend, in proportion to the prevalence of gravity or levity in their component parts. Those elements, which by their levity are uppermost, are most perfect. They partake, with respect to the inferior elements, of the nature of forms; for it is the property of matter to be contained, and of form to contain.*

In consequence of the perpetual agency of the first mover and the celestial sphere upon matter, bodies suffer a perpetual succession of dissolution and reproduction. Dissolution always succeeds production, because the termination of the dissolution of one body is the commencement of the production of another, the primary matter in the mean time remaining the same. When the whole essential substance of any body is changed, reproduction takes place; when its accidental properties are changed, it undergoes alteration by means of augmentation or diminution.†

From the mutual contact of different bodies arises a mutual action and passion, each endeavouring to reduce the other to its own likeness. In sensible bodies there are certain primary qualities, some active and others passive, which constitute their specific difference. Of this kind are heat and cold, moisture and dryness, heaviness and lightness, hardness and softness, roughness and smoothness, and the like. It is from the union of the two first of these pairs of primary qualities that the elements are formed. Fire, from the union of heat and dryness; air, from the union of heat and moisture; water, from the union of cold and moisture; earth, from the union of cold and dryness. All the elements may be reciprocally transmuted; and the transmutation is made, not by dissolution, but by alteration. Mixed bodies are formed by a combination of all the elements. The causes of mixed bodies are three; the matter, the form, and the universal efficient, the circular motion of the heavens, by means of which the sun and the stars, the immediate agents in production and dissolution, approach towards or recede from the earth.‡

From the general principles of production and dissolution, and from the mutual action and passion of the simple qualities, Aristotle endeavours to assign the causes of natural appearances, and to explain the nature of mixed bodies, whether perfect or imperfect. But it is unnecessary, in a general summary of his doctrine concerning nature, to pursue his conjectural theories through a tedious detail of particulars.

From Aristotle's system of Physics we pass to his doctrine concerning Being considered abstractedly, concerning Deity, and concerning the Soul. These are comprehended under the general term METAPHYSICS, § because they *pass beyond* sensible bodies to things which are perceived only by the understanding; whence this branch of science is also called by Aristotle The First Philosophy. We shall here follow the order which Aristotle himself has pursued in his Book of Metaphysics.

* De Cælo, l. iii. c. 3. p. 372. l. iv. c. 1. p. 378. De Gen. et Corr. l. i. c. 3. p. 386.

† De Gen. et Corr. l. i. c. 5. p. 390.

‡ De Gen. et Corr. l. i. c. 6. p. 393. l. ii. c. 2, 3. p. 400. c. 8, 9. p. 406.

§ Metaph. l. i. c. 1. l. v. c. 1. l. vi. c. 1.

Of the doctrine of BEING, considered as such, the first principle or axiom is, that it is impossible that the same thing should be, and not be, in the same subject, at the same time, and in the same respect.* To this universal principle all demonstration may be reduced, but it is itself incapable of demonstration, because it is a primary truth.

Being is either by itself, or by accident. Of these the first is that which exists by itself, because upon this all properties or accidents depend. Of accidental being no certain knowledge can be obtained. Being may be distributed into the ten Categories, or Predicaments, before enumerated. Substance includes primary matter, or the first subject of all things, form and essence, and the compounds arising from the union of these.†

Being may be either in power or in act. Power is either active or passive: active power is the principle of motion, or change, acting upon another substance: passive power subsists in the subject upon which active power is exercised. These are correlatives, and cannot be separated. Power remains, when it is not exerted in action. Action takes place when a thing is otherwise than when it was in power.‡

Being is either notional or real; notional, as it is conceived in the mind; real, as it exists in nature. Notional being is either true or false; true, when it corresponds to the real nature of things; false, when the conception and the reality differ from each other. In the knowledge of things immutable the intellect cannot be deceived; mistake and error can only arise concerning contingent and variable objects. If Being be considered with respect to numbers, unity is one of its properties. To unity are nearly related identity, equality, and similarity. Being admits of genus and species; those things differ in genus which are not of the same primary nature: things which differ from each other, but have the same genus, are said to differ in species.§

Concerning the First Cause of Motion, the sum of Aristotle's doctrine is this:

Of substances, which have been already said to be of three kinds, corruptible, incorruptible, and immovable, the third kind is the First Mover, itself unmoved. The existence of this kind of substance may be inferred from the local motion of the heavens; for, since it is not possible that the circular motion which is peculiar to the celestial sphere should have had a beginning, not only must the sphere, which is the seat of this motion be an eternal substance, but there must likewise be an eternal substance which has from eternity caused this motion, which therefore remains itself immovable, but is eternally communicating motion to other substances. That substance which is the cause of eternal motion must itself be simple, pure energy, void of matter, eternal, and immutable. The act of the first mover, by which it is the first efficient cause of all motion, consists in the simple energy of pure Intelligence. This influence operates independently and immediately upon inferior intelligences, or substances of the same nature with the first mover; and it is by their agency that the motions in the primary subordinate spheres are produced. The intelligent powers move the heavenly spheres, not for the sake of producing inferior things, but that they may resemble the first power. Nevertheless, the vicissitudes of nature are the effect of their action upon the inferior orbs, especially upon the sun, which is the immediate cause of production and decay.

The essence of the first mover is different from that of corporeal sub-

* Metaph. l. iv. c. 4. p. 688, &c.

† L. ix. c. 1—6. p. 711, &c.

‡ L. iv. c. 7. p. 679. l. vi. c. 3. 6. p. 693. 696.

§ L. ii. c. 4. l. iv. c. 6. 9.

stances ; indivisible, because unity is perfect ; immutable, because nothing can change itself ; and eternal, because motion itself is eternal. This power is an incorporeal Intelligence ; happy in the contemplation of himself ; the first cause of all motion, and in fine, the Being of beings, or God.*

Upon reviewing this part of Aristotle's metaphysical reasoning, it seems no very difficult task to discover the progress of his investigation. After he had ascended in the scale of being to the first substance, and had derived all motion from the perfect and eternal circular motion of the heavens, which he supposed to have been eternal, he found it necessary to admit into his system a First Mover. To avoid the absurdity of an infinite series of effects without a cause, he conceived the first spring of all motion to have been itself immovable ; but in what manner the first mover produced this motion he was at a loss to explain. It was contrary to his whole system, and to his first notions of matter and local motion, to admit (which nevertheless some writers have imputed to him) that the celestial orbs are animated bodies, which move by their own innate force. Having deprived this first mover of all quantity, matter, and motion, he perceived the necessity of assigning to it some method of communicating motion different from that in which bodies act upon each other. But finding himself unable to say in what manner a simple immaterial substance, incapable of motion, could produce motion in material substances, he endeavoured to extricate himself from his embarrassment by recurring to analogy, and supposed that the first mover acts upon the first celestial sphere to give it motion, in a manner similar to that in which the mind of man acts upon the human body. From the well-known fact that the motion of the body follows the conceptions and volition of the mind, he assumed a certain intellectual influence, exercised by the first mover, as the principle of local motion, and thus imagined that he had solved the great problem which had hitherto been found inexplicable, in what manner mind acts upon body. However, after all that Aristotle has said concerning the spring of motion in his first mover, which he describes as having intelligence, desire, and affection, it still remains an inexplicable mystery in what manner pure spirit, either human or divine, is the efficient cause of motion in material bodies.

If it be inquired whether Aristotle is to be ranked in the class of theists or of atheists, the preceding view of his theology will justify us in replying, that his system does not exclude the idea of deity ; for he speaks of the first mover as a being distinct from the world ; wholly separated in his nature from matter ; of a peculiar substance ; possessing intellect, desire, and a power of communicating motion ; upon whom the universe is dependent, not as upon an animating principle, but an external moving power. This being he represents as superior to all other intelligent natures, and calls him God. At the same time it must be owned that it is impossible to reconcile Aristotle's notion of deity with just conceptions of the Divine nature and attributes. He makes God, indeed, the cause of all motion ; but in supposing the universe to have existed from eternity, he divests him of the glory of creation, and connects him with a world already formed by the chain of necessity, for no other purpose, than to make him the first spring of a vast machine.

As, according to the doctrine of Aristotle, God is immutable, so also is

* Met. l. xi. c. 6, 7, 8. p. 740. De Cœlo, l. ii. c. 3.

the celestial sphere which is the region of his residence. In producing motion, the Deity acts, not voluntarily, but necessarily; not for the sake of other beings, but for his own pleasure. Eternally employed in the contemplation of his own nature, he observes nothing, he cares for nothing, beyond himself. Residing in the first sphere, he possesses neither immensity nor omnipresence: far removed from the inferior parts of the universe, he is not even a spectator of what is passing among its inhabitants, and therefore cannot be a proper object of worship and reverence. He is inferior even to the deity of Epicurus, who, on account of his excellent nature, was worthy of homage. He is indeed intelligent and immaterial, but his duration is occupied in no other action than the exercise of an inexplicable power of communicating motion. How far this doctrine of the First Mover falls short of the true idea of the Supreme Being, those who have been better instructed will easily perceive.

Concerning intelligent natures inferior to the first mover, Aristotle taught that they are simple immaterial substances, who preside over the lower celestial spheres. These he supposed to be dependent on the first mover; to be employed in contemplating the first mover, as the best and most perfect model; and to be impelled to action, by a desire of receiving his influence, and of communicating, by a similar influence, motion to their respective spheres, and hence to the rest of the universe. Whether they are proper objects of religious worship, he has no way clearly determined; but it is probable that he ranked every thing of this kind amongst the popular superstitions, and that this was the cause of the complaints which were brought against him by the Athenians. It may be questioned whether Aristotle considered the inferior intelligences as proceeding by emanation from the supreme; for such a dogma would not be very consistent with the opinion that these intelligences had been *eternally* connected with their respective spheres.

We shall conclude our view of the Metaphysics of Aristotle by inquiring into his doctrine concerning the Human Mind and Animal Life.

Aristotle, having undertaken to teach a new system of philosophy, was desirous of receding as far as possible from former philosophers, and particularly from Plato; and in treating upon any subject, on which he had no new doctrine to offer, he gave old opinions the air of novelty, by clothing them in new language. This latter method he adopted on the subject of Mind. He asserted with Plato that there are in man different faculties, which have respectively a different organ; but he designedly expressed his doctrine upon this head in obscure terms, which cannot be explained with entire perspicuity, without supposing, as many writers have done, what Aristotle ought to have taught, instead of endeavouring to discover what he actually did teach.

His leading tenets on this subject are these:*

The soul is the first principle of action in an organised body, possessing life potentially. The soul does not move itself; for, whatever moves, is moved by some other moving power. It is not a rare body, composed of elements; for then it would not have perception, more than the elements which compose it.† The soul has three faculties, the nutritive, the sensitive, and the rational; the superior comprehending the inferior potentially. The nutritive faculty is that by which life is produced and preserved. The sensitive faculty is that by which we perceive and feel: it does not per-

* De Anima, l. i. t. i. p. 476, &c. l. ii. c. 1. p. 487.

† De Anima, l. ii. c. 4, 5, 6.

ceive itself nor its organs, but some external object through the intervention of its organs, which are adapted to produce the sensations of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The senses receive sensible species, or forms, without matter, as wax receives the impression of a seal without receiving any part of its substance. The external senses perceive objects, but it is the common or internal sense which observes their difference.* The internal sense perceives various objects at the same instant. Perception differs from intellect, the former being common to all animals, the latter to a few. Fancy is the perception produced in any animal by the immediate action of the senses. It is accompanied with different feelings, according to the nature of the object by which it is produced. Memory† is derived from fancy, and has its seat in the same power of the soul. It is the effect of some image impressed upon the soul by means of the senses. Where this image cannot be retained, through an excess of moisture or dryness in the temperature of the brain, memory ceases. Reminiscence‡ is that faculty of the mind by which we search for any thing, which we wish to recollect, through a series of things nearly related to it, till at last we call to mind what we had forgotten. The intellect§ is that part of the soul by which it understands. It is of two kinds, passive and active: passive intellect is that faculty by which the understanding receives the forms of things; it is the seat of species. Active intellect is the efficient cause of all knowledge, and is either simple, when it is employed in the near apprehension of its object, or complex, when it compounds simple conceptions in order to produce belief and assent. The latter is either true or false, the former neither. The action of the intellect is either theoretical or practical; theoretical, when it simply considers what is true or false; and practical, when it judges whether any thing is good or evil, and thereby excites the will to pursue or avoid it. The principle of local motion is the desire, or aversion, which arises from the practical exercise of the understanding. This desire, or aversion, produces either rational volition, or sensitive appetite. The production of animal life arises from the union of the nutritive soul with animal heat. Life is the continuance of this union, death its dissolution.||

The nature of the first principle of animal life, and of all perception, intelligence, and action, Aristotle, as well as all other philosophers, was at a loss to explain. Having no other way of judging concerning it, than by observing its operations as far as they are subjects of experience, he could only define the mind to be that principle by which we live, perceive, and understand. When he attempted to form an abstract conception of this principle, he saw that there must be some substance which enjoys such *perfection*, as to be capable of performing this function; but he was wholly ignorant of the nature of this substance, and therefore, in defining it, he made use of a term expressive of the confused idea which he had formed to himself from observing its operations, and called it *ἐντελέχεια*, or *Perfect Energy*; that is, if he had confessed the truth, some substance, I know not what, which is adapted to produce sensitive and rational life in certain organised bodies. This term will afford the attentive reader a striking example of the manner in which Aristotle endeavoured to explain the principles of nature by vague notions and unmeaning words.

Nothing is to be met with in the writings of Aristotle which decisively

* De An. l. iii. c. 2, 3. p. 500, &c.

† De Memor. l. i. c. 1. p. 523.

‡ Ib. c. 2.

§ De Anim. l. iii. c. 4—11. p. 502, &c.

|| De Vita et Morte, c. 17, 18.

determines whether he thought the soul of man mortal or immortal; but the former appears most probable, from his notion of the nature and origin of the human soul,* which he conceived to be an intellectual power, externally transmitted into the human body from an Eternal Intelligence, the common source of rationality to human beings. Aristotle does not inform his readers what he conceived this Universal Principle to be; but there is no proof that he supposed the union of this Principle with any individual to continue after death.†

The third branch of the Aristotelian philosophy, the PRACTICAL, included his doctrine of Ethics, Politics, and Economics.

Aristotle, though sufficiently copious in his discourses on the subject of morals, yet, from causes which have been already hinted, affords the intelligent reader little satisfaction. Upon this branch of his philosophy, therefore, a brief enumeration of some of the leading heads of his doctrine may suffice.‡

Moral felicity consists neither in the pleasures of the body, nor in riches; nor in civil glory, power, and rank; nor in the contemplation of truth; but in the virtuous exercise of the mind. A virtuous life is in itself a source of delight. External goods, such as friends, riches, power, beauty, and the like, are instruments, by means of which illustrious deeds may be performed. Virtue is either theoretical or practical: theoretical virtue consists in the due exercise of the understanding; practical in the pursuit of what is right and good. Practical virtue is acquired by habit and exercise.§

Virtue, as far as it respects ourselves and the government of the passions, consists in preserving that mean in all things which reason and prudence prescribe: it is the middle path between two extremes, one of which is vicious through excess, the other through defect. Virtue is a spontaneous act, the effect of design and volition. It is completed by nature, habit, and reason. The first virtue is Fortitude, which is the mean between timidity and rash confidence. Temperance is the mean between the excessive pursuit and the neglect of pleasure. Liberality is the mean between prodigality and avarice. Magnificence preserves a due decorum in great expenses, and is the mean between haughty grandeur and low parsimony. Magnanimity respects the love of applause, and the judgment a man forms of his own merit, and holds the middle place between meanness of spirit and pride. Moderation respects distinction in rank, and is the mean between ambition and the contempt of greatness. Gentleness is the due government of the irascible passions, and observes a proper medium between anger and insensibility. Affability respects the desire of pleasing in the ordinary occurrences of life, and pursues the middle path between moroseness and servility. Simplicity in the practice of virtue is the mean between arrogant pretensions to merit, and an artful concealment

* De Gen. An. l. ii. c. 3. l. iii. c. 11. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 10.

† In censuring Aristotle's speculative physics, his extensive practical knowledge of nature should not be overlooked. His writings on Natural History are a continued chain of physical and anatomical facts, which appear to have been the result of accurate observation. Aristotle relied less than any of the ancient naturalists on uncertain and fabulous report. He industriously collected and examined natural bodies: he appears to have himself dissected, or to have been present at the dissection of, many animals, particularly of fishes. There are in his writings (a) references by letters to figures by which he illustrated his observations. See on this subject Haller, Method. Stud. Med. p. iv. c. 2. Borrich. de Sap. Herm. c. 10. Schulze, in Spec. Hist. Anat. v. ii. p. 6.

‡ Stobæi Ecl. Phys. et Eth. l. ii. p. 184.

§ Arist. Mor. l. i. c. 3—6. 9, 10. l. x. c. 6.

(a) Hist. Anim. l. i. c. 17. l. iii. c. 1. l. iv. c.

of defects. Urbanity respects sports and jests, and avoids rusticity and scurrility. Modesty is a certain apprehension of incurring disgrace, and lies in the middle way between impudence and bashfulness. Justice includes the observance of the laws for the preservation of society, and the discharge of obligations and debts between equals. Equity corrects the rigour of laws, or supplies their defects. Friendship is nearly allied to virtue; it consists in perfect affection towards an equal. Friendships are formed for the sake of pleasure, convenience, or virtue. Friendship is cherished by mutual acts of generosity: it is begun in kindness, and preserved by concord; its end is, the pleasant enjoyment of life.*

Pleasures are essentially different in kind. Disgraceful pleasures are wholly unworthy of the name. The purest and noblest pleasure is that which a good man derives from virtuous actions. Happiness which consists in a conduct conformable to virtue, is either contemplative or active. Contemplative happiness, which consists in the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom, is superior to active happiness, because the understanding is the higher part of human nature, and the objects on which it is employed are of the noblest kind. The happiness, which arises from external possessions, is inferior to that which arises from virtuous actions; but both are necessary to produce perfect felicity.†

This may serve as a specimen of the moral philosophy, which is to be found in Aristotle's *Book of Ethics*, dedicated to Nicomachus, in his *Greater Morals*, and his discourse *On the Virtues*. The truth is that, though these writings contain many useful precepts, and just observations, they are by no means to be considered as a perfect code of morals, adapted to produce genuine integrity and simplicity of manners. Aristotle's design, in his ethical writings, seems to have been to lay down precepts for civil life, introductory to his doctrine of political wisdom. In his treatise concerning Policy, he not only insists upon the general theory of government, but enters into a distinct consideration of its particular duties. Whence it appears that Aristotle was intimately acquainted with the principles of government, as well as with those of philosophy. But for the particulars of his precepts on Policy, as well as on Economics, which do not admit of an easy application to the present times, we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to his works.

As the result of the brief survey which we have taken of the philosophy of Aristotle, it may be asserted, that it is rather the philosophy of Words than of Things,—and that the study of his writings tends more to perplex the understanding with subtle distinctions, than to enlighten it with real knowledge.‡

* Mor. l. ii. c. 5—9. l. iii. c. 4, 5. 9—14. l. iv. c. 1. 7. 11. 13. 15. l. v. c. 2, 3, 8, 9. l. vi. c. 2—7. l. vii. c. 1. l. viii. c. 1. 6. l. ix. c. 4—6. 12.

† L. x. c. 5—8. Conf. Laert. l. v. sect. 30, &c. Orig. Phil. p. 139. Stob. l. c.

‡ Vidend. Ammon. Proleg. in Categ. Auct. anon. Vit. Arist. apud Vers. Lat. Op. Venet. 1496. Nunnesii Instit. Phil. Perip. Id. de Causis Obscurit. Arist. Helmestad, 1667. Vit. Arist. apud Menag. Comment. in Diog. Laert. p. 201. ed. Wetstein. Gaurini, Aretini, et Gemusæi Vit. Arist. Melancthonis Orat. de Arist. t. iii. Beureri, Vit. Arist. Basil, 1581. Weinrichii Orat. Apol. Lips. 1611. Schotti Arist. et Demosth. Comp. Aug. Vend. 1603. Patricii Discuss. Perip. Basil, 1571. Conringii Orat. de Arist. Bayle. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, t. iii. c. 7. Clerici Hist. Med. p. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. ii. l. i. c. 2. Licetus de Piet. Arist. Patav. 1692. Jons. de Scr. His. Ph. l. ii. c. 13. l. ii. c. 15. Potter, Arch. Gr. l. i. c. 8. Schmid. Diss. de Gymn. Lit. Jons. Diss. de Hist. Perip. Gronov. Exerc. Acad. de Museo Alex. t. iii. Ant. Gr. Heumannii Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 676. Voss. de Sectis, c. xvii. sect. 9. Horn. Hist. Phil. l. vii. c. 9. Piccart. Intr. in Phil. Arist. c. 10. Paschius de var. Mod. Trad. Mor. c. 5. Morhoff. Polyhist. t. ii. l. i. c. 8. l. ii. c. 12. Rachelius in Phil. Mor. Arist. Gron. Thes. Ant. t. ii. tab. xc. Buddæi Hist. Ph. Heb. sect. 32. Id. Hist.

SECTION II.—OF THE SUCCESSORS OF ARISTOTLE.

WHEN Aristotle withdrew, as we have already stated, to Chalcis, his disciples importuned him to nominate a successor in the school of the Lyceum. In compliance with their request, he appointed to this office, in the second year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad,* one of his favourite pupils, THEOPHRASTUS.†

This philosopher was a native of Eresus,‡ a maritime town in Lesbos. He was born in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad,§ and received the first rudiments of learning under Alcippus, in his own country; after which he was sent by his father, who was a wealthy man, to Athens, and there became a disciple of Plato, and after his death of Aristotle. Under these eminent masters, blest by nature with a genius capable of excelling in every liberal accomplishment, he made great progress both in philosophy and eloquence. It was on account of his high attainments in the latter, that instead of Tyrtamus, his original name, he was called, as some say by his master, but more probably by his own followers, Theophrastus.¶ When he undertook the charge of the Peripatetic school he conducted it with such high reputation, that he had about two thousand scholars; ¶ among whom were, Nicomachus, the son of Aristotle, whom his father entrusted by will to his charge; Erasistratus, a celebrated physician; and Demetrius Phalereus, who resided with him in the same house. His erudition and eloquence, united with engaging manners, recommended him to the notice of Cassander and Ptolemy, who invited him to visit Egypt. So great a favourite was he among the Athenians, that when one of his enemies accused him of teaching impious doctrines, the accuser himself escaped with difficulty the punishment which he endeavoured to bring upon Theophrastus.

Under the archonship of Xenippus, in the fourth year of the hundred and eighteenth Olympiad,** Sophocles, the son of Amphiclidides, obtained a decree (upon what grounds we are not informed) making it a capital offence for any philosopher to open a public school without an express license from the senate. Upon this, all the philosophers left the city. But the next year, the person who had proposed this law was himself fined five talents, and the philosophers returned with great public applause to their respective schools. Theophrastus, who had suffered, with his brethren, the persecution inflicted by this oppressive decree, shared the honour of the restoration, and continued his debates and instructions in the Lyceum.††

Ecc. N. T. t. ii. p. 1973. Frederic. de Relig. Arist. Rheg. 1705. Lipsii Manud. l. i. Diss. iv. Malbranche de Inquir. Verit. l. ii. c. 7. Parker de Deo. Disp. i. et iv. Obs. Hal. t. viii. Obs. 10. Gaudent. Diss. de Arist. Vet. Contemptu. Par. 1640. Blount, Cens. Ecl. Auct. p. 32. Magiri Eponymolog. Crit. p. 82. Tribbochov. de Disp. Schol. p. 218. Paschal. de opt. Gen. expl. Arist. Monlor. de Util. Anal. Arist. Franc. 1591. Ludov. Vives de Caus. Cor. Art. l. i. Gassendi Exercit. Parad. adv. Arist. Walch, Hist. Log. l. ii. Parerg. Ac. 300. 315. Scip. Aquilianus de Plac. Phil. ante Arist. Medol. 1615. Cudworth, Int. Syst. c. v. sect. 2. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 11. Berigard, Circ. Pisan. p. i. l. iii. iv. Balt. Jugement des S. Peres, c. 17. Euseb. Pr. Ev. l. xv. c. 9. Launois de Var. Fort. Arist. c. l. Oregii Arist. de Immort. Sententia, Rom. 1633. Pererius de Commun. Rer. Princip. l. vi. c. 19. Soner. Metaph. l. v. c. 6. Thomas de Exust. Mund. Stoic. Diss. p. 14. Koenigman. et Maius de Mor. Arist. Kil. 1706. Du Hamel de Conf. Vet. et Nov. Phil. l. ii. c. 1. Hollman, Phil. Nat. Prol. sect. 7. Dreierus de Philosophia prima.

* B. C. 323. † Suidas. Laert. l. v. sect. 36, &c. ‡ Strabo, l. xiii. p. 618.

§ B. C. 371. ¶ Cic. Orat. c. 19. 24. Plin. Præf. l. i. Laert. l. v. sect. 32.

¶ Ib. sect. 39. ** B. C. 305. †† Laert. Athen. l. xiii. p. 610.

Theophrastus is highly celebrated for his industry, learning, and eloquence, and for his generosity and public spirit.* He is said to have twice freed his country from the oppression of tyrants. He contributed liberally towards defraying the expense attending the public meetings of philosophers, which were held, not for the sake of show, but for learned and ingenious conversation. In the public schools he commonly appeared, as Aristotle had done, in an elegant dress, and was very attentive to the graces of elocution. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-five. Towards the close of his life he grew exceedingly infirm, and was carried to the school on a couch. He expressed great regret on account of the shortness of life, and complained that nature had given long life to stags and crows, to whom it is of so little value, and had denied it to man, who, in a longer duration, might have been able to attain the summit of science, but now, as soon as he arrives within sight of it, is taken away.† His last advice to his disciples was, that since it is the lot of man to die as soon as he begins to live, they would take more pains to enjoy life as it passes, than to acquire posthumous fame. His funeral was attended by a large body of Athenians. He wrote many valuable works, of which all that remain are, several treatises “On the Natural History of Plants and Fossils;” “Of Winds;” “Of Fire,” &c. a rhetorical work entitled “Characters,” and a few Metaphysical Fragments.‡

Although Theophrastus held the first place among the disciples of Aristotle, he did not so implicitly follow his master as to have no peculiar tenets of his own. In several particulars he deviated from the doctrine of Aristotle, and he made some material additions to the system of the Peripatetic school. The following is a specimen of the tenets of this philosopher, where he appears to have followed his own judgment, or at least to have used language different from that of his master.

Theophrastus taught, that the Predicaments, or Categories, are as numerous as the motions and changes to which beings are liable; and that among motions or changes are to be reckoned desires, appetites, judgments, and thoughts. In this opinion he deviated widely from Aristotle; for, if these actions of the mind are to be referred to motion, the first mover, in contemplating himself, is not immovable. He maintained that all things are not produced from contraries; but some from contraries, some from similar causes, and some from simple energy; that motion is not to be distinguished from action; and that there is one divine principle of all things, by which all things subsist.§ By this divine principle Theophrastus probably meant the First Mover, without whom other things could not be moved, and therefore could not subsist.

To these theoretical tenets might be added several moral apophthegms,|| which are ascribed to Theophrastus; but they are too trite and general to merit particular notice, except perhaps the following: “Respect yourself, and you will never have reason to be ashamed before others. Love is the passion of an indolent mind. Blushing is the complexion of virtue.”

Theophrastus was succeeded by STRATO¶ of Lampsacus. He undertook the charge of the Peripatetic school in the third year of the hundred

* Laert. Athen. l. i. p. 21. l. v. p. 186. Plut. adv. Colot.

† Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. iii. c. 28. Seneca (de Brev. Vit. c. 1.) ascribes this reflection to Aristotle; but it is inconsistent with his opinion that man lives longer than any other animal, except the elephant. De Gen. Anim. l. v. c. 10.

‡ Laert. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 241. His works were edited by Heinsius, Lugd. Bat. 1631. fol. His *Characters* by Needham, Cantab. 1712.

§ Conf. F. Patricii Discuss. Perip. t. i. l. xii. p. 154, &c.

|| Laert. Stobæus, &c.

¶ Laert. l. v. sect. 58. Suidas. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. ii. c. 38.

and twenty-third Olympiad,* and presided eighteen years with a high degree of reputation for learning and eloquence. Ptolemy Philadelphus made him his preceptor, and repayed his services with a royal present of eighty talents.

In his doctrine† concerning matter Strato departed essentially from the system both of Plato and Aristotle. His opinions, as far as they can be collected from the brief hints which remain, were, that there is inherent in nature a principle of motion, or force, without intelligence, which is the only cause of the production and dissolution of bodies; that the world has neither been formed by the agency of a deity, distinct from matter, nor by an intelligent animating principle, but has arisen from a force innate to matter, originally excited by accident, and since continuing to act, according to the peculiar qualities of natural bodies.‡ It does not appear that Strato expressly either denied or asserted the existence of a divine nature; but in excluding all idea of deity from the formation of the world, it cannot be doubted that he indirectly excluded from his system the doctrine of the existence of a Supreme Being.§ Strato also taught that the seat of the soul is in the middle of the brain,|| and that it only acts by means of the senses.¶

After the death of Strato, which happened about the end of the hundred and twenty-seventh Olympiad, the Peripatetic school was continued, in succession, by LYCON** of Troas, who enjoyed the friendship of Attalus and Eumenes, and filled the chair till the hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad; by ARISTO,†† of the island of Coos, whom Cicero characterises as more distinguished for the elegance of his language than the depth of his philosophy; by CRITOLAUS,‡‡ a Lydian, who with Carneades and Diogenes was deputed by the Athenians on an embassy to Rome, and who is said§§ to have held the doctrine of the eternity of the world; and by DIODORUS, in whom the uninterrupted succession of the Peripatetic school terminated.

Among the followers of Aristotle who, though not ranked with his successors in the chair, have been mentioned with distinction, are Dicaearchus, Eumenes, and Demetrius Phalereus.

DICEARCHUS, a Messenian, acquired a distinguished name by his philosophical disputations and historical writings. Cicero||| speaks of him as a learned and eloquent writer. His tenets were; that there is no such thing as mind or soul, either in man or beast; that the principle by which animals perceive and act is equally diffused through the body, is inseparable from it, and expires with it; that the human race always existed; that it is impossible to foretell future events; and that the knowledge of them would be an infelicity.¶¶ He was an eminent geographer, and took great pains

* B. C. 286.

† Cic. *ib.* et de *Fin.* l. v. c. 5. Plut. *adv. Colot.* t. iii. p. 418. *Simpl. in Phys.* l. iv. c. 53. l. vi. c. 23. Clem. *Alex. Strom.* l. i. ‡ Cic. de *Nat. Deor.* l. i. c. 13.

§ Cudworth's *Intell. Syst.* c. 3. sect. 4. Fabr. *Bib. Gr.* v. ii. p. 311.

|| Plut. *Plac. Phil.* l. iv. c. 5.

¶ Sext. *Emp. adv. Math.* l. vii. sect. 350. *Pyrrh.* l. iii. c. 4.

** Laert. l. v. sect. 66. et *Athen.* l. xii. p. 546.

†† Laert. l. vii. sect. 164. Strabo, l. x. p. 658. Cic. de *Fin.* l. v. c. 5. *Athen.* l. x. p. 419. l. xv. p. 674.

‡‡ Plut. de *Exil.* t. ii. p. 527. Cic. l. c. Stobæus, *Ecl. Phys.* l. i. c. 1.

§§ Philo. *Mund. Incor. Op.* p. 943.

||| Tusc. *Qu.* l. i. c. 10. Suidas.

¶¶ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* l. i. c. 20. 31. 34. De *Off.* l. ii. c. 5. Ep. ad *Attic.* l. xiii. ep. 31. 39. Sext. *Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp.* l. ii. c. 3. *adv. Math.* l. vii. sect. 349. Plut. *contr. Colot.* Euseb. *Præp.* l. xv. c. 9. Cic. de *Div.* l. i. c. 3. l. ii. c. 48. 51.

to measure the height of mountains, and to construct accurate maps of countries.*

EUDEMUS of Rhodes was a pupil of Aristotle. The ethics of Aristotle are ascribed to him, and some suppose them to have been written by him.†

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS‡ was an illustrious ornament of the Peripatetic school. In the fourth year of the hundred and fifteenth Olympiad§ he was appointed by Cassander, king of Macedon, to the government of Athens. He conducted the government with so much wisdom and moderation, and rendered so many essential services to the citizens, that he acquired an unusual share of popularity. After he had enjoyed the supreme power in Athens ten years, the spirit of popular jealousy, for which the Athenians were so remarkable, was raised against him: he was condemned, during his absence from the city, to forfeit his life; his house and effects were given up to the populace, and all his statues were thrown down. To escape the resentment which raged against him at Athens, he fled to Ptolemy Soter, who afforded him protection, and admitted him to his confidence.¶ Being consulted by the king concerning the choice of a successor, he advised Ptolemy to choose the son which he had by his wife Eurydice, in preference to his son Beronices, afterwards called Philadelphus. The king rejected his advice, and during his life associated Philadelphus with him in the government. The young prince retained a settled enmity against Demetrius for the counsel he had given his father, and when he assumed the throne banished him to a distant province. Here Demetrius, after a short interval, unable to support the repeated misfortunes he had met with, put an end to his life by the bite of an asp.

This fact is supported by the concurrent testimony of the ancients. Hence it has, not without reason, been questioned whether credit be due to the reports of Aristobulus, Philo, Josephus, and others, that Demetrius Phalereus was librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that it was by his advice that this prince gave orders for a version of the Jewish scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek language. The truth is, that the whole story of a royal mandate for this undertaking is destitute of satisfactory proof, and probably first arose from Jewish vanity, and was afterwards hastily adopted by the Christian fathers. It is most probable that the Septuagint version was the private labour of the Jews who were at this time resident in Egypt.¶¶

Concerning Demetrius Phalereus we have only to add,** that though he wrote many works on philosophy, history, and rhetoric, time has destroyed them all; for the elegant piece,†† *De Interpretatione*, "On Interpretation," which some ascribe to him, is probably a work of later date.‡‡

* Plin. l. ii. c. 65. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 295.

† Ib. p. 156.

‡ Laert. l. v. sect. 70, &c. Cic. de Leg. l. iii. Strabo, l. x. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

§ B. C. 317. ¶ Laert. Ælian, l. iii. c. 17. Cic. Orat. pro Rabirio.

¶ Hody de Sept. Interp. c. 9. Vossius de Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 12. Prideaux, Conn. p. ii. l. i. p. 19. ** Laert. ib. sect. 80. †† Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 423.

‡‡ Vidend. Jons. de Script. Hist. Phil. l. i. c. 2. Schloser. Spicileg. de Stratone. Cudw. c. iii. sect. 4—6, et Not. Mosh. Leibnitz, Theod. p. 428. Budd. de Spinoz. p. 316. D'Argens Phil. des Bons Sens Rest. iii. Thom. Hist. Ath. c. vi. Le Clerc, Bibl. Ch. t. ii. art. 1. sect. 7. Parker de Deo. Diss. vi. Schloser de Hylozoismo Strattonis, Wittenb. 1720. Reiman. Hist. Ath. sect. ii. c. 27. Voss. Hist. Gr. l. i. c. 10, 11. Hody de Sept. Int. c. 9. Prideaux, Conn. p. ii. l. i. Carpzov. Inst. Orat. l. ii. c. 15. Bayle.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE CYNIC SECT.

BEFORE we dismiss the Ionic or Socratic school, two sects yet remain to be considered—the CYNIC and the STOIC.

Whilst other philosophers, who professed themselves disciples of Socrates, taught systems of speculative opinions, which had little connexion with the doctrine of their master, Antisthenes, judging it more consonant to the spirit of the Socratic school to adhere in practice to the precepts of morality which Socrates had taught, than to prosecute the subtle disquisitions in which many of his followers were engaged, became the founder of a school, the sole object of which was to support a rigid moral discipline.

ANTISTHENES,* an Athenian, was born about the ninetieth Olympiad.† In his youth he was engaged in military exploits, and acquired fame by the valour which he displayed in the battle of Tanagra. His first studies were under the direction of the sophist Gorgias, who instructed him in the art of rhetoric. Soon growing dissatisfied with the futile labours of this school, he sought for more substantial wisdom from Socrates. Captivated by the doctrine and the manner of his new master, he prevailed upon many young men, who had been his fellow-students under Gorgias, to accompany him. So great was his ardour for moral wisdom, that though he lived at the Piræus, which was at the distance of forty *stadia*‡ from the city, he came daily to Athens to attend upon Socrates. This wise man, as we have already seen, at the same time that he made morality the only subject of his instructions, powerfully recommended virtuous manners to his disciples by his own example. Despising the pursuits of avarice, vanity, and ambition, he sought the reward of virtue in virtue itself, and declined no labour or suffering which virtue required. This noble consistency of mind was the part of the character of Socrates which Antisthenes chiefly admired; and he resolved to make it the object of his diligent imitation. Whilst he was a disciple of Socrates, he discovered his propensity towards severity of manners by the meanness of his dress.§ He frequently appeared in a thread-bare and ragged cloak. Socrates, who had great penetration in discovering the characters of men, remarking that Antisthenes took pains to expose rather than to conceal the tattered state of his dress, said to him, “Why so ostentatious? Through your rags I see your vanity.”

After the death of Socrates, whilst all good men were lamenting his fate, and were indignant against his persecutors, Antisthenes, by a seasonable jest, hastened the deserved punishment of Melitus and Anytas. Meeting with certain young men from Pontus, who came to Athens with a design of attending upon Socrates, whose fame had reached their country, he publicly introduced them to Anytas, assuring them that he far exceeded Socrates in wisdom. This sarcastic encomium inflamed the resentment of the Athenians who happened to be present against the author of the disgrace which had been brought upon their city by their putting to death so excellent a man. The consequence was, that Anytas was soon banished, and Melitus sentenced to death.

* Laert. l. vi. sect. 1, &c. Suidas. Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 530.

† B. C. 420.

‡ About five miles.

§ Ælian, l. ix. c. 36.

Whilst Plato and other disciples of Socrates were after his death forming schools in Athens, Antisthenes chose for his school a public place of exercise without the walls of the city, called the Cynosargum, or the Temple of the White Dog; * whence some writers derive the name of the sect of which he was the founder. Others suppose that his followers were called Cynics from the snarling humour of their master. Here he inculcated, both by precept and example, a rigorous discipline. In order to accommodate his own manners to his doctrine, he wore no other garment than a coarse cloak, suffered his beard to grow, and carried a wallet and staff like a wandering beggar. Renouncing all the splendid luxuries of life, he contented himself with the most simple diet, and refrained from every kind of effeminate indulgence. In his discourses he censured the manners of the age with a degree of harshness which procured him the surname of the Dog. He expressed the utmost contempt for pleasure, accounting it the greatest evil, and saying that he would rather be mad than addicted to a voluptuous manner of living. Towards the close of his life the gloomy cast of his mind and the moroseness of his temper increased to such a degree, as to render him troublesome to his friends, and an object of ridicule to his enemies. In his last illness he was fretful and impatient; tired of life yet loth to die. When Diogenes, at that time, asked him, whether he needed a friend, Antisthenes replied, "Where is the friend that can free me from my pain?" Diogenes presented him with a dagger, saying, "Let this free you:" but Antisthenes answered, "I wish to be freed from pain, not from life." Neither his doctrine nor his manners were sufficiently inviting to procure him many followers. He paid little respect to the gods and the religion of his country; but as might be expected from a disciple of Socrates, he thought justly concerning the Supreme Being. In his book which treats on Physics, says Cicero, † he observes that THE GODS OF THE PEOPLE ARE MANY, BUT THE GOD OF NATURE IS ONE. Antisthenes wrote many books, of which none are extant, except two ‡ declamations under the names of Ajax and Ulysses. §

The sect of the Cynics, founded by Antisthenes, is not so much to be regarded as a school of philosophy, as an institution of manners. It was formed rather for the purpose of providing a remedy for the moral disorders of luxury, ambition, and avarice, than with a view to establish any new theory of speculative opinions. The disciples of Antisthenes, and other leaders of this sect, considered their masters, not as authors of any new doctrine, but as patrons of strict and inflexible virtue; and were regarded by them, rather as examples for their imitation in the conduct of life, than as preceptors to guide them in the search of truth. The sole end of the Cynic philosophy was, to subdue the passions and produce simplicity of manners. The characteristic peculiarities of the sect were, an indignant contempt of effeminate vices, and a rigorous adherence to the rules of moral discipline. A Cynic, according to the original spirit of the sect, was one who appeared in a coarse garb, and carried a wallet and staff, as external symbols of severity, and who regarded every thing with indifference, except that kind of virtue which consists in a haughty contempt of external good, and a hardy endurance of external ill. || Simplicity and moderation were indeed in this sect carried to the extreme of austerity, and at last produced the Stoic system of apathy; but the real design of the

* Suidas, t. ii. *Κυνόσαργες*. Hesych. p. 572. Pausan. in Atticis. Potter's Antiq. l. i. c. 9. † De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 13. ‡ Laert. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 789.

§ Conf. Ælian, l. x. c. 116. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. iii. c. 23. Aul. Gell. l. ix. c. 5.

|| Laert. l. vi. sect. 103, &c.

founders both of the Cynic and the Stoic sect seems to have been to establish virtuous manners. The rigorous discipline which was practised by the first Cynics, and which afterwards degenerated into the most absurd severity, was at first adopted for the laudable purpose of exhibiting an example of moderation and virtuous self-command. If, in executing this praiseworthy design, a portion of vanity blended itself with the love of virtue, who will not be inclined to pardon the weakness out of respect to the merit of the character? *

That they might be perfectly at liberty to apply themselves to the cultivation of virtuous habits and manners, without interruption from the noisy contests of speculative philosophy, the Cynics renounced every kind of scientific pursuit; contending, that to those who are endued by nature with a mind disposed to virtue, the pursuits of learning are an unnecessary and troublesome interruption of the main business of life. Hence they entirely discarded all dialectic, physical, and mathematical speculations, and confined themselves to the study, or rather to the practice, of virtue. This was certainly injudicious; but it is some apology for their error that Socrates had taken pains to inspire his followers with a contempt of theoretical science, when considered in comparison with practical wisdom. It may also be added, that the learning which flourished at that time in Greece chiefly consisted in futile speculations, and an illegitimate kind of eloquence, which contributed little towards the happiness of society, or the real improvement of the human mind. †

Farther to account for, and excuse, the singularities of the Cynic sect, it should be recollected that the manners of the Greeks were, at this time, strongly tending towards the extreme of effeminacy. So much attention was now paid to external appearance, especially among the Athenians, that not only the citizens at large were addicted to luxury and vanity, but even the philosophers themselves caught the infection, as sufficiently appears from what has been related concerning the dress and manners of Aristippus, Arcesilaus, Aristotle, Stilpo, and others. Socrates had endeavoured, by modest censure mingled with easy pleasantry, as well as by a laudable example of moderation, to correct the public taste and manners. Antisthenes, without possessing either judgment or moderation equal to his master, adopted the same plan, but carried it to an extreme, which passed beyond the limits of decorum. Judging all regard to external appearance to be unfavourable to virtue, he neglected every attention of this kind, and went back towards the simplicity of nature nearer than was consistent with civilised life. His followers, observing the high degree of reputation for wisdom and fortitude which the strictness of his manners had procured him, determined to follow his steps, and carried his peculiarities to a ridiculous and absurd extreme. At first, a Cynic philosopher, being nothing more than a severe public monitor,

Virtutis veræ custos, rigidusque satelles, ‡ (a)

commanded attention and respect; but when the freedom of censure degenerated into scurrility, whilst the vulgar admired the boldness of these philosophers, the more judicious wondered at their impudence; and the whole order gradually fell into disesteem and contempt.

* Juliani Orat. vi. vii. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 21. Arrian. Diss. Epict. l. iii. Diss. 22. Lucian in Vit. Auct. et Cynico, et Demonacte.

† Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 361. Arr. Epict. l. iii. p. 301.

‡ Hor. Ep. i. l. 17.

(a) The stern defender of pure virtue's cause.

These circumstances will account for the disgraceful tales which have been so industriously propagated concerning this sect. The singularity of the early Cynics, and many gross violations of decorum, which at a later period rendered the sect not only ridiculous but infamous, furnished occasion to those, who did not carefully distinguish between the first design of this institution and its subsequent abuses, to declaim against the Cynical philosophy, as nothing better than a compound of vulgarity, spleen, and malignity. An impartial inquirer will therefore in this part of the history of philosophy be particularly cautious in giving credit to Athenæus, Lucian, and other writers, who, to display their own wit, or to bring philosophy into discredit, have on every occasion eagerly caught hold of stories disreputable to philosophers, without taking the pains, or perhaps without wishing to distinguish truth from falsehood.

The sum of the moral doctrine of Antisthenes and the Cynic sect is this :—Virtue alone is a sufficient foundation for a happy life. Virtue consists, not in a vain ostentation of learning, or an idle display of words, but in a steady course of right conduct. Wisdom and virtue are the same. A wise man will always be contented with his condition, and will live rather according to the precepts of virtue, than according to the laws or customs of his country. Wisdom is a secure and impregnable fortress ; virtue, armour which cannot be taken away. Whatever is honourable is good ; whatever is disgraceful is evil. Virtue is the only bond of friendship. It is better to associate with a few good men against a vicious multitude, than to join the vicious, however numerous, against the good. The love of pleasure is a temporary madness.

The following maxims and apophthegms are also ascribed to Antisthenes :—† as rust consumes iron, so doth envy consume the heart of man. That state is hastening to ruin, in which no difference is made between good and bad men. The harmony of brethren is a stronger defence than a wall of brass. A wise man converses with the wicked, as a physician with the sick, not to catch the disease, but to cure it. A philosopher gains at least one thing from his manner of life, a power of conversing with himself. The most necessary part of learning is, to unlearn our errors. The man who is afraid of another, whatever he may think of himself, is a slave. Antisthenes, being told that a bad man had been praising him, said, “What foolish thing have I been doing?”

DIODEGES,‡ another celebrated Cynic, was born in the third year of the ninety-first Olympiad at Sinope, a city of Pontus. His father, who was a banker, was convicted of debasing the public coin, and was obliged to leave his country. This circumstance gave the son an opportunity of visiting Athens, where he soon found in Antisthenes a preceptor of a disposition similar to his own. When Diogenes offered himself as a pupil of Antisthenes, that philosopher, having been mortified by neglect, was in a peevish humour, and refused to receive him. Diogenes still persisting to importune him for admission, Antisthenes lifted up his staff to drive him away ; upon which Diogenes said, “Beat me as you please ; I will be your scholar.”§ Antisthenes, overcome by his perseverance, received him, and afterwards made him his intimate companion and friend. Diogenes perfectly adopted the principles and character of his master. Renouncing every other object of ambition, he determined to distinguish himself by his contempt of riches and honours, and by his indignation against luxury. He wore a coarse cloak ; carried a wallet and a staff ; made the porticos and

* Laert. l. v. sect. 11, 12.

† Laert. l. vi. sect. 20, &c. Suidas.

‡ Laert. Stobæus.

§ Ælian, l. x. c. 116.

other public places his habitation, and depended upon casual contributions for his daily bread. A friend, whom he had desired to procure him a cell, not executing his order as soon as he expected, he took up his abode in a tub,* or large open vessel, in the *Metroum*. It is probable, however, that this was only a temporary expression of indignation and contempt, and that he did not make a tub the settled place of his residence. This famous tub is indeed celebrated by Juvenal:†

——— *Dolia nudi*
Non ardent Cynici. Si freris altera fiet
Cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit. (a)

It is also ridiculed by Lucian,‡ and mentioned by Seneca:§ but no notice is taken of so singular a circumstance by other ancient writers who have mentioned this philosopher; not even by Epictetus, who discourses at large concerning Diogenes, and relates many particulars respecting his manner of life. It may therefore be questioned, whether this whole story is not to be ranked among the numerous tales which have been invented to expose the sect of the Cynics to ridicule.

It cannot, however, be doubted that Diogenes practised the most hardy self-controul, and the most rigid abstinence;|| exposing himself to the utmost extremes of heat and cold, and living upon the simplest diet, casually supplied by the hand of charity. That he might accomplish the end for which this sect was instituted, the correction of luxurious and profligate manners, he reprehended the Athenians, especially those of the higher ranks, with great freedom and sternness. His reproofs, though exceedingly pungent, discovered so much ingenuity, that they commanded the admiration even of those against whom they were immediately directed. He inculcated a hardy patience of labour and pain, frugality, temperance, and an entire contempt of pleasure. His rigid discipline, whilst it gained him respect and admiration from some, brought upon him contempt and indignity from others. He appeared, however, alike indifferent to both, and at all times preserved an entire command of himself.

It is said that Diogenes in his old age (it does not appear from what motive) sailed to the island of *Ægina*.¶ Upon his passage he was taken by a company of pirates, who carried him into Crete, and there exposed him to sale in the public market. When the auctioneer asked him what he could do, he said, "I can govern men, therefore sell me to one who wants a master." Xenocrates, a wealthy Corinthian, happening at that instant to pass by, was struck with the singularity of his reply, and purchased him. When he was delivered to his master, he said, "I shall be more useful to you as your physician than as your slave." On their arrival at Corinth, Xenocrates remarking the singular character and genius of his new slave, gave him his liberty, and at length committed to him the education of his children, and the direction of his domestic concerns. Diogenes executed his trust with so much judgment and fidelity, that Xenocrates used to say that the gods had sent a good genius to his house. He trained up his pupils in the discipline of the Cynic sect, and took more pains to give them habits of self-command than to instruct them in the elements of

* Laert. Athen. l. xiii. c. 26.

† Sat. xiv. v. 308.

(a) Safe in his tub, the naked Cynic lives,
Fearless of fire; break up his house; next day
Brings him a new one, or repairs the old.

‡ De Scrib. Hist.

§ Ep. 90.

|| Epict. ap. Arr. l. iii. Diss. 24.

¶ Laert.

science. He did not however neglect to teach them lessons of moral wisdom;* and for this purpose he chiefly made use of sententious maxims, written in verse by himself and others, which he required them to commit to memory. He allowed them the moderate use of athletic exercises and hunting. The young men were so well pleased with their preceptor, that they afterwards treated him with great respect, and recommended him to the attention of their parents.

During this period of his life Diogenes frequently attended the assemblies of the people at the Craneum, a place of exercise in the vicinity of Corinth, and at the Isthmian games. Here he appeared in the character of a public censor, and, after his usual manner, severely lashed the follies of the times, and inculcated rigid lessons of sobriety and virtue. It was at one of these assemblies that the celebrated conference between Alexander the Great and this philosopher is said to have happened. The story, as it has been related on authority of Plutarch,† is this: Alexander at this general assembly received the congratulations of all ranks, on being appointed, after the death of his father, to command the general army of the Grecians on their intended expedition against the Persians. The young prince, who was not unacquainted with the character of Diogenes, expressed his surprise, that whilst other philosophers were ready on this occasion to pay him respect, Diogenes, who resided at Corinth, was absent. Curious to see a philosopher, who had given so signal a proof of the haughty independence of his spirit, Alexander visited the Craneum, where he found the Cynic sitting in his tub in the sun. In the midst of a numerous crowd of attendants, the king came up to him, and said, "I am Alexander the Great." The philosopher, without at all relaxing the tone of his surly humour, immediately replied, "And I am Diogenes the Cynic." Alexander then requested that he would inform him if there were any service that he could render him. "Yes," said he, "not to stand between me and the sun." Struck with astonishment at the magnanimity of this reply, Alexander said to his friends, who were ridiculing the whimsical singularity of the Cynic, "If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." The story is too good to be omitted; but there are several circumstances which in some degree diminish its credibility. It supposes Diogenes to live in his tub in the Craneum of Corinth; whereas it appears, from the preceding narrative, that at Corinth he lived in the house of Xenias, and that, if he ever dwelt in a tub, he left it behind him at Athens. Alexander was at this time scarcely twenty years old, and could not call himself Alexander the Great, for he did not receive this title till his Persian and Indian expedition, after which he never returned into Greece; yet the whole transaction supposes him elated with the pride of conquest. Thus much however may be conceived to be probable; that Diogenes, who at the beginning of the hundred and eleventh Olympiad, when Alexander held the general assembly of the Greeks, was upwards of seventy years old, might frequently appear in the public walks of Corinth, and that Alexander might have the curiosity to see a man celebrated for his singularity, and might for this purpose visit him in his usual public station. It is not unlikely too, that the surly Cynic, to show his contempt for kings, might treat him with some kind of rudeness, similar to that which is related above.

Some writers assert, that after the death of Antisthenes, Diogenes passed

* Aul. Gellius, l. ii. c. 19.

† Vit. Alex. t. iv. p. 455, et de Fort. Alex. p. 352. Dion. Orat. 8. p. 131. Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 4. Arr. Exped. Al. l. vii. c. 1. Diss. Epict. l. iii. c. 22.

his summers in Corinth, and his winters in Athens. But there seems to be no better foundation for this story than for the whole detail of small anecdotes and jests which have been ascribed to him. As to these they are entirely contrary to the general scope of his philosophy, and to that authority and respect which he enjoyed with the wise men of his age; and are undoubtedly to be ascribed to that strong propensity to the fabulous, which has so often disgraced the memoirs of celebrated men with idle and silly tales. If we can pay any credit to the representation of the ancients,* Diogenes was a philosopher of a penetrating genius, not unacquainted with learning, and deeply read in the knowledge of mankind. He moreover possessed a firm and lofty mind, superior to the injuries of fortune, hardy in suffering, and incapable of fear. Contented with a little, and possessing within himself treasures sufficient for his own happiness, he despised the luxuries of the age. From an earnest desire to correct and improve the public manners, he censured reigning follies and vices with a steady confidence which sometimes degenerated into severity. He spared neither the rich nor the powerful, and even ventured to ridicule the religious superstitions of the age. This freedom gave great offence to multitudes, who could not endure such harsh and reproachful lectures from the mouth of a mendicant philosopher. The consequence was, that he suffered much obloquy, and was made the subject of ludicrous and disgraceful calumny. It is wholly incredible, that a man, who is universally celebrated for his sobriety and contempt of pleasure, and who, for his vehement indignation against vice, and his bold attempts to reform the age in which he lived, has been represented by some of the most eminent philosophers† as one endued with divine wisdom, should have been capable of committing the grossest indecencies.‡ The tale of his having obtained those favours from *Lais*, the celebrated courtesan, without reward, which *Aristippus* purchased at a great price, is wholly inconsistent with chronology; for *Lais* was seven years old when she was brought a captive by *Nicias* from Sicily to Corinth, in the ninety-first Olympiad, and *Diogenes* came to live there, as we have seen, about the hundred and tenth Olympiad; *Lais* must therefore have been fourscore years old, and *Diogenes* seventy, when this famous amour commenced, not to mention several insuperable difficulties in the history of *Lais*,§ nor to urge, that for these stories we are chiefly indebted to *Athenæus*, a writer who seems to have ransacked every corner of antiquity, and of his own invention too, for tales to the discredit of philosophy.

But though we can, without difficulty, absolve *Diogenes* from the accusation of gross impudence, we cannot so easily acquit him of the charge of philosophical pride.|| There can be no doubt that he valued himself too highly upon a singular ruggedness of manners, which, though some might admire, few would be inclined to imitate. It was owing to this haughty temper that he treated other philosophers, and even magistrates and princes, with contempt, and that he reprehended vice, wherever he found it, with bitterness, and even scurrility. That neglect of civility and decorum which this humour produced is certainly not to be justified. Wisdom did not require *Diogenes* to take the cloak and wallet of a mendicant.

Various accounts are given concerning the manner and time of his death. It seems most probable that he died at Corinth, of mere decay, in the

* Arrian. *Epic.* l. iii. Diss. 21. Laert.

† *Epict.* l. c. Max. Tyr. l. c. Le Vayer de *Virt. Gent.* t. v. p. 134.

‡ Laert. *Plut. de Rep. Stoic.* t. iii. p. 23. Athen. l. iv. p. 158. l. xiii. p. 588.

§ Bayle, *Lais*. || Ælian, l. iii. c. 29.

ninetieth year of his age, and in the 114th Olympiad.* His friends contended for the honour of defraying the expenses of his funeral; but the magistrates of Athens settled the dispute, by ordering him an honourable interment at the public expense. A column of Parian marble, terminated by the figure of a dog, was raised over his tomb; and his friends erected many brazen statues from respect to his memory.

Diogenes left behind him no system of philosophy. After the example of his master, he was more attentive to practical, than theoretical wisdom. The chief heads of his moral doctrine may be thus briefly stated:—†

Virtue of mind, as well as strength of body, is chiefly to be acquired by exercise and habit. Nothing can be accomplished without labour, and every thing may be accomplished with it. Even the contempt of pleasure may, by the force of habit, become pleasant. All things belong to wise men, to whom the gods are friends. The ranks of society originate from the vices and follies of mankind, and are therefore to be despised. Laws are necessary in a civilised state; but the happiest condition of human life is that which approaches the nearest to a state of nature, in which all are equal, and virtue is the only ground of distinction. The end of philosophy is, to subdue the passions, and prepare men for every condition of life.

From the numerous maxims and apophthegms which have been ascribed to Diogenes we shall select the following, without staying to inquire what right he has to the credit of them:—‡

Diogenes, treading upon Plato's robe, said, "I trample under foot the pride of Plato." "Yes," said Plato, "with greater pride of your own." Being asked in what part of Greece he had seen good men, he answered, "No where; at Sparta I have seen good boys." To a friend who advised him, in his old age, to indulge himself, he said, "Would you have me quit the race, when I have almost reached the goal?" Observing a boy drink water out of the hollow of his hand, he took his cup out of his wallet, and threw it away, saying, that he would carry no superfluities about him. Plato having defined man to be a two-legged animal without wings, Diogenes plucked off the feathers from a cock, and turned him into the Academy, crying out, "See Plato's man." In reply to one who asked him at what time he ought to dine, he said, "If you are a rich man, when you will; if you are poor, when you can." "How happy," said one, "is Calisthenes in living with Alexander!" "No," said Diogenes, "he is not happy; for he must dine and sup when Alexander pleases." Plato, discoursing concerning ideas, spoke of the abstract idea of a table and a cup (*τραπέζοντα, κυαθόντα*), Diogenes said, "I see the table and the cup, but not the idea of the table and the cup." Plato replied, "No wonder, for you have eyes, but no intellect." His answer to an invitation from Craterus to come and live with him was, "I had rather lick salt at Athens than sit down to the richest feast with Craterus." Being asked what countryman he was, he answered, "A citizen of the world." To one that reviled him he said, "No one will believe you when you speak ill of me, any more than they would me, if I were to speak well of you." Hearing one of his friends lament that he should not die in his own country, he said, "Be not uneasy; from every place there is a passage to the regions below." "Would you be revenged upon your enemy," said Diogenes, "be virtuous, that he may have nothing to say against you."

ONESICRITUS of Ægina, § who afterwards accompanied Alexander in his

* Laert.

† Laert.

‡ Laert. Stob. Plut.

§ Laert. l. vi. sect. 76. Arrian. l. c. p. 149.

Asiatic expedition, was an admirer of the doctrine and discipline of the Cynic sect, and a follower of Diogenes. MONIMUS,* a Syracusan, who was in the service of a Corinthian banker, feigning himself mad, left his master, that he might assume the character of a Cynic. His wisdom and hardy virtue were celebrated by Menander.† His doctrine was, τὸ ὑπολήφθαι τὸν φύλον εἶναι πᾶν,‡ “All the opinions of men are unsubstantial, and fleeting, as a vapour;” a sentiment which Sextus Empiricus presses into the service of Scepticism; but it was probably borrowed from Democritus, or some other of the Eleatic school; and only denotes, that material things, which are the objects of opinion, are too variable and mutable to be the ground of certain knowledge; a doctrine admitted by Plato, Pythagoras, and most other ancient philosophers. Monimus is also celebrated for the successful application of ridicule to the reprehension of vice, according to the maxim of Horace, §

— Ridiculum acri

Fortius ac melius magnas plerumque secat res. (a)

After Diogenes, the most distinguished professor of the Cynic philosophy was CRATES, a Theban, || who flourished about the hundred and thirteenth Olympiad. He was of honourable descent, and inherited a large estate; but, when he devoted himself to philosophy, that he might be free from the dominion of those passions which are fostered by wealth, he distributed his whole property among the poor citizens. Leaving his native city, where he had been a disciple of Bryso, an Achæan philosopher who has been reckoned among the Cynics, ¶ he went to Athens, and there became a zealous disciple of Diogenes, adopting, in the utmost extreme, the singularities of his master.** In his natural temper, however, he was not, like Diogenes, morose and gloomy, but cheerful and facetious. His mirthful humour gained him many friends, and procured him access to the houses of the most wealthy Athenians. He acquired so much confidence among the citizens at large, that he was freely admitted into their domestic circles, and frequently became an arbiter of disputes and quarrels among relations. His influence in private families is said to have had a great effect in correcting the luxuries and vices which were at that time prevalent in Athens.††

The wife of Crates, HIPPARCHIA, ‡‡ must be mentioned in the list of Cynic philosophers. She was rich, of a good family, and had many suitors. She entertained, nevertheless, so violent a passion for this philosopher, that she was deaf to every other proposal, and threatened her parents that, if she were not permitted to marry Crates, she would put an end to her life. Crates, at the request of her parents, represented to Hipparchia every circumstance in his condition and manner of living, which might induce her to change her mind. Still she persisted in her resolution, and not only became the wife of Crates, but adopted all the peculiarities of the Cynic profession. Disgraceful tales have been industriously circulated concerning Crates and his wife; but since they do not appear in any writings of the

* Laert.

† Grot. in not. ad Excerpt. ex Tragic. p. 727.

‡ Antonin. de se ipso, l. ii. sect. 15. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 87. 53.

§ Sat. i. x. 14.

(a) Oft will the edge of ridicule succeed

To cut the knot, where graver reas'ning fails.

|| Laert. l. vi. sect. 85. Suidas. Plut. de Vit. Aer. al. t. ii. p. 437.

¶ Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 361. ** Laert. Apul. Apol. p. 202. Florid. p. 355.

†† Laert. Plut. de Tranq. An. t. ii. p. 252. Sympos. 2. tom. iii. p. 150. Apul. ib.

‡‡ Laert. l. vi. c. 96. Apul. l. c.

period in which they lived, and are neither mentioned by Epictetus, who wrote an apology for the Cynic philosophy, nor by Lucian or Athenæus, who were so industrious in accumulating calumnies against philosophers, they must unquestionably be set down among the malicious fictions of later writers, who were desirous to bring the Cynic and Stoic sects into discredit. Had either Diogenes or Crates been the beasts which some have represented them, it is wholly incredible that Zeno and the Stoics would have treated their memory with so much respect.*

METROCLES,† the brother of Hipparchia, was also a disciple of Crates. He had formerly been a follower of Theophrastus and of Xenocrates; but when he commenced Cynic, he committed their works to the flames, as the useless dreams of idle speculation. In his old age he became so dissatisfied with the world, that he strangled himself. MENIPPUS of Sinope, another Cynic, was the author of many satirical pieces, and is introduced by Lucian into several of his dialogues.‡ In MENEDEMUS, § of Lampsacus, the spirit of the Cynic sect degenerated into downright madness. Dressed in a black cloak, with an Arcadian cap upon his head, on which were drawn the figures of the twelve signs of the zodiac, with tragic buskins on his legs, with a long beard, and with an ashen staff in his hand, he went about like a maniac, saying, that he was a spirit, returned from the infernal regions to admonish the world.|| He lived in the reign of Antigonos, king of Macedon.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE STOIC SECT.

SECTION I.—OF ZENO AND HIS PHILOSOPHY.

THE Stoic was a branch from the Cynic, and as far as respected morals, differed from it in words more than in reality. Its founder, whilst he avoided the offensive singularities of the Cynics, retained the spirit of their moral doctrine: at the same time, from a diligent comparison of the tenets of other masters, he framed a new system of speculative philosophy. This sect rose to great distinction among the Grecians, and gave birth to many illustrious philosophers, whose names and doctrines have been transmitted with great respect to the present times. This part of the history of philosophy will therefore require a diligent and minute discussion.

ZENO,¶ the father of the Stoic sect, was a native of Cittius, a maritime

* Laert. Sext. Emp. Pyrr. Hyp. l. i. c. 14. l. iii. c. 24. Apul. l. c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. Lactant. l. iii. c. 15. Stob. Serm. 143. p. 662.

† Laert. l. vi. sect. 94. Stob. Serm. 237. p. 778.

‡ Laert. l. v. sect. 99. Luc. Char. et Men.

§ Laert. l. vi. sect. 102.

|| Suidas in *φάδς*, t. ii. p. 589. Athen. l. p. 15. l. iv. p. 162.

Vidend. Potter, Arch. Gr. l. i. c. 9. Jons. l. i. c. 8. et Diss. Perip. 1. Voss. de Sect. c. 17. sect. 3. 9. August. Civ. Dei. l. xiv. c. 20. Stollii Diss. de Antisthene Cyn. Hist. Phil. Mor. p. 77. 83. 97. Ferrarius de Re Vestiar. p. ii. l. iv. c. 19. Juliani Orat. de Cynicis. Lips. Manud. l. i. Diss. 13. Horn. Hist. Ph. p. 209. Heuman. Diss. de Doliari hab. Pæcil. tom. l. l. iv. Reiman. Hist. Ath. c. 26. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 22. La Vayer de Virt. Gent. t. v. Op. p. 134. Fontenelle, Dial. des Morts, p. 175. Menzius de Fastu Phil. Lips. 1712. Macrob. Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 12. Bayle.

¶ Laert. l. vii. Suidas.

town of Cyprus. This place having been originally peopled by a colony of Phœnicians, Zeno is sometimes called a Phœnician.* His father was by profession a merchant, but discovering in the youth a strong propensity towards learning he early devoted him to philosophy. In his mercantile capacity he had frequent occasion to visit Athens, where he purchased for his son several of the writings of the most eminent Socratic philosophers. These he read with great avidity; and when he was about thirty years of age he determined to take a voyage to a city, which was so celebrated both as a mart of trade and of science. Whether this voyage was in part mercantile, or wholly undertaken for the sake of conversing with those philosophers, whose writings Zeno had long admired, is uncertain. If it be true, as some writers relate, that he brought with him a valuable cargo of Phœnician purple, which was lost by shipwreck upon the coast of the Piræus, this circumstance will account for the facility with which he at first attached himself to a sect, whose leading principle was the contempt of riches. Upon his first arrival in Athens, going accidentally into the shop of a bookseller, he took up a volume of the Commentaries of Xenophon, and after reading a few passages, was so much delighted with the work, and formed so high an idea of the author, that he asked the bookseller where he might meet with such men. Crates, the Cynic philosopher, happening at that instant to be passing by, the bookseller pointed to him, and said, "Follow that man." Zeno soon found an opportunity of attending upon the instructions of Crates, and was so well pleased with his doctrine, that he became one of his disciples.† But though he highly admired the general principles and spirit of the Cynic school, he could not easily reconcile himself to their peculiar manners. Besides, his inquisitive turn of mind would not allow him to adopt that indifference to every scientific inquiry, which was one of the characteristic distinctions of the sect. He therefore attended upon other masters, who professed to instruct their disciples in the nature and causes of things. When Crates, displeased at his following other philosophers, attempted to drag him by force out of the school of Stilpo, Zeno said to him, "You may seize my body, but Stilpo has laid hold of my mind." After continuing to attend upon the lectures of Stilpo several years, he passed over to other schools, particularly those of Xenocrates and Diodorus Chronus. By the latter he was instructed in dialectics. He was so much delighted with this branch of study, that he presented to his master a large pecuniary gratuity, in return for his free communication of some of his ingenious subtleties. At last, after attending almost every other master, he offered himself as a disciple of Polemo. This philosopher appears to have been aware that Zeno's intention, in thus removing from one school to another, was to collect materials, from various quarters, for a new system of his own; for, when he came into Polemo's school, he said to him, "I am no stranger, Zeno, to your Phœnician arts; I perceive that your design is to creep slyly into my garden, and steal away my fruit."‡

Polemo was not mistaken in his opinion. Having made himself master of the tenets of others, Zeno determined to become the founder of a new sect. The place which he made choice of for his school was called the *Pæcile*, or painted Porch; a public portico so called, from the pictures of Polygnotus, and other eminent painters, with which it was adorned. This Portico, which was the most famous in Athens, was called Στοά, The

* Cic. de Fin. l. iv. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 12.

† Laert. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 14. Plut. de Cap. ex host. util. tom. ii. p. 200.

‡ Laert. sect. 35. Suidas.

Porch. It was from this circumstance that the followers of Zeno were called Stoics.*

Zeno excelled in that kind of subtle reasoning which was at this time popular. At the same time, he taught a strict system of moral doctrine, and exhibited a pleasing picture of moral discipline in his own life. It is not therefore at all surprising that he obtained the applause and affection of numerous followers, and even enjoyed the favour of the great. Antigonus Gonates, king of Macedon, whilst he was resident at Athens, attended his lectures, and upon his return earnestly invited him to his court. He possessed so large a share of esteem among the Athenians that, on account of his approved integrity, they deposited the keys of their citadel in his hands. They also honoured him with a golden crown, and a statue of brass. Among his countrymen, the inhabitants of Cyprus, and with the Sidonians, from whom his family was derived, he was likewise highly esteemed.†

In his person, Zeno was tall and slender; his aspect was severe, and his brow contracted. His constitution was feeble, but he preserved his health by great abstemiousness. The supplies of his table consisted of figs, bread, and honey;‡ notwithstanding which, he was frequently honoured with the company of great men. It was a singular proof of his moderation, mixed indeed with that high spirit of independence which afterwards distinguished his sect, that when Demochares, son of Laches, offered to procure him some gratuity from Antigonus, he was so offended, that from that time he declined all intercourse with him. In public company, to avoid every appearance of an assuming temper, he commonly took the lowest place. Indeed so great was his modesty, that he seldom chose to mingle with a crowd, or wished for the company of more than two or three friends at once. He paid more attention to neatness and decorum in external appearance than the Cynic philosophers. In his dress indeed he was plain, and in all his expenses frugal; but this is not to be imputed to avarice, but a contempt of external magnificence. He showed as much respect to the poor as to the rich, and conversed freely with persons of the meanest occupations. He had only one servant, or, according to Seneca, none.§

Although Zeno's sobriety and continence were even proverbial, he was not without enemies. Among his contemporaries, several philosophers of great ability and eloquence employed their talents against him. Arcesilaus and Carneades, the founders of the Middle and New Academy, were his professed opponents. Towards the latter end of his life,|| he found another powerful adversary in Epicurus, whose temper and doctrines were alike inimical to the severe gravity and philosophical pride of the Stoic sect. Hence mutual invectives passed between the Stoics and other sects, to which little credit is due. At least, it may be fairly presumed that Zeno, whose personal character was so exemplary, never countenanced gross immorality in his doctrine.

Zeno lived to the extreme age of ninety-eight,¶ and at last, in consequence of an accident, voluntarily put an end to his life. As he was walking out of his school he fell down, and in the fall broke one of his fingers; upon which, he was so affected with a consciousness of infirmity, that, striking the earth, he said, "Why am I thus importuned? I obey thy summons;" and immediately went home, and strangled himself. He died in the first

* Plin. Hist. N. l. xxxv. c. 9. Pausan. l. i. p. 13. 27. 78. Suidas v. Polygnotus.

† Laert. l. vii. sect. 6, 7. ‡ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii. p. 413. Conf. Laert. sect. 25.

§ Laert. Sen. Consol. c. 12. || Suidas. Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21.

¶ Laert. Luc. Longæv. t. ii. p. 821.

year of the hundred and twenty-ninth Olympiad.* The Athenians, at the request of Antigonus, erected a monument to his memory in the Ceramicum.†

From the particulars which have been related concerning Zeno, it will not be difficult to perceive what kind of influence his circumstances and character must have had upon his philosophical system. If his doctrines be diligently compared with the history of his life, it will appear, that having attended upon many eminent preceptors, and been intimately conversant with their opinions, he compiled, out of their various tenets, an heterogeneous system, on the credit of which he assumed to himself the title of the founder of a new sect. When he resolved, for the sake of establishing a school, to desert the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato, in which he had been perfectly instructed by Xenocrates and Polemo, it became necessary, either to invent opinions entirely new, or to give an air of novelty to old systems by the introduction of new terms and definitions. Of these two undertakings Zeno prudently made choice of the easier. Cicero says, concerning Zeno,‡ that he had little reason for deserting his masters, especially those of the Platonic school, and that he was not so much an inventor of new opinions, as of new terms. The thorny logomachies of Zeno and his followers are thus ridiculed by a comic poet quoted by Athenæus: §

‘Ακούσατ’ ὃ Στοάκες ἔμποροι λήρου
Λόγων ὑποκριτῆρες. (a)

That this was the real character of the Porch will fully appear from an attentive perusal of the clear and accurate comparison which Cicero has drawn between the doctrines of the Old Academy and those of the Stoics, in his Academic Questions. The dialectic arts which Zeno learned in the school of Diodorus Chronus he did not fail to apply to the support of his own system, and to communicate to his followers. As to the moral doctrine of the Cynic sect, to which Zeno strictly adhered to the last, there can be no doubt that he transferred it, almost without alloy, into his own school.

Et qui nec Cynicos, nec Stoica dogmata legit
A Cynicis tunica distantia. || (b)

In morals, the principal difference between the Cynics and the Stoics was, that the former disdained the cultivation of nature, the latter affected to rise above it. On the subject of physics, Zeno received his doctrine from Pythagoras and Heraclitus, through the channel of the Platonic school,¶ as will fully appear from a careful comparison of their respective systems.

The Stoic philosophy being in this manner of heterogeneous origin, it necessarily partook of the several systems of which it was composed. The idle quibbles, jejune reasonings, and imposing sophisms, which so justly exposed the schools of the dialectic philosophers to ridicule, found their way into the Porch, where much time was wasted, and much ingenuity thrown away, upon questions of no importance. Cicero censures the Stoics** for encouraging in their schools a barren kind of disputation, and

* B. C. 264. † Laert. ‡ De Fin. l. iii. Tusc. Qu. l. v. § L. xiii.

(a) Ye sages of the Porch, loquacious tribe,
Traders in trifles, arbiters of words,
And censors—hear!

|| Juv. Sat. xiii. v. 121.

(b) Not fetch'd from Cynic or from Stoic schools;
In habit different, but alike in rules. OWEN.

¶ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 14.

** De Fin. l. iii. c. 1. l. iv. c. 3.

employing themselves in determining trifling questions, in which the disputants can have no interest, and which, at the close, leave them neither wiser nor better. And that this censure is not, as some modern advocates for Stoicism have maintained, a mere calumny, but grounded upon fact, sufficiently appears from what is said by the ancients, particularly by Sextus Empiricus, concerning the logic of the Stoics. Seneca, who was himself a Stoic, candidly acknowledges this.*

It may perhaps be thought surprising that philosophers who affected so much gravity and wisdom should condescend to such trifling occupations. But it must be considered that, at this time, a fondness for subtle disputations so generally prevailed in Greece, that excellence in the arts of reasoning and sophistry was a sure path to fame. The Stoics, with whom vanity was unquestionably a ruling passion, were ambitious of this kind of reputation. Hence it was that they engaged with so much vehemence in verbal contests, and that they largely contributed towards the confusion, instead of the improvement of science, by substituting vague and ill defined terms in the room of accurate conceptions. The moral part of the Stoical philosophy in like manner partook of the defects of its origin. It may be as justly objected against the Stoics as the Cynics, that they assumed an artificial severity of manners, and a tone of virtue above the condition of man. Their doctrine of moral wisdom was an ostentatious display of words, in which little regard was paid to nature and reason. It professed to raise human nature to a degree of perfection before unknown; but its real effect was merely to amuse the ear, and captivate the fancy, with fictions which can never be realised. Lastly, the physical and theoretical system of the Stoics, like those from which it had been borrowed, had, in its principles, a strong bias towards enthusiasm. If, as we have before shown, the doctrine of Plato, which derives the human mind from the soul of the world, has this tendency, much more must this be the case with the Stoical doctrine, which supposes, as we shall afterwards see, that all human souls have immediately proceeded from, and will at last return into, the divine nature.

The extravagancies and absurdities of the Stoical philosophy may also be in some measure ascribed to the vehement contests which subsisted between Zeno and the Academics on the one hand, and between him and Epicurus on the other. For, not only did these disputes give rise to many of the dogmas of Stoicism, but led Zeno and his followers, in the warmth of controversy, to drive their arguments to the utmost extremity, and to express themselves with much greater confidence than they would probably otherwise have done. This is perhaps the true reason why so many extravagant notions are ascribed to the Stoics, particularly upon the subject of morals. Whilst Epicurus taught his followers to seek happiness in tranquillity, or a freedom from labour and pain, Zeno imagined his wise man not only free from all sense of pleasure, but void of all passions and emotions, and capable of being happy in the midst of torture. That he might avoid the torpid indolence of the Epicureans, he had recourse to a moral institution, which bore indeed the lofty front of wisdom, but which was elevated far above the condition and powers of human nature.

The natural disposition of Zeno, and his manner of life, had, moreover, no inconsiderable influence in fixing the peculiar character of his philosophy. By nature severe and morose, and constitutionally inclined to reserve and melancholy, he early cherished this habit by submitting to the austere

* Ep. 48. 82. 113.

and rigid discipline of the Cynics. Those qualities, which he conceived to be meritorious in himself, and which he found to conciliate the admiration of mankind, he naturally transferred to his imaginary character of a wise or perfect man. His followers, ambitious of acquiring reputation in the same way, put on an appearance of gravity and dignity, which they were more careful to support by external show, than by the real practice of sublime or useful virtues. Hence it happened that the more eminent Stoics themselves saw reason to complain of the inconsistency of many of their own sect, who were philosophers in words, rather than in actions, and that their adversaries found so much room for satirical ridicule and invective against Stoical pride and hypocrisy.* Nor is it surprising that this should have happened; for a system of philosophy which attempts to raise men above their nature must commonly produce either wretched fanatics or artful hypocrites. It is no proof of the perfection which some have been willing to ascribe to the Stoic philosophy,† that there were among its professors many persons highly distinguished by genuine wisdom and virtue; for their uncommon merit was rather the effect of a happy temperament, or of fortunate circumstances, in concurrence with those moral principles which are common to all mankind, than to the peculiarities of the Stoical system, which, as we shall presently see, were not adapted to cherish the genuine sentiments either of virtue or piety.

In order to form an accurate judgment concerning the doctrine of the Stoics, besides a careful attention to the particulars already enumerated, it will be necessary to guard with the utmost caution against two errors, into which several writers, who have bestowed unlimited praise upon the Stoical philosophy, have fallen.

Great care should be taken, in the first place, not to judge of the doctrine of the Stoics from words and sentiments, detached from the general system, but to consider them as they stand related to the whole train of premises and conclusions. For want of this caution, many moderns, dazzled by the splendid expressions which they have met with in the writings of the Stoics concerning God, the soul, and other subjects, have imagined that they have discovered an invaluable treasure; whereas, if they had taken the pains to restore these brilliants to their proper places in the general mass, it would soon have appeared that a great part of their value was imaginary. They who would not ascribe to the Stoics tenets which they never held, and affix to their language a modern meaning which they never conceived, must diligently examine their whole system, and explain detached passages in such a sense, as shall be most consistent with their general doctrine, and their fundamental principles.

The second caution is, not to confound the genuine doctrines of Zeno and other ancient fathers of this sect with the glosses, or improvements, of the later Stoics. Any one who attentively examines the writings of the philosophers after the promulgation of the Christian doctrine will perceive that the Stoics, in order to support the credit of their system, artfully accommodated their language, and even their tenets as far as they were able, to the Christian model. Out of the many proofs of this change which might be adduced we shall select one, which is the more worthy of notice, as it has occasioned many disputes among the learned. The doctrine we mean is that concerning Fate. This doctrine, according to Zeno and Chrysippus (who herein meant to combat Epicurus's doctrine of the for-

* Arr. Epic. Diss. l. iv. c. 9. l. iii. c. 23. Aul. Gell. l. vii. c. 19. Juv. Sat. ii. Horat. Serm. l. ii. Sat. 2. Lucian in Hermotim. t. ii. p. 287.

† Lipsii Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. Gataker in Antonin.

tuitous concourse of atoms), implies an eternal and immutable series of causes and effects, within which all events are included, and to which the Deity himself is subject: whereas the later Stoics, changing the term Fate into The Providence of God, discoursed with great plausibility on this subject, but still in reality retained the ancient doctrine of universal fate. From this example, a judgment may be formed concerning the necessity of using some caution in appealing to the writings of Seneca, Antoninus, and Epictetus, as authorities in determining what were the original doctrines of the Stoic philosophers.

If the remains of the Stoic philosophy preserved by Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius, Sextus Empiricus, Simplicius, and Stobæus, be diligently and cautiously compared with the writings of Seneca, Antoninus, and Epictetus, the following will perhaps appear to be a faithful representation of the leading tenets of this celebrated sect, under the distinct heads of philosophy in general, logic, physics, metaphysics, and morals.

Concerning PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL, the doctrine of the Stoics was,* that wisdom consists in the knowledge of things divine and human; that philosophy is such an exercise of the mind as produces wisdom; that in this exercise consists the nature of virtue; and consequently, that virtue is a term of extensive meaning, comprehending the right employment of the mind in reasoning, in the study of nature, and in morals. The wisdom of the Stoics is either progressive, through several stages; or perfect, when every weakness is subdued, and every error corrected, without the possibility of a relapse into folly or vice, or of being again enslaved by any passion, or afflicted by any calamity.† With Socrates and the Cynics, Zeno represented virtue as the only true wisdom; but being disposed to extend the pursuits of his wise man into the regions of speculation and science, he gave, after his usual manner, a new signification to an old term, and comprehended the exercise of the understanding in the search of truth, as well as the government of the appetites and passions, under the general term virtue.‡ The propriety of this extensive definition of virtue, and the great importance of the united exercise of the intellectual and active powers of the mind are thus beautifully asserted by the philosophical emperor:§ “Let every one endeavour so to think and act, that his contemplative and active faculties may at the same time be going on towards perfection. His clear conceptions and certain knowledge will then produce within him an entire confidence in himself, unperceived perhaps by others, though not affectedly concealed, which will give a simplicity and dignity to his character; for he will at all times be able to judge, concerning the several objects which come before him, what is their real nature, what place they hold in the universe, how long they are by nature fitted to last, of what materials they are composed, by whom they may be possessed, and who is able to bestow them, or take them away.”

The sum of the definitions and rules given by the Stoics concerning LOGIC is this:—Logic is either rhetorical or dialectic. Rhetorical logic is the art of reasoning and discoursing on those subjects which require a diffuse kind of declamation. Dialectic is the art of close argumentation in the form of disputation or dialogue. The former resembles an open, the latter a closed hand. Rhetoric is of three kinds, deliberative, judicial, and demonstrative. The dialectic art is the instrument of knowledge, as it enables a man to distinguish truth from error, and certainty from bare

* Plut. de Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 1. t. ii. p. 3. Sen. Ep. 89. † Sen. Ep. 71, 72. 75.

‡ Plut. Sen. l. c. Laert. l. vii. sect. 40. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 17.

§ Antonin. l. x. sect. 9.

probability. This art considers things as expressed by words, and words themselves.*

External things are perceived by a certain impression made either upon some parts of the brain, or upon the percipient faculty, which may be called an image, *φαντασία*, since it is impressed upon the mind like the image of a seal upon wax.† This image is commonly accompanied with a belief of the reality of the thing perceived; but not necessarily, since it does not accompany every image, but those only which are not attended with any evidence of deception. Where only the image is perceived by itself, the thing is apprehensible; where it is acknowledged and approved as the image of some real thing, the impression is called apprehension, *κατάληψις*, because the object is apprehended by the mind, as a body is grasped by the hand. Such apprehension, if it will bear the examination of reason, is knowledge; if it is not examined, it is mere opinion; if it will not bear this examination, it is misapprehension. The senses, corrected by reason, give a faithful report; not by affording a perfect apprehension of the entire nature of things, but by leaving no room to doubt of their reality. Nature has furnished us with these apprehensions, as the elements of knowledge, whence further conceptions are raised in the mind, and a way is opened for the investigations of reason.‡

Some images are sensible, or received immediately through the senses, others rational, which are perceived only in the mind. These latter are called *ἐννοιαί*, notions or ideas. Some images are probable, to which the mind assents without hesitation; others improbable, to which it does not readily assent; and others doubtful, where it is not entirely perceived whether they are true or false. True images are those which arise from things really existing, and agree with them. False images, or phantasms, are immediately derived from no real object. Images are apprehended by immediate perception through the senses, as when we see a man; consequentially, by likeness, as when from a portrait we apprehend the original; by composition, as when, by compounding a horse and man, we acquire the image of a Centaur; by augmentation, as in the image of a Cyclops; or by diminution, as in that of a pigmy.§

Judgment is employed either in determining concerning particular things, or concerning general propositions. In judging of things, we make use of some one of our senses, as a common criterion or measure of apprehension, by which we judge whether a thing is, or is not; or whether, or not, it exists with certain properties; or we apply to the thing, concerning which a judgment is to be formed, some artificial measure, as a balance, a rule, &c.; or we call in other peculiar measures to determine things not perceptible by the senses. In judging of general propositions, we make use of our preconceptions, or universal principles, as *criteria* or measures of judgment. ||

The first impressions from the senses produce in the mind an involuntary emotion; but a wise man afterwards deliberately examines them, that he may know whether the image be true or false, and assents to or rejects them, as the evidence which offers itself to his understanding appears suffi-

* Sen. Ep. 48. Lucian, Herm. t. ii. p. 390. Laert. l. vii. sect. 42. 47. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ii. sect. 6, 7. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 6. De Orat. c. 32. Quintil. l. ii. c. 20.

† Laert. l. vii. sect. 45. Cic. Acad. Qu. l. i. c. 11. Boethius de Consol. l. v. Met. 3.

‡ Laert. sect. 45—52. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 29. 163. 228. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. ii. c. 6. l. iv. c. 47.

§ Laert. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. ii. Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 12.

|| Cic. Acad. Qu. l. i. Laert. Sext. Emp. adv. Log.

cient or insufficient. This assent or approbation (*συνκαταθέσεις*) will indeed be as necessarily given, or withheld, according to the ultimate state of the proofs which are adduced, as the scales of a balance will sink or rise, according to the weights which are placed upon them; but while the vulgar give immediate credit to the reports of the senses, wise men suspend their assent till they have deliberately examined the nature of things, and carefully estimated the weight of evidence.*

The mind of man is originally like a blank leaf, wholly without characters, but capable of receiving any. The impressions which are made upon it, by means of the senses, remain in the memory, after the objects which occasioned them are removed; a succession of these continued impressions, made by similar objects, produces experience; and hence arises permanent notions, opinions, and knowledge. Even universal principles, *πρόληψεις*, are originally formed, by experience, from sensible images. All men agree in their common notions or preconceptions; disputes only arise concerning the application of these to particular cases.†

These three things are mutually related; the expression, the notion or image in the mind which is expressed, and the external object. Under the head of expression, dialectics consider vocal sound as expressed by letters; the several parts of speech; the etymology, analogy, or anomaly of syntax; the signification of words, and other properties of language. The notion or image expressed is the *φαντασία*, phantasy, already explained.‡

Dialectics consider things as capable of being classed under *species* and *genera*. The most comprehensive genus is that which includes all beings both real and imaginary. Things are subdivided into four kinds: 1. Substance. 2. Qualities, which are the differences of substances, not taken individually, but collected into one notion in the mind. 3. Modes, respecting quantity, place, time, &c. 4. Relations, as those of father and son, right and left. Things considered with respect to speech are said to be *λεκτά*, capable of being expressed in words. This character includes what is imaginary, as well as what is real. All notions residing in the mind, ready for expression, come under this description.§

Predicates are those things which are predicated, or declared concerning another. When these are connected with the person, or thing, to whom the predicate is applied in a direct assertion, the sentence is called an axiom. An axiom may be either simple or compound; simple, which does not consist of several different axioms, or of one axiom twice taken; compound, consisting of one axiom diversified, or of more than one. In compound axioms, that which immediately follows the conjunction *if*, *since*, &c. is called the antecedent, the rest the consequent. Complex axioms are of various kinds, according to the nature of the conjunction which connects them, whence they are connective, conjunctive, disjunctive, casual, comparative, &c. Axioms admit of various other characters, as possible, probable, necessary, paradoxical, contrary. An argument, (*λόγος*) commonly consists of a general truth admitted (*λήμμα*); a particular case supposed (*προσλήμμα*); and a conclusion (*ἐπιφορά*). For example: If it be day it is light; but it is day; therefore it is light. An argument admits of more variety in its form than a syllogism. It may consist of one complex proposition, as, Thou livest, therefore thou breathest; or, the

* Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. Aul. Gellius, l. xix. c. 1.

† Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 11, 12. Arrian. l. i. Diss. 22. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 11.

‡ Sext. Emp. adv. Log. Laert.

§ Laert. l. vii. sect. 60—63. Sext. Emp. ib. Simpl. in Categ.

conclusion may be such, as necessarily to follow from the premises, though there be not a major and minor. For example; The first is equal to the second, and the second is equal to the third, therefore the first is equal to the third. This argument, though conclusive, is not syllogistical, for want of this universal proposition, things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another.*

Besides these, and other technical modes of arguing, the Stoics amused themselves with quibbles, and fallacies, of the same kind with those which we have before noticed in the Megaric School; but of this ridiculous method of trifling one example† shall suffice. Protagoras the Sophist agreed to instruct a young man in eloquence, for a large sum, one half of which was to be paid in hand, the other half upon his first successful pleading in the courts. Neglecting to plead for a long time after Protagoras had completely instructed him in the art of rhetoric, the Sophist sued him for the remaining moiety of his stipend. Each pleaded his own cause. Protagoras urged, that which way soever the cause was determined the young man must complete the payment; for if the cause was determined *against* the defendant, the payment would be granted him by judgment; if *for* him, the payment would be due according to agreement. The young man, on the contrary, pleaded, that if the cause was determined in *his* favour, he should be excused from the payment by the decision of the court; if *against* him, Protagoras, by his own agreement, could have no demand upon him. The subtlety of these pleas perplexed the judges; and, without coming to any determination, they dismissed the court.

Such vagaries of human ingenuity, however trifling and ridiculous in themselves, afford an instructive example of the folly of attempting to excel in trifles, and of the mischief arising from philosophical vanity; they well illustrate the poet's doctrine,

—— Sapiaientia prima est
Stultitiâ caruisse. (a)

What can we say concerning the whole business of dialectics, as it appears to have been conducted by the Stoics, but exclaim with Seneca—"O pueriles ineptias! in hoc, supercilia subduximus? in hoc, barbari demissimus? hoc est, quod tristes docemus, et pallidi?"‡

Let us pass on to the Stoical doctrine concerning nature.

According to Zeno and his followers,§ there existed from eternity a dark and confused chaos, in which was contained the first principles of all future beings. This chaos, being at length arranged, and emerging into variable forms, became the world, as it now subsists. The world, or nature, is that whole, which comprehends all things, and of which all things are parts and members. The universe, though one whole, contains two principles, distinct from elements, one passive, the other active. The passive principle is pure matter without qualities; the active principle is reason or God. This is the fundamental doctrine of the Stoics concerning nature. In order to understand clearly wherein it differs from other

* Laert. Alex. Aphrod. in Analyt. prior.

† Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 10.

(a) The beginning of wisdom is, to be free from folly.

‡ Childish trifling! Is it for this we contract our brows, and let our beards grow? Are these the lessons we teach with such pale and dismal looks?

§ Laert. l. v. sect. 150. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 14. Senec. Consol. ad Pol. c. 20.

systems, a brief review of the ancient doctrines upon this subject will be necessary.*

It appears from the preceding parts of this work, that almost all ancient philosophers agreed in admitting two principles in nature, one active and the other passive, but that they differed in the manner in which they conceived these principles to subsist. Some held God and Matter to be two principles, which are eternally opposite, not only differing in their essence, but having no common principle by which they can be united. This was the doctrine taught by Anaxagoras, and, after him, by Plato, and the whole Old Academy. This system, for the sake of perspicuity, we will call **THE DUALISTIC SYSTEM**. Others were convinced that nature consists of these two principles; but finding themselves perplexed by the difficulty with which they saw the Dualistic System to be encumbered, that of supposing two independent and opposite principles, they supposed both these to be comprehended in one universe, and conceived them to be united by a necessary and essential bond. To effect this, two different hypotheses were proposed. Some thought God to have been eternally united to matter in one whole, which they called Chaos, whence it was sent forth, and at a certain time brought into form, by the energy of the divine inhabiting mind. This was the **SYSTEM OF EMANATION**, commonly embraced by the ancient barbaric philosophers, and afterwards admitted into the early theogonies of the Greeks. Others attempted to explain the subject more philosophically, and to avoid the absurdity which they conceived to attend both the former systems, asserted that God the rational and efficient principle, is as intimately connected with the universe, as the human mind with the body, and is a forming power, so originally and necessarily inherent in matter, that it is to be conceived as a natural part of the original chaos. This system seems not only to have been received by the Ionic philosophers, Thales and Anaximander, but by the Pythagoreans, the followers of Heraclitus, and others. Zeno, determining to innovate upon the doctrine of the Academy, and neither choosing to adopt the Dualistic, nor the Emanative System, embraced the third hypothesis, which, though not originally his own, we shall distinguish by the name of the **STOICAL SYSTEM**. Unwilling to admit, on the one hand, two opposite principles, both primary and independent, and both absolute and infinite, or, on the other, to suppose matter, which is in its nature diametrically opposite to that of God, the active efficient cause, to have been derived by emanation from him; yet finding himself wholly unable to derive these two principles from any common source, he confounded their essence, and maintained that they were so essentially united, that their nature was one and the same. That this was the real doctrine of the Stoics will appear from the sequel.

The Stoical system teaches, that both the active and passive principles in nature are corporeal, since whatever acts or suffers must be so. The efficient cause, or God, is pure ether, or fire, inhabiting the exterior surface of the heavens, where every thing which is divine is placed. This ethereal substance, or divine fire, comprehends all the vital principles by which individual beings are necessarily produced, and contains the forms of

* Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. ii. Senec. Consol. ad Helv. c. 8. Lactant. Inst. l. vii. c. 3. Sext. ad Math. l. ix. sect. 332. Suidas in v. *πᾶν*. Stobæus, Ecl. Phys. c. 13. 25. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. Laert. l. vii. sect. 143. Senec. Ep. 65. 97. Antonin. l. ii. sect. 2. l. iv. sect. 40. 21. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 16.

things, which, from the highest regions of the universe, are diffused through every other part of nature.*

Seneca, indeed, calls God Incorporeal Reason: but by this term he can only mean to distinguish the divine ethereal substance from gross bodies; for, according to the Stoics, whatever has a substantial existence is corporeal; nothing is incorporeal, except that infinite vacuum which surrounds the universe; even mind and voice are corporeal, and, in like manner, Deity.

Matter, or the passive principle, in the Stoical system, is destitute of all qualities, but ready to receive any form; inactive, and without motion, unless moved by some external cause. The contrary principle, or the ethereal operative fire, being active, and capable of producing all things from matter, with consummate skill, according to the forms which it contains, although in its nature corporeal, considered in opposition to gross and sluggish matter, or to the elements, is said to be immaterial and spiritual.†

For want of carefully attending to the preceding distinction, some writers have been so far imposed upon by the bold innovations of the Stoics in the use of terms, as to infer from the appellations which they sometimes apply to the Deity that they conceived him to be strictly and properly incorporeal. The truth appears to be, that, as they sometimes spoke of the soul of man, a portion of the divinity, as an exceedingly rare and subtle body, *σῶμα ἀραιότερον καὶ λεπτομερέστερον*, and sometimes as a warm or fiery spirit, *πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον*,‡ so they spoke of the Deity as corporeal, considered as distinct from the incorporeal vacuum, or infinite space, but as spiritual, considered in opposition to gross and inactive matter. They taught, indeed, that God is underived, incorruptible, and eternal; possessed of intelligence; good and perfect; the efficient cause of all the peculiar qualities or forms of things; and the constant preserver and governor of the world; and they described the Deity under many noble images, and in the most elevated language. The hymn of Cleanthes,§ in particular, is justly admired for the grandeur of its sentiments, and the sublimity of its diction. But if, in reading these descriptions, we hastily associate with them modern conceptions of Deity, and neglect to recur to the leading principles of the sect, we shall be led into fundamental misapprehensions of the true doctrine of Stoicism; for, according to this sect, God and Matter are alike underived and eternal, and God is the former of the universe in no other sense, than as he has been the necessary efficient cause by which motion and form have been impressed upon matter. What unworthy notions the Stoics entertained of God sufficiently appears from the single opinion of his finite nature; an opinion which necessarily followed from the notion, that he is only a part of a spherical, and therefore a finite universe.

On the doctrine of divine providence, which was one of the chief points upon which the Stoics disputed with the Epicureans, much is written, and with great strength and elegance, by Seneca, Epictetus, and other later Stoics. But we are not to judge of the genuine and original doctrine of this sect from the discourses of writers who had probably improved their

* Laert. l. vii. sect. 55. Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. Senec. Ep. 89. 102. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 7. Orig. Philosophum, c. 21. p. 143.

† Laert. l. v. sect. 147. 150. Sen. Ep. 65. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 14. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. 6.

‡ Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. t. iii. p. 3. Laert. l. vii. sect. 140.

§ Clem. Alex. ad Gent. p. 47. Stob. H. Stephan. Poes. Phil. p. 49. Cudworth, Int. Syst. c. iv. sect. 25.

notions, or at least corrected their language, on this subject, by visiting the Christian school.* The only way to form an accurate judgment of their opinions concerning providence is, to compare their popular language upon this head with their general system, and explain the former consistently with the fundamental principles of the latter. If this be fairly done, it will appear that the agency of Deity is, according to the Stoics, nothing more than the active motion of a celestial ether or fire, possessed of intelligence, which at first gave form to the shapeless mass of gross matter, and being always essentially united to the visible world, by the same necessary agency, preserves its order and harmony. The Stoic idea of providence is, not that of an infinitely wise and good being, wholly independent of matter, freely directing and governing all things, but that of a necessary chain of causes and effects, arising from the action of a power, which is itself a part of the machine which it regulates, and which, equally with that machine, is subject to the immutable law of necessity. Providence, in the Stoic creed, is only another name for absolute necessity, or fate, to which God and Matter, or the universe which consists of both, is immutably subject.†

The rational, efficient, and active principle in nature, the Stoics called by various names; Nature, Fate, Jupiter, God. "What is nature," says Seneca, ‡ "but God?—the divine reason, inherent in the whole universe, and all its parts; or you may call Him, if you please, the Author of all things." And again, "Whatever appellations imply celestial power and energy may be justly applied to God; his names may properly be as numerous as his offices." The term Nature, when it is at all distinguished in the Stoic system from God, denotes, not a separate agent, but that order of things which is necessarily produced by his perpetual agency.

Since the active principle of nature is comprehended within the world, and with matter makes one whole, it necessarily follows, that God penetrates, pervades, and animates matter, and the things which are formed from it, or, in other words, that he is the Soul of the universe. In this manner he is described by Manilius:§

——— Vivere mundum
Et rationis agi motu, cum spiritus unus
Per cunctas habitat partes, atque irriget orbem,
Omnia pervolitans corpusque animale figuret. (b)

The universe is, according to Zeno and his followers, οὐσία ἐμψυχος καὶ αἰσθητικὴ, || "a sentient and animated being." Nor was this a new tenet, but, in some sort, the doctrine of all antiquity. Zeno, however, understood this doctrine in a sense different from that in which it was conceived by many former philosophers. Plato, and other advocates of the Dualistic system, supposed the world to be endued with a soul, but conceived this soul to have been derived from the Deity, of an inferior nature, and united by the will and power of God, at a certain time, to matter, which till then had been without this animating principle. Those philosophers who held the system of emanation conceived God to have been eternally the source of matter, from whom it proceeded, and on whom it is inseparably depend-

* Arrian. Epict. l. i. Diss. 12.

† Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. Antonin. l. vii. sect. 9.

‡ De Benef. l. iv. c. 7. Quæst. Nat. l. i. c. 45. Lactant. l. ii. sect. 148.

§ Lib. ii.

(a) One source of life, one animating soul
Dwells in each part, and forms and guides the whole.

|| Laert. l. vii. sect. 139.

ent for motion and animation. But Pythagoras, Heraclitus, and after these Zeno, taking it for granted that there is no real existence which is not corporeal, conceived nature to be One Whole, consisting of a subtle ether and gross matter, the former the active, the latter the passive principle, as essentially united as the soul and body of man: that is, they supposed God, with respect to nature, to be, not a co-existing, but an informing principle.

In fine, although the Deity of the Stoics is the efficient and intelligent cause of all the effects which are produced in the world, yet his nature and attributes are much less perfect than many admirers of this system have represented. Residing primarily in the superior celestial region, and being thence diffused, as a subtle fire, through a finite world, his universal presence falls far short of the attribute of immensity, as it belongs to the Divine nature.* United to matter by the immutable chain of necessity, he wants that freedom of action which appears to be one of the most essential characters of the Supreme Being. The original communication, and the perpetual preservation of forms and qualities, by the necessary action of a subtle fire upon matter, though this principle be supposed to be possessed of reason and intelligence as well as energy, is certainly an idea of deity which falls far short of that pure and sublime doctrine, which represents God as creating and governing the world by voluntary agency, and with wise design. That the Deity is, according to the Stoic doctrine, subject to the law of necessity no less than matter and all subordinate beings, Seneca, and other writers of this sect, expressly assert. "Both gods and men are bound," says he, "by the same chain of necessity. Divine and human affairs are alike borne along in an irresistible current; cause depends upon cause; effects arise in a long succession; nothing happens by accident, but every thing comes to pass in the established order of nature."†

Portions of the ethereal soul of the world being distributed throughout all the parts of the universe, and animating all bodies, hence arise, in the system of the Stoics, inferior gods and demons, with which all nature is peopled. All these divinities they considered as derived from the soul of nature, and as limited in their duration. "Chrysippus and Cleanthes," says Plutarch,‡ "taught that the heavens, the earth, the air, and the sea, are full of gods; but that none of them are immortal, except Jupiter, to whom all the rest will at length return, and in whom they will lose their separate existence." Demons were divided by the Stoics into superior and inferior; the superior those which inhabited the sun and stars, which they considered as *οὐράσις ψυχικός*, animated substances; the inferior, human souls separated from the body, or heroes. "Illustrious men," says Cicero,§ "whose souls survive and enjoy immortality, are justly esteemed to be gods, since they are of an excellent and immortal nature." Besides this, there seems little reason to doubt that the Stoics acknowledged the existence of inferior divinities, portions of the soul of the world, and taught that they are endued with human passions, and therefore are proper objects of sacrifice and worship.||

As the Stoics held, that all the inferior divinities are portions separated

* Seneca, *Præf. Qu. Nat.* Aul. Gellius, l. vi. c. 11.

† Seneca de *Providentia*, c. 5. Anton. l. iv. sect. 10. 24. 34. Aul. Gell. l. vi. c. 2.

‡ De *Repugn. Stoic.* t. iii. p. 29, &c. Plut. *Plac. Phil.* l. i. c. 8.

§ Nat. D. l. ii. c. 24. Laert. l. vii. sect. 151.

|| Plut. *ib.* Senec. *Ep.* 110. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 31. Plin. l. ii. c. 7. Arrian. l. i. Diss. 14. Laert. l. vii. sect. 147.

from the soul of the world ; so they conceived that a period would arrive when they would return into the first celestial fire, and supposed that, at the same time, the whole visible world would be consumed in one general conflagration.*

The Stoics, as well as all other ancient philosophers, were much perplexed with the great question concerning the Origin of Evil. Some of them adopted the notion of the Platonists, and ascribed it to the defective nature of matter, which it was not in the power of the Great Artificer to change ; asserting, that imperfections appear in the world, not through any defect of skill in its Author, but because matter will not admit of the accomplishment of his designs.† But it was perceived by others that this hypothesis was inconsistent with the fundamental doctrine of Stoicism concerning nature. For since, according to this system, matter itself receives all its qualities from God, if its defects be the cause of evil, these defects must be ultimately ascribed to him. No other way of relieving this difficulty remained but to have recourse to fate, and say, that evil was the necessary consequence of that eternal necessity, to which the great Whole, comprehending both God and Matter, is subject. Thus when Chrysippus was asked,‡ whether diseases were to be ascribed to Divine Providence, he replied, that it was not the intention of nature that those things should happen ; nor were they conformable to the will of the Author of nature and Parent of all good things ; but that, in framing the world, some inconveniences had adhered, by necessary consequence, to his wise and useful plan.

Concerning the Second Principle in the universe, Matter, and concerning the visible world, the doctrine of the Stoics is briefly this : Matter is the first essence of all things, destitute of, but capable of receiving, qualities. Considered universally, it is an eternal whole, which neither increases nor decreases. Considered with respect to its parts, it is capable of increase and diminution, of collision and separation, and is perpetually changing. Bodies are continually tending towards dissolution ; matter always remains the same. Matter is not infinite, but finite, being circumscribed by the limits of the world ; but its parts are infinitely divisible.§

The world is spherical in its form, and is surrounded by an infinite vacuum. The action of the Divine nature upon matter first produced the element of moisture, and then the other elements, fire, air, and earth, of which all bodies are composed. Air and fire have essential levity, or tend towards the exterior surface of the world ; earth and water have essential gravity, or tend towards the centre. All the elements are capable of reciprocal conversion ; air passing into fire, or into water ; earth into air and water ; but there is this essential difference among the elements, that fire and air have within themselves a principle of motion, while water and earth are merely passive.||

The sun is a sphere larger than the earth, consisting of fire of the purest kind : it is therefore an animated being, and the first of the derived divinities. The stars too are of the same kind, fiery bodies endued with perception and intelligence, and therefore to be ranked among the gods. They are nourished by exhalations from the seas and rivers.¶

* Plut. Rep. Stoic. t. iii. p. 29. Senec. Ep. 9.

† Senec. de Provid. c. 5.

‡ Aul. Gell. l. vi. c. 1.

§ Laert. l. vii. sect. 150. Ant. l. iv. sect. 4. Sen. Ep. 36. 38. 58. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 14.

|| Plut. Plac. Phil. l. ii. c. 1, 2. 18. Laert. l. vii. sect. 136. 141, 142. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 17. 24. Sen. Nat. Qu. l. iii. c. 20. Lucret. l. i. v. 781.

¶ Laert. l. vii. sect. 142. 144. Anton. l. iii. sect. 26. Arrian, l. i. c. 14. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. ii. c. 15. Nat. Deor. l. ii. c. 15.

Because the heavenly bodies are animated, they are capable of foreseeing future events, and of declaring to mankind, by certain signs, the appointments of fate. Manilius expresses the doctrine of his sect, when he says,

————— *Conscia fati*
Sidera diversos hominum variantia casus. (a)

The foundation of this notion is, that the stars, being pure and perfect portions of the Divine nature, must be acquainted with the decrees of fate.*

The celestial bodies move in their orbits, in the following order: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, the Moon. The moon, which occupies the lowest part of the ethereal region, is, like the rest, a fiery luminary possessed of intelligence; but the fire is mixed with air; whence the spots upon its surface. Its form is spherical, and its motion spiral, and of two kinds; the one, from east to west, with the heavens; the other, from west to east, through the signs of the Zodiac.†

Below the sphere of the moon is the region of the air. The earth is the most dense part of the world, and is the main support of nature, like the bones of an animated body. The earth, with its waters, forms a globe, which is the centre of the world: it always remains immovable.‡

The world, including the whole of nature, God and Matter, subsisted from eternity, and will for ever subsist; but the present regular frame of nature had a beginning, and will have an end. The parts tend towards a dissolution, but the whole remains immutably the same. The world is liable to destruction from the prevalence of moisture, or of dryness; the former producing an universal inundation, the latter an universal conflagration. These succeed each other in nature as regularly as winter and summer. When the universal inundation takes place, the whole surface of the earth is covered with water, and all animal life is destroyed; after which, nature is renewed and subsists as before, till the element of fire, becoming prevalent in its turn, dries up all the moisture, converts every substance into its own nature, and at last, by an universal conflagration, reduces the world to its pristine state. At this period, all material forms are lost in one chaotic mass: all animated nature is re-united to the Deity, and nature again exists in its original form, as one whole, consisting of God and Matter. From this chaotic state, however, it again emerges, by the energy of the Efficient Principle, and gods and men, and all the forms of regulated nature, are renewed, to be dissolved and renewed in endless succession.§

The general inundation, which is admitted into the Stoic system, however similar in terms to the ancient tradition concerning the deluge, differs from it in this material respect, that it happens at regular intervals by the same necessary law which produces the succession of the seasons. The doctrine of conflagration is a natural consequence of the general system of Stoicism. For since, according to this system, the whole process of nature is carried on in a necessary series of causes and effects, when that operative fire

(a) The conscious stars, versed in the will of fate,
Unfold what good or ill on mortals wait.

* Sen. Nat. Qu. 1. ii. c. 32. Ep. 80.

† Cic. Nat. D. 1. ii. c. 20. Laert. 1. vii. sect. 145. Stob. p. 59. Plut. de Plac. Phil. 1. ii. c. 25. De Fac. Lun. t. iii. p. 353.

‡ Stob. 1. c. p. 48. Laert. 1. vii. sect. 140. 155. Plut. 1. c. c. 9, 10.

§ Laert. Philo de Mund. incorr. p. 940. Euseb. Præp. 1. iv. p. 816. Cic. de N. Deor. 1. iii. c. 46. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 24. Sen. Qu. Nat. 1. iii. c. 27. 29. Ep. 9. 36. 71. Anton. 1. v. sect. 13. 1. x. sect. 7. 1. xi. sect. 1.

which at first, bursting from chaos, gave form to all things, and which has since pervaded and animated all nature, shall have consumed its nutriment, that is, when the vapours which are the food of the celestial fires shall be exhausted, a deficiency of moisture must produce an universal conflagration. This grand revolution in nature is, after the doctrine of the Stoics, thus elegantly described by Ovid: *

Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur, affore tempus,
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regio cœli
Ardeat, et mundi moles operosa laboret. (a)

Seneca, speaking of the same event, says,† the time will come when the world will be consumed, that it may be again renewed; when the powers of Nature will be turned against herself; when stars will rush upon stars, and the whole material world, which now appears resplendent with beauty and harmony, will be destroyed in one general conflagration. In this grand catastrophe of nature, all animated beings (excepting the Universal Intelligence) men, heroes, demons, and gods, shall perish together. Seneca the tragedian, who was of the same school with the philosopher, writes:‡

Cœli regia concidet,
Certos atque obitus trahet,
Atque omnes pariter deos
Perdet mors aliqua et chaos. (b)

During the course of this vast conflagration, the Stoics conceived that the world would expand, and in its chaotic state continue to fill a much larger portion of infinite space than it had required, or would again require, in a state of orderly arrangement. § After an interval of rest, says Seneca,|| in which the Deity will be intent upon his own conceptions, the world will be entirely renewed; every animal will be reproduced; and a race of men, free from guilt, and born under happier stars, will re-people the earth. Degeneracy and corruption will, however, again creep into the world; for it is only whilst the human race is young that innocence remains upon the earth. The grand course of things, from the birth to the destruction of the world, which, according to the Stoics, is to be repeated in endless succession, is accomplished within a certain period. This period, or fated round of nature, is probably what the ancients meant by the Great Year.

From this brief account of the Stoic doctrine of the final conflagration, it evidently appears that it differs in several essential particulars from the Christian doctrine on this head. It is the work of fate, performed by natural and mechanical laws, and repeated eternally at certain periods, without any good reason, since with every revolution the same disorders and vices return. Philo justly ridicules this dogma; remarking,¶ that the Stoics make their deities act like children, who raise up piles of sand only for the pleasure of beating them down. Several of the Stoics themselves were aware of the absurdity of this system, and rejected it; particularly Boethius, Posidonius, Diogenes the Babylonian, and Panætius.

* Metam. l. i. v. 256.

(a) Rememb'ring in the fates a time when fire
Should to the battlements of heaven aspire,
When all his blazing worlds above should burn,
And all the inferior globe to cinders turn. DRYDEN.

† Ad Marcian. c. ult.

‡ Herc. Oct. v. 1112.

(b) The mighty palace of the sky,
In ruin fall'n is doom'd to lie,
And all the gods, its wreck beneath,
Shall sink in chaos and in death.

§ Plut. Repug. t. iii. p. 462.

|| Ep. 9. Qu. Nat. c. ult.

¶ L. c.

It is a necessary consequence of this doctrine, of the conflagration and subsequent restoration of all things, that the race of men will return to life. Whence it appears in what sense we are to understand the Stoic doctrine of a resurrection, upon which Seneca has written with so much elegance; and what meaning we are to annex to his words, when he says,* “Death, of which we are so much afraid, and which we are so desirous to avoid, is only the interruption, not the destruction, of our existence; the day will come which will restore us to life.” This tenet is not to be confounded with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body; for, according to the Stoics, men return to life, not by the voluntary appointment of a wise and merciful God, but by the law of fate; and are not renewed for the enjoyment of a better and happier condition, but drawn back into their former state of imperfection and misery. Accordingly Seneca says, “This restoration many would reject, were it not that their renovated life is accompanied with a total oblivion of past events.”†

Man, according to the Stoics, is an image of the world; one whole, composed of body and mind. The mind of man is a spark of that divine fire, which is the soul of the world. That Eternal Reason, by which all nature is animated, and which, by its productive power, communicates essential qualities to every thing that exists, impressed the forms, qualities, and powers of man upon certain portions of matter. The soul of man, being a portion of the Deity, is then of the same nature; a subtle fiery substance, endued with intelligence and reason: but the energy of this principle is confined and restrained, in the birth of man, by its union with grosser matter.‡

Concerning the duration of the soul of man the Stoics entertained very different opinions. Cleanthes thought that all souls would remain till the final conflagration. Chrysippus was of opinion that this would only be the lot of the wise and good;§ and Seneca|| seems to have entertained the same notion. Epictetus and Antoninus¶ asserted, that as soon as the soul is released from the body, it returns to the soul of the world, or is lost in the universal principle of fire. Some were so absurd as to believe, that the human soul, consisting of a fiery spirit condensed by its union with air, is capable of being extinguished.** Whilst others, with equal absurdity, conceived that the human soul, shut up within the gross body, could not, at death, find a free passage, but remained with the body till it was entirely destroyed. The only idea of the immortality of the soul, which seems to have been entertained by the Stoics, was that of a renovation of being, in that fated circuit of things which we have seen to be one of their fundamental doctrines. In the universal restoration of nature, some imagined that each individual would return to its former body; whilst others conceived that, after a revolution of the Great Year, similar souls would be placed in similar bodies.

The soul, which, as appears from what has been said concerning its origin, was conceived by the Stoics to have been material, they represented as consisting of eight distinct parts; namely, the five senses, the productive

* Ep. 36. † L. c.

‡ Manil. l. ii. Cic. de Leg. l. i. Sen. Ep. 90. Qu. Nat. l. ii. c. 6. l. iii. c. 29. ad Helv. c. 6. Plut. de Repug. Stoic. t. iii. p. 31. Cic. in Somn. Scip. Plin. l. ii. c. 26. Arrian, l. i. Diss. 14. iii. 24. Anton. l. iv. sect. 4. l. ii. sect. 4. l. ix. sect. 8. Laert. l. vii. sect. 158.

§ Laert. l. vii. sect. 157. Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 7.

|| Senec. ad Marc. c. ult. Ep. 63.

¶ Arr. l. iii. Diss. 13. Ant. l. iv. sect. 13. 21.

** Sen. Ep. 57. Thomasius de Morte.

faculty, the power of speech, and the ruling part, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, or reason.* Those who held the existence of the soul after death supposed it to be removed into the celestial regions of the gods, where it remains till, at the general conflagration, all souls, both human and divine, shall be lost in the Deity. But many supposed that before they were admitted among the divinities they must purge away their inherent vices and imperfections, by a temporary residence in the aerial region between the earth and the moon, or in the moon itself.† With respect to depraved and ignoble souls, it was a common opinion, that after death they were agitated in the lower region of the air, till the fiery parts were separated from the grosser, and rose by their natural levity to the orbit of the moon, where they were still further purified and refined; a kind of mechanical purgatory, which very well agreed with the mechanical principles of the Stoic philosophy. These fancies are treated with ridicule by Epictetus and Seneca,‡ who frequently speak of the happiness of good men after death in terms which might have suited a better system. Seneca, consoling Marcia under the loss of her son, says, § “The sacred assembly of the Scipios and Catos, who have themselves despised life, and obtained freedom by death, shall welcome the youth to the region of happy souls. Your father himself (for all are there known to all) shall embrace his grandson, and shall direct his eyes, now furnished with new light, along the courses of the neighbouring stars, with delight explaining to him the mysteries of nature, not from conjecture, but from certain knowledge. Like a welcome guide in an unknown city, he will unfold to the inquiring stranger the causes of the celestial appearances.”

Upon the preceding principles of physics depend the whole Stoic doctrine of MORALS. Conceiving God to be the principal part of nature, by whose energy all bodies are formed, moved, and arranged, and human reason to be a portion of the Divinity, it was their fundamental doctrine in ethics, that in human life one ultimate end ought for its own sake to be pursued; and that this end is, to live agreeably to nature, that is, to be conformed to the law of fate by which the world is governed, and to the reason of that divine and celestial fire which animates all things. Since man is himself a microcosm, composed, like the world, of matter and a rational principle, it becomes him to live as a part of the great whole, and to accommodate all his desires and pursuits to the general arrangement of nature. ||

Various terms were made use of, by different philosophers of the Porch, to express this doctrine. Chrysippus taught that we ought to live according to our experience of natural events; Cleanthes, that we should follow the nature common to all men; Diogenes the Babylonian, that we should conform to the reason and law of life, choosing those things which are naturally eligible, and rejecting those things which nature instructs us to reject; Panætius, that we should yield to the impressions of nature; and Posidonius, that we should contemplate truth, follow nature, and imitate God, by making the eternal reason, and immutable law of the universe, the rule of our actions.

Thus to live according to nature, as the Stoics teach, is virtue; ¶ and

* Laert. l. v. sect. 157. Plut. Plac. l. iv. c. 2—4.

† Sen. ad Marc. c. 25. Plut. de Fac. Lun. t. iii. 383. Lact. l. vii. c. 7.

‡ Arr. l. iii. Diss. 13. Sen. ad Marc. c. 19. Ep. 117. § Ad Marc. c. 25.

|| Laert. l. vii. sect. 84, &c. Stob. Ecl. Eth. l. ii. c. 3. p. 172. edit. Canteri. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 11. Sen. Ep. 41. Anton. l. vi. sect. 15. Hor. Ep. i. 18.

¶ Stob. l. c. Anton. l. vi. sect. 15. Arr. l. i. Diss. 1. l. iii. Diss. 24. Epict. Enchir. c. 1, 2. Sen. Ep. 16. 31. 41. 74. 76. Vit. Beat. c. 15.

virtue is itself happiness; for the supreme good is to live according to a just conception of the real nature of things, choosing that which is in itself eligible, and rejecting the contrary. Every man, having within himself a capacity of discerning and following the law of nature, has his happiness in his own power, and is a divinity to himself. Horace seems to have adopted this notion when he says; *

Sed satis est orare Jovem quæ ponit et aufert :
Det vitam, det opes; æquum mî animum ipse parabo. (a)

Wisdom consists in distinguishing good from evil.† Good is that which produces happiness according to the nature of a rational being. As the order of the world consists in an invariable conformity to the law of fate, so the happiness of man is εὖροια, ‡ that course of life which flows in an uninterrupted current according to the law of nature. Since those things only are truly good, which are becoming and virtuous, and virtue, which is seated in the mind, is alone sufficient for happiness, external things contribute nothing towards happiness, and therefore are not in themselves good. The wise man will only value riches, honour, beauty, and other external enjoyments, as means and instruments of virtue; for in every condition he is happy in the possession of a mind accommodated to nature.§ Pain, which does not belong to the mind, is no evil. The wise man will be happy in the midst of torture. All external things are indifferent, since they cannot affect the happiness of man: nevertheless, some of these are conducive, others unfavourable, to the life which is according to nature, and as such are proper objects of preference or rejection, προηγμένα ἢ ἀποπροηγμένα.|| Every virtue being a conformity to nature, and every vice a deviation from it, all virtues and vices are equal.¶ One act of beneficence, or justice, is not more truly so than another; one fraud is not more a fraud than another; therefore there is no other difference in the essential nature of moral actions, than that some are vicious, and others virtuous. This is the doctrine to which Horace refers, when he says, **

Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque
Qui teneros caules alieni frerit horti,
Et qui nocturnus sacra divum legerit. (b)

The Stoics advanced many extravagant assertions concerning their wise man.†† For example, that he feels neither pain nor pleasure; that he exercises no pity; that he is free from faults; that he is divine; that he can neither deceive, nor be deceived; that he does all things well; that he alone is great, noble, ingenuous; that he is the only friend; that he alone is free; that he is a prophet, a priest, and a king; and the like. These paradoxical vauntings are humorously ridiculed by Horace: ‡‡

* Ep. l. i. 18. ult.

(a) For life and wealth to Jove I'll pray;
These Jove can give or take away:
But for a firm and equal mind,
This blessing in myself I'll find.

FRANCIS.

† Sen. Ep. 71. 118. Laert. l. vii. sect. 88. 102. Cic. de Fin. l. iii. c. 10. Anton. l. ii. sect. 3. ‡ Epict. Ench. c. 13. Anton. l. x. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. iii. c. 21.

§ Laert. sect. 92—102. Cic. de Fin. l. iii. c. 10. 34. Sext. Emp. ib. c. 20—24. Stob. Ecl. Eth. c. 4. p. 166, &c. || De Fin. l. iii. c. 12. 15, 16. Senec. Ep. 74.

¶ Laert. sect. 120. Cic. Parad. 3. Stob. Ecl. Eth. p. 174. ** Serm. l. i. Sat. 4.

(b) Nor can we judge, compared by reason's eye,
Pill'ring and sacrilege of equal die.

†† Ciceron. Paradoxa. Laert. l. vii. sect. 117, &c. Stob. l. c.

‡‡ Serm. l. i. Sat. iii. apud fin.

Si dives, qui sapiens est,
Et sutor bonus, et solus formosus, et est rex,
Cur optas quod habes? (a)

In order to conceive the true notion of the Stoics concerning their wise man, it must be clearly understood, that they did not suppose such a man actually to exist, but that they framed in their imagination an image of perfection, towards which every man should continually aspire. All the extravagant things which are to be met with in their writings on this subject may be referred to their general principle of the entire sufficiency of virtue to happiness, and the consequent indifference of all external circumstances. Or they may, perhaps, be placed to the account of mere logomachy; * for nothing was more common with the philosophers of the Porch than to depart from the usual definition of terms, that they might excite admiration by positions, which, when fairly explained, appeared either perfectly obvious, or exceedingly trifling. Seneca himself honestly confesses this: "You boast that you are capable of great attainments, far beyond what is commonly to be desired, or even credited. In your vaunting you assert that a wise man cannot be poor; and yet you do not deny that he is often destitute of attendants, clothing, and habitation. Remove the mask of your swelling words, by restoring to things their proper names, and you are immediately brought down to a level with others."

It is one of the boasts of the Stoics that their wise man is perfectly free, and can do whatever he pleases without restraint or compulsion: † and yet nothing is more certain than that they understood this freedom to consist merely in the superiority of virtue to all external circumstances; for, according to the fundamental doctrine of the Porch, the human mind is bound by the indissoluble chain of nature, and subject to the eternal law of fate; and all human actions are a necessary consequence of that order by which all beings in nature are irresistibly impelled. Notwithstanding the lofty things which Seneca sometimes says in praise of human liberty, he acknowledges ‡ that man is subject to the law of necessity. "Whatever happens, think that it ought to happen, and cast no reproach upon nature. It is best to endure patiently what you cannot mend, and to concur with the Divine Being, by whom all things are directed, without murmuring. He is a bad soldier who follows his commander reluctantly: let us receive the orders of our leader with cheerfulness, and execute them with alacrity; and let us never desert the path marked out for us in the course of nature because it is perplexed with difficulties. That man possesses a truly great mind who delivers himself up entirely to God."

Concerning the progress of virtue, and the several species of virtuous actions, the doctrine of the Stoics is as follows:

Nature impels every man to pursue whatever appears to him to be good. Self-preservation and defence is the first law of animated nature. All animals necessarily derive pleasure from those things which are suited to them; but the first object of pursuit is, not pleasure, but conformity to nature. Every one, therefore, who has a right discernment of what is good, will be chiefly concerned to conform to nature in all its actions and

- (a) Is not the wise a shoemaker profess'd,
Handsome and rich, of monarchy possess'd?
Why wish for what you have?

FRANCIS.

* Εἰς τὴν τῶν ἑσλῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ἀγοράν. Plut. Logom. † Sen. Ep. 41. 51.

‡ Ep. 107. Conf. Arr. l. iii. Diss. 26. Anton. l. vii. sect. 31. l. viii. sect. 41. l. x. sect. 32. l. iv. sect. 32. l. v. sect. 3.

pursuits. This is the origin of moral obligation. False conceptions of good produce violent emotions and passions, which are contrary to right reason and nature. Of these the principal are animal desires, joy, fear, and sorrow. Passions are the desires of the mind, which it is the office of reason to prevent, or cure. Wisdom subjects the mind to the controul of reason, and thus produces a conformity to nature and virtue.*

Of virtues, some are contemplative, others practical; some primary, others subordinate. The contemplative, or scientific virtues, are those which consist in just conceptions and principles; the practical, those which concern the conduct of life. The primary virtues are prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice. Prudence respects the choice and pursuit of goods; temperance, the government of the appetites; fortitude, the endurance of that which is commonly esteemed evil; and justice, the offices of social life.†

All virtues being the same in their origin and end, are mutually related and dependant; so that he who possesses one possesses all. As there is no medium between a right and a curve line, so there is no mean between virtue and vice; virtue and vice admit of no degrees, either of excess or defect. Virtue may be taught, and bad men may become good men. Virtue is to be sought for its own sake, not through the fear of punishment, or the hope of reward; for virtue being a conformity to nature, is in itself happiness.‡

Of actions which proceed from desire, some are good, some are bad, and others indifferent. Good actions are either, *κατορθώματα*, actions in themselves right, or, *καθήκοντα*, those concerning which it may be asserted with probability that they are convenient, and conducive to happiness. Bad actions are those which nature and reason teach us to avoid. Indifferent actions are such as reason neither prescribes nor prohibits.§

Duties may be divided into three classes, as they respect God, ourselves, and our neighbour.||

The duties of religion are, to think justly concerning God, and to worship him piously. He thinks justly of God, who believes him to be the Supreme Director of human affairs, and the Author of all that is good and fitting in human life. He worships God piously, who reveres him above all beings; who perceives and acknowledges him in all events; who is in every thing resigned and obedient to his will; who patiently receives whatever befalls him, from a persuasion that whatever God appoints must be right; and in fine, who cheerfully follows, wherever Divine Providence leads him, even though it be to suffering and death.¶

The sum of a man's duty with respect to himself is, to subdue his passions, of joy and sorrow, hope and fear, and even pity. He who is, in this respect, perfectly master of himself, is a wise man; and in proportion as we approach towards a state of apathy, we advance towards perfection. Virtuous self-command consists, not in preventing the casual impressions of external objects upon the senses, in which the mind is rather passive than active; but in not giving a voluntary assent to those passions which external objects excite. A wise man may justly and reasonably withdraw

* Laert. l. vii. sect. 85—90. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. iv. c. 6. De Fin. l. iv. c. 5, 6, 9, 10, 20, 23. Stob. l. c. p. 175, 176. † Laert. sect. 92, 93. Stob. p. 167.

‡ Laert. sect. 125—127. Stob. l. c. Plut. de Stoic. Rep. t. v. p. 10. De Fin. l. iv.

§ Laert. sect. 108. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 17. de Offic. l. i. c. 3. Stob. l. c.

|| Epict. Ench. c. 37. Arrian, l. ii. Diss. 14. l. iii. Diss. 2. Simplic. ad Enchir. Anton. l. i. sect. 12. viii. 27. ix. 22.

¶ Epict. l. c. Arr. l. i. Diss. xii. 14. 16. Anton. l. ii. sect. 11. l. vi. sect. 43. Seneca de Tranquil. Animi, &c. passim.

from life, whenever he finds it expedient; not only because life and death are among those things which are in their nature indifferent, but also because life may be less consistent with virtue than death. Since all duty arises from a conformity to nature, it may happen that a man may be in such circumstances, that to remain in life may be more contrary to nature than to depart. A wise man will, at the close of every day, take a retrospect of his words and actions, that he may confess his errors and amend. The first and noblest office of wisdom is, to examine ourselves and regulate our dispositions and actions by the law of virtue. Hence will arise self-denial, and a contempt of pleasure. A wise man will never suffer himself to be diverted from his duty by any prospect of indulgence, or any fear of loss, pain, or death.*

The duty we owe towards others, is to love all men, even our enemies. A good man will love his neighbour from his heart, will refrain from injuring, and take pleasure in protecting and serving him. He will not think himself born for himself alone, but for the common good of mankind, and will show himself kind to all according to his ability. He will think himself sufficiently rewarded by the consciousness of well doing, and will never cease to do good, although he has no witness of his good deeds, nor is ever likely to receive any applause or recompence for his beneficence. The wise man never remits the punishment due to a criminal through pity, which is a weakness not to be indulged: nevertheless, in cases where reason suggests sufficient grounds for clemency, he will not treat a delinquent with rigour. He will relieve the sick, assist the shipwrecked, afford protection to the exile, or supply the hungry with food, but with an undisturbed mind, and a cheerful countenance; disdaining all sorrow arising from sympathy, as well as from personal sufferings. No one is more ready than the wise man to exercise lenity and benignity, and to attend to the welfare of other individuals, and to the general interest of mankind.†

Concerning the whole moral system of the Stoics, it must be remarked that, although it be highly deserving of praise for the purity, extent, and variety of its doctrines, and although it must be confessed, that in many select passages of the Stoic writings it appears exceedingly brilliant, it is nevertheless founded in false notions of nature and of man, and is raised to a degree of refinement which is extravagant and impracticable. The piety which it teaches is nothing more than a quiet submission to irresistible fate. The self-command which it enjoins annihilates the best affections of the human heart. The indulgence which it grants to suicide is inconsistent, not only with the genuine principles of piety, but even with that constancy which was the height of Stoic perfection. And even its moral doctrine of benevolence is tinctured with the fanciful principle, which lay at the foundation of the whole Stoic system, that every being is a portion of one great whole, from which it will be unnatural and impious to attempt a separation.

We must then conclude, that the ethics of Zeno and his followers, however splendid, and in many particulars well founded, deviated, as a system, from the true principles of nature, and had a tendency to produce artificial characters, and to encourage moral affectation and hypocrisy.‡

* Senec. de Ira, l. i. c. 8. iii. 37. Arr. l. iii. Diss. 2. 22. 25. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. vii. Laert. sect. 130, &c. Cic. de Fin. l. iii. c. 17. Stob. l. c. Anton. l. iii. sect. 1. 37. vii. 44. Plut. Rep. Stoic. l. c. Sen. Ep. 16, 17. 55. 58. 60. 68. 70. 77. 80.

† Anton. l. iv. sect. 37. vii. 26. 44. ix. 28. xi. 8, 9. 13. Sen. de Clem. l. ii. c. 6, 7. Conf. Gataker, Præloq. ad Anton. et Lipsii Manud. et Diss.

‡ Vidend. Jons. l. ii. c. 1. 18. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 13. Heuman. Act. Ph. v. i.

SECTION II.—OF THE DISCIPLES AND SUCCESSORS OF ZENO IN THE STOIC SCHOOL.

AFTER having discoursed so largely upon the life of Zeno, and the doctrines of his school, a brief account of his disciples and successors will suffice.

During his life, Zeno had many disciples, among whom may be particularly mentioned Perseus, Aristo the Chian, Herillus, and Sphærus.

PERSEUS,* the son of Demetrius, flourished in the hundred and thirtieth Olympiad.† He was sent by Antigonus Gonata to Zeno, for the purpose of copying his writings, and for a long time remained with him, as his companion and friend. On his return to Antigonus, he was entrusted with the charge of the citadel of Corinth; but he was probably more attentive to philosophy than to civil or military affairs; for he suffered this important fortress to be taken by Aratus.

ARISTO‡ of Chios, the son of Miltiades, was an intimate associate of Perseus, and with him attended upon the lectures of Zeno; but he discovered a disposition to loquacity, and a propensity to pleasure, which were displeasing to his master, whom he left, and went over to the school of Polemon. He soon after attempted, but with little success, to institute a school of his own. He was a violent opponent of the Academic philosophers, and particularly of Arcesilaus. The chief points in which he innovated upon the Stoic philosophy were, that there is a certain limit between virtue and vice, in which consists indifference; that all physical and logical studies are to be rejected; the former, as above all human comprehension, the latter as not interesting to human nature; that a wise man will not speculate on opinions; that the nature of the Deity is unknown; and that it is doubtful whether he is a percipient being. This last opinion seems rather to have been advanced in opposition to the Stoic idea of Deity, than to imply a general denial of the existence of God. Aristo probably conceived the questions concerning the nature of the universe, and of God, to be above the human understanding, and maintained that the doctrine of Zeno, who asserted God to be a subtle ether, or fire, diffused through the world, was inconsistent with the notion of an intelligent nature. Eratosthenes, a Cyrenean, born in the first year of the hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad,§ a man highly distinguished by his logical, mathematical, and philosophical learn-

p. 741. v. ii. p. 168. Lipsii Manuductio ad Phil. Stoic. et Diss. de Phys. Stoic. Ludg. Bat. 1644. Scioppii Manud. ad Phil. Mor. Stoic. Gataker in Antonin. Heinsii Orat. de Phil. Stoic. Meursii Athen. l. ii. c. 29. Bochart. Sac. Geog. p. ii. l. i. c. 3. Voss. de Sect. c. xix. Morhoff. Polyhist. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 8. Crophii Diss. de Gymn. Lit. p. 49. Parker de Deo, Disp. vi. Fabricii Diss. de Cavillationibus Stoicorum in Syllog. Diss. Werenfels, de Meteor. Orat. Morini Diss. de Stoicis hirciscundiis. Voss. de Theol. Gent. l. ii. c. 49. Ot. Vindel. Mel. i. 11. Thomas de Exust. Mund. Stoic. De Stoicis subdolis Christ. imit. Temp. Helvet. t. iii. Buddæi Diss. de Error. Stoic. Ot. Vind. Diss. ii. De Fat. Stoic. ap. Amœn. Lit. t. viii. Wolf. de Manich. ante Manich. sect. 36. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 25. Zimmerman. Mus. Hist. Brem. v. 1. Budd. Ann. Hist. Ph. p. 147. Epist. ad Schelhorn. Amœn. Lit. t. viii. Burgmann. Diss. de Stoa a Spinoz. Exculp. Windet de Vit. Funct. Statu. sect. 3. Thomas Diss. de Morte. Obs. Hal. t. vii. Diss. de Sect. Elp. Hist. Misc. Berol. t. v. Thomas de Loco Anim. Sap. t. i. p. 70. Roetenbecchii Diss. de Stoic. et Arist. Moral. Werenfels, de Logomach. Erudit. Op. p. 461. Centner, de Meteor Phil. Dantz. 1744. 8vo.

* Laert. l. vii. sect. 36. Suidas. Athen. l. iv. p. 162. Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 18. Pausan. Corinth. c. 8. p. 130. Arch. c. 8. p. 511. Plut. Vit. Arati, t. vi. p. 296.

† B. C. 260.

‡ Laert. l. vii. sect. 160—162.

§ B. C. 276.

ing, was his pupil. He was appointed by Ptolemy Philopater keeper of the Alexandrian library.*

HERILLUS the Carthaginian submitted the correction of his morals to Zeno, and, deserting the school of pleasure, became his disciple. His peculiar tenet was, that science is the end of life; which he probably understood not, as Cicero every where interprets his opinion the mere knowledge of abstract truth, but, as Laertius and Suidas explain it, that the conduct of life ought always to be conformable to truth. His followers are mentioned by Cicero as a distinct sect; but if it existed at all, it was of short duration, and has left nothing worthy of remembrance.†

SPHÆRUS of Boristhenes was at first a follower of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthes. He taught philosophy at Sparta, and had among his pupils the illustrious Cleomenes. He afterwards removed to Alexandria, where he enjoyed the protection of Ptolemy Philopater.‡

After the death of Zeno his school was continued by CLEANTHES§ of Assus, in Lydia. His first appearance was in the character of a wrestler. In this capacity he visited Athens, where the love of philosophy was diffused through all ranks of people. He soon caught the general spirit; and though he was possessed of no more than four drachmas, he determined to put himself under the tuition of some eminent philosopher. His first master was Crates the Academic. He afterwards became a disciple of Zeno, and a celebrated advocate for his doctrines.

The patient industry with which Cleanthes applied himself to labour, that he might procure himself the necessary supports of life without interrupting his philosophical studies, was highly meritorious. By night he drew water as a common labourer, in the public gardens, that he might have leisure in the day-time to attend the schools of philosophy. The Athenian citizens observing that, though he appeared strong and healthy, he had no visible means of subsistence, summoned him before the court of Areopagus, according to the custom of the city, to give an account of his manner of living. Upon this he produced the gardener for whom he drew water, and a woman for whom he ground meal, as witnesses to prove that he subsisted by the honest labour of his hands. The judges of the court were so much struck with admiration of this singular example of industry and perseverance, that they ordered ten *minæ* to be paid him out of the public treasury; which, however, Zeno would not suffer him to accept.|| Antigonus afterwards presented him with three thousand *minæ*. From the manner in which this philosopher supported himself, he was called *φρεάντλος*, the well-drawer.

Cleanthes was for many years so poor, that he was obliged to write the heads of his master's lectures upon shells and bones for want of money to buy paper.¶ But, notwithstanding all his poverty, he persevered in the study of philosophy, and remained a pupil of Zeno nineteen years. His natural faculties were slow; but resolution and perseverance enabled him to overcome every difficulty; and he at last became so complete a master of the Stoic system, that he was perfectly qualified to succeed Zeno in his school. His fellow-disciples often ridiculed him for his dulness, by calling him an ass; but he took no other notice of the sarcasm, than by saying in his defence, that if he was an ass, he was the better able to bear the burden

* Laert. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 30. 41. Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 14. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 30. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. Suidas in Eratosthene. Sen. Ep. 89.

† Laert. l. vii. 165—167. Suidas in *τέλος*. Tusc. Qu. l. iv.

‡ Ib. sect. 177. Athen. l. viii. c. 13. p. 354.

§ Laert. l. vii. sect. 168. Suidas.

|| Laert. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7. Sen. Ep. 44.

¶ Laert. sect. 170.

of Zeno's doctrine. Being reproved for his timidity, he replied, "It is to this quality that I am indebted for my innocence." Though he was not of the school of Arcesilaus, when he heard him condemned for undermining by his doctrine the foundations of virtue, he candidly apologised for him, by remarking, that though he might seem an enemy to Virtue in his discourses, he showed himself her friend in his conduct. Arcesilaus being informed of the handsome apology which Cleanthes had made for him, said to him, "You know how much I dislike flattery; why will you flatter me?" "Is it then flattery," replied Cleanthes, "to say of you, that you speak one thing and do another?"* Cleanthes frequently advised his pupils to conceive of pleasure, as a deity sitting on her throne, attended by the Virtues, who are ready on every occasion to whisper in her ear, "Do nothing which will occasion pain or grief to yourself or others."† A friend observing him silent in company, said, "One would think, Cleanthes, from your silence, that you took no pleasure in conversing with your friends:" Cleanthes replied, "It is because I know the value of this pleasure that I am silent, for I wish my friends to enjoy it as well as myself."‡ The reason which he assigned for the superiority of former philosophers above the present was, that formerly philosophers studied things, whereas now they study only words. When he was old, he still retained the entire use of his faculties, and often said, that he should always think life worth preserving as long as he should be able to write and study. He wrote much, but none of his writings remain, except the hymn already mentioned. Long after his death the Roman senate paid respect to his memory, by ordering a statue to be erected in honour of him at Assus.§

After Zeno, no philosopher more truly exhibited the character, or more illustriously displayed the doctrine, of the Stoic sect than CHRYSIPPUS. || He was a native of Solis, a town of Cilicia, afterwards called Pompeiopolis. His father, Apollonius, was of Tarsus. Having spent his paternal fortune (as some writers say, in the public service), he devoted himself to philosophy, and fixing his residence at Athens, became a disciple of Cleanthes; from whom, however, even during his life, he in many particulars dissented. The natural powers of his mind soon enabled him to distinguish himself above his brethren of the Porch. The ancients agree in ascribing to Chrysippus an uncommon share of acuteness and penetration. ¶ At the same time, he was indefatigably industrious. It is said, that he seldom suffered a day to pass without writing five hundred lines.** In disputation, in which he spent the greater part of his life, he discovered a degree of promptitude and confidence which approached towards audacity. He often said to his preceptor, "Give me doctrines, and I will find arguments to support them." It was a singular proof of his haughty spirit, that when a certain person asked him, what preceptor he would advise him to choose for his son, he said, "Me; for if I thought any philosopher excelled me, I would myself become his pupil." With so much contempt did he look down upon the distinctions of rank, that he would never, as other philosophers did, pay his court to princes or great men, by dedicating to them any of his writings. The vehemence and arrogance with which he supported his tenets created him many adversaries, particularly in the Academic and Epicurean sects. Even his friends of the Stoic school complained, that in the warmth of dispute, whilst he was attempting

* Laert. † Cic. de Fin. l. ii. ‡ Stob. Serm. 126. § Strabo, l. xiii. p. 610.

|| Laert. l. vii. 179, &c. Suidas. Strabo, l. xii. p. 462. Solin. c. 42. Orig. cont. Cels. l. iv. p. 202. ¶ Cic. de Nat. D. l. iii. c. 10. ** Laert.

to load his adversary with the reproach of obscurity and absurdity, his own ingenuity often failed him, and he adopted such unusual and illogical modes of reasoning as gave his opponents great advantage against him.* It was also a common practice with Chrysippus, at different times, to take the opposite sides of the same question, and thus furnish his antagonists with weapons which might easily be turned, as occasions offered, against himself. Carneades, who was one of his most able and skilful adversaries, frequently availed himself of this circumstance, and refuted Chrysippus by convicting him of inconsistency. Plutarch, in his piece, "On Stoic Contradictions," has collected many examples of inconsistent opinions, most of which are ascribed to Chrysippus. His skill in the arts of sophistry, and particularly his frequent use of the figure *sorites*, is noticed by the satirist Persius, who, on this account, alluding to the *sorites*, calls it the heap of Chrysippus :

Inventus, Chrysippe, tui finitor acervi. (a)

Although it cannot be questioned that this philosopher possessed great ingenuity and extensive learning, so that, after Zeno, he might justly be considered as the main pillar of the Stoic Porch, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that, as far as we are able at present to form a judgment of them, his discourses abounded more in curious subtleties, and nice distinctions, than in solid arguments. It was the prejudice of party, or the pride of Stoicism, rather than sound judgment and just criticism, which dictated the encomium that was passed upon him, that, if the gods themselves were to hold disputations, they would adopt the manner of Chrysippus. †

Some writers have charged this philosopher with indecent freedom of language. But it is not improbable that what he advanced of this kind was merely in the way of paradoxical assertion, thrown out in the course of disputation, for the sake of displaying his ingenuity. It has been said too that Chrysippus taught doctrines entirely subversive of religion. Plutarch asserts, ‡ concerning Chrysippus and Cleanthes, that when they had filled heaven, earth, the air, and the sea, with divinities, they allowed none of them to be exempt from death, except Jupiter alone, into whom they thought that all the other deities would at last be resolved. From this passage it has been inferred that it was a doctrine of the Stoics that the Divine nature is mutable and corruptible. But it appears from the Stoic system of nature, as it has been already explained, that this conclusion from the passage in question is without foundation. According to this system, the inferior deities, which are portions of that divine fire by which all nature is animated, will, in the general conflagration of the universe, return to the source from which they were originally derived, till a general renovation shall take place. That Chrysippus did not recede from the idea of the Stoic school concerning nature, the following passage from Cicero § fully proves: "Chrysippus, who is esteemed the most ingenious interpreter of Stoic dreams, has assembled a numerous band of unknown gods; indeed so perfectly unknown, that the human mind, though it be capable of forming conceptions of every kind, is unable to frame a conjecture concerning their nature. He says, that the divine energy is placed in reason, and in the soul or mind of the universe. The world itself he

* Cic. Ac. Qu. I. iv. c. 27. Plut. Repugn. Stoic. t. iii. p. 7.

(a) Thou who couldst once so happily assign
Bounds to *thy* heap, now limit this of mine. BREWSTER.

† Laert. sect. 180. ‡ De comm. notionibus, t. iii. p. 459. § De Nat. D. I. i. c. 15.

maintains to be God, or a universal effusion of his spirit, and asserts, that the superior part of this spirit, which consists in mind and reason, is the common nature of things, containing the whole, and every part. Sometimes he speaks of God as the power of fate, and the necessary chain of events; sometimes he calls him fire, or the ether which I mentioned above; and sometimes he deifies the fluid parts* of nature, as water and air; and again, the earth, the sun, the moon, and stars, and the universe, in which these are comprehended, and even those men who have obtained immortality." There is nothing in this account which is not perfectly consonant to the physics and theology of the Stoic system, in the sense in which they have been already explained. It seems therefore reasonable to exculpate Chrysippus from any other kind of impiety than that which may be charged upon the sect, of which he was one of the chief supporters.

Chrysippus wrote about seven hundred books, three hundred of which were upon logical subjects; but in all his works he made large and numerous quotations from the writings of others. Of these nothing remains, except a few extracts, which are preserved in the works of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and Aulus Gellius. He died in the hundred and forty-third Olympiad,† eighty-three years of age. A statue was erected to his memory by Ptolemy.‡

The immediate successor of Chrysippus, in the Stoic school, was ZENO OF TARSUS,§ or, as some say, of Sidon. He does not appear to have receded in any respect from the Stoic tenets, except that he withheld his assent to the doctrine of the final conflagration.

DIODEGENES of Seleucia, called also the BABYLONIAN,|| from the vicinity of Babylon to his native place, next assumed the chair, and applied himself so diligently to the study and propagation of the Stoic doctrine, that Cicero¶ calls him a great and respectable Stoic. This was unquestionably the reason for which he was sent with Carneades and Critolaus on the celebrated embassy from Athens to Rome, of which we have already taken notice in our account of the life of Carneades. Seneca relates,** that as he was one day discoursing upon anger, a foolish youth, in hope of raising a laugh against the philosopher by making him angry, spit in his face; upon which Diogenes meekly and prudently said, "I am not angry, but I am in doubt whether I ought not to be so." He lived to the age of eighty-eight years.†† ANTIPATER of Tarsus,‡‡ the disciple and successor of Diogenes the Babylonian, is applauded, both by Cicero and Seneca, as an able supporter of the Stoic sect. His chief opponent was Carneades.

PANÆTIUS, a Rhodian, was a polite and respectable philosopher. He enjoyed an intimate acquaintance with several eminent Romans, particularly Scipio and Lælius; and Cicero says §§ that his abilities and accomplishments rendered him highly worthy of their friendship. He disliked the Stoic doctrine of apathy;||| was a great admirer of Plato, and freely borrowed opinions and sentiments from philosophers of every sect. His moral doctrines were doubtless excellent, since they are so highly extolled by Cicero, in his admirable treatise *De Officiis*. He passed a considerable part of his life at Rome, where he had many illustrious disciples; but towards the latter end of his days he removed to Athens, where he died. He treated

* Vid. loc. Davisii edit. p. 37. n. 8. † B. C. 208.

‡ Laert. l. vii. sect. 189. 202. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 10. Cic. Fin. l. i. c. 11.

§ Laert. l. vii. sect. 38. Suidas. Euseb. Præp. l. xv. c. 18. || Laert. l. vi. sect. 81.

¶ Tusc. Qu. l. iii. c. 12. ** De Ira. †† Lucian. Longæv. t. ii. p. 829.

‡‡ Cic. de Offic. l. iii. c. 12. Sen. Ep. 92. Plut. de Garrul. t. ii. p. 319.

§§ De Off. l. iv. c. 9. |||| Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 5.

astrological predictions, and divinations of every kind, with contempt, and seems to have rejected the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.*

POSIDONIUS,† a native of Apamea in Syria, the last of that series of Stoics which belongs to the history of the Greek philosophy, taught at Rhodes with such reputation, that Pompey came thither, on his return from Syria, to attend his lectures. When he arrived at his house, he forbade his lictor to knock, as was usual, at the door. The hero, who had subdued the eastern and western world, paid homage to philosophy, by lowering the *fascēs* at the gate of Posidonius. When he was informed that he was at that time sick of the gout, he visited him in his confinement, and expressed great regret that he could not attend upon his school. Upon this, Posidonius, forgetting his pain, gratified his guest, by delivering a discourse in his presence, the subject of which was to prove that nothing is good which is not honourable.‡ He studied natural as well as moral science; and in order to represent the celestial *phenomena*, he constructed a kind of *planetarium*,§ by means of which he exhibited the apparent motions of the sun, moon, and planets round the earth. Cicero says|| that he himself attended upon this philosopher; and a later writer¶ asserts that he was brought to Rome by Marcellus, in the seven hundred and second year from the building of the city.**

Thus much concerning the Stoic sect, the last branch of the IONIC SCHOOL.††

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE ITALIC OR PYTHAGORIC SECT.

SECT. I.—OF THE LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY OF PYTHAGORAS.

IN tracing the progress of the IONIC school, from Thales its founder, through all its branches, the Ionic, Socratic, Cyrenaic, Megaric, Eliac, Eretriac, Academic, Peripatetic, Cynic, and Stoic Sects, we have completed one principal part of the history of the Grecian philosophy. Another main branch of this philosophy, namely, that which sprung from Pythagoras, and afterwards sprouted out into the ELEATIC, HERACLITEAN, EPICUREAN, and SCEPTIC Sects, yet remains to be considered. This school, having been first instituted in that part of Italy which, from the

* Cic. de Off. l. ii. c. 14. Ac. Qu. l. iv. 33. De Fin. l. i. c. 2. l. iv. c. ult. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 32. De Div. l. i. c. 3. 7. l. ii. c. 42.

† Laert. l. vii. sect. 38. Strabo, l. vii. p. 316. l. xiv. p. 655.

‡ Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. ii. c. 25. Plin. l. vi. Ep. 30.

§ Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. ii. c. 34. || De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 3.

¶ Suidas in Posid. ** B. C. 52.

†† Vidend. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 25. Bayle. Sciopp. Elem. Phil. Mor. p. 165. Zwinger. Theatr. Vit. Hum. v. 19. sect. 3560. Thomas. de Plagio Lit. sect. 388. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. vi. c. 6. Gassend. Vit. Epic. l. iii. c. 2. Schmid. de Chrysip. Log. Jons. l. i. c. 13. l. ii. c. 8. Meurs. de Ceramic. Voss. de Nat. Log. c. viii. sect. 18. Hist. Gr. l. iii. p. 324. Weidler, Hist. Astr. c. vi. sect. 18.

Grecian colonies which had been settled there, was called *Magna Græcia*, has taken the appellation of the ITALIC SCHOOL.*

Before we enter upon the history of the celebrated founder of the Italic School some notice must be taken of Pherecydes, one of the wise men of Greece, who, though himself instituted no sect, is distinguished as the first preceptor of Pythagoras.

PHERECYDES,† a native of the island of Scyrus, one of the Cyclades near Delos, flourished about the forty-fifth Olympiad.‡ It has been maintained, with great erudition, that Pherecydes derived his principles of philosophy and theogony from the sacred books of the Phœnicians; but little dependence is to be placed in a question of this kind upon the authorities by which this opinion is supported; and it will appear, upon inquiry, that the tenets of this philosopher were not less similar to those of the most ancient Grecian and Barbaric philosophers than to the doctrine of the Phœnicians. The opinion of Josephus§ that Pherecydes studied philosophy in Egypt seems more probable; for Egypt was at that time universally resorted to as the seat of learning; the symbolical method of teaching, which was made use of by Pherecydes, was perfectly after the Egyptian manner; and the general aspect of his doctrine bears a strong resemblance to the dogmas of the Egyptian school.

The particulars which remain of the life of Pherecydes are few and imperfect. Marvellous circumstances have been related of him, which only deserve to be mentioned in order to show that what has been deemed supernatural by ignorant spectators may be easily conceived to have happened from natural causes. A ship in full sail was at a distance approaching its harbour; Pherecydes predicted that it would never come into the haven, and it happened accordingly, for a storm arose which sunk the vessel. After drinking water from a well, he predicted an earthquake, which happened three days afterwards.|| It is easy to suppose that these predictions might have been the result of a careful observation of those *phenomena* which commonly precede storms, or earthquakes, in a climate where they frequently happen. This is the more probable, as it is well known to have been the usual practice with the ancients, and particularly with Pythagoras, the pupil of Pherecydes, to impose upon the ignorant multitude, by pretending to powers which they did not possess, and particularly applying their knowledge of nature to the purposes of imposture. Pherecydes is said to have been the first among the Grecians who wrote concerning the nature of the gods; but this can only mean, that he was the first who ventured to write upon these subjects in prose; for before his time Orpheus, Musæus, and others, had written theogonies in verse. Some have ascribed to him the invention of the sun-dial; but the invention was of more ancient date; for this instrument is mentioned in the Jewish history of Hezekiah king of Judea.¶ Concerning the manner in which Pherecydes died nothing certain is known; for, as to the story** of his having been gradually consumed for his impiety, by the loathsome disease called *morbus pedicularis*, it must doubtless be set down in the long list of idle tales by which the ignorant and superstitious have always endeavoured to bring philosophy into contempt. His disciple Pythagoras is said to have erected a tomb to his memory. He lived to the age of eighty-five years.

It is difficult to give, in any degree, an accurate account of the doctrines

* Laert. l. i. sect. 13. Arist. de Cœlo, c. 1.

† B. C. 600. § Contr. Apion, l. i.

** Ælian, l. iv. c. 28.

† Laert. l. i. Suidas.

|| Laert. ¶ 2 Kings, c. xx. v. 11.

of Pherecydes, both because he delivered them after the manner of the times, under the concealment of symbols, and because very few memoirs of this philosopher remain. It is most probable that Pherecydes taught those opinions concerning the gods, and the origin of the world, which the ancient Grecian theologists borrowed from Egypt. On the ground of this opinion, it may perhaps be possible to explain the fragment of his book concerning the origin of things, which is preserved by Laertius.* The words are, *Σεὺς μὲν καὶ χρόνος εἰς ἀεὶ καὶ χθὼν ἦν. Χθονίη δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο γῆ, ἐπιδεῖ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γέρας διδοῖ.*

If by *χθὼν* we understand what the ancient philosophers understood by *mot*, the chaos which was admitted into all the ancient theogonies, and by *γέρας διδοῖ* the communication or grant of form to the chaotic mass, the meaning of the passage will be this: "Jupiter, and Duration, and Chaos, are eternal: from the time when Jupiter communicated form to chaos it was called the earth:" a doctrine which agrees with that which was commonly received among the oriental and Egyptian philosophers. Perfectly consonant to this doctrine is the tenet which Aristotle† ascribes to Pherecydes, *τὸ γεννήσαν ἀριστον εἶναι*, that the first cause of all things is most excellent.

Another tenet which is, by the universal consent of the ancients, ascribed to Pherecydes, is that of the Immortality of the Soul, for which he was perhaps indebted to the Egyptians. Cicero says‡ that he was the first philosopher in whose writings this doctrine appeared. He is also said, and not improbably,§ to have taught the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul; for this was a tenet commonly received among the Egyptians, and afterwards taught by Pythagoras. Whether it was that Pherecydes instituted no sect, or that his writings fell into disuse through their obscurity, or that Pythagoras designedly suppressed them, that he might appear the original author of the doctrines which he had learned from his master, or whatever else might be the cause, we are left without further information concerning his philosophy. We therefore proceed to the history of the life and opinions of his celebrated pupil, the founder of the Italic School.

The history of Pythagoras, beyond that of any other ancient philosopher, abounds with difficulties and contradictions, and is enveloped in fable and mystery. Pythagoras himself, and his followers through a long succession, were so far from committing their doctrines to writing, for the information of posterity, that they made use of every expedient to conceal them from their contemporaries. Hence the first records of the life and doctrines of this philosopher, which were only such as could be casually gathered up from tradition, were not less defective in probable and well authenticated facts than they were abundant in absurd fictions. It was not till many ages after the time in which Pythagoras flourished that Porphyry and Jamblicus undertook to digest these scattered materials into a regular narrative. And these writers themselves were too credulous, too careless, and too much biassed by prejudice, to be capable of giving a judicious and impartial representation of what was at that time known concerning Pythagoras. They were of the school of Ammonius and Plotinus; in which, as we shall afterwards find, it was the common practice to misrepresent and falsify every thing, and to obtrude upon the world marvellous tales, instead of real facts, for the sake of supporting the credit of their sect

* Laert. l. i. sect. 119.

† Metaph. l. xii. c. 4.

‡ Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 16.

§ Suidas in Phor.

and religion in opposition to Christianity. In order to be convinced that Jamblicus was nothing better than an impudent trifler, the reader need only peruse the introduction to his life of Pythagoras. The labours of subsequent writers, though sufficiently numerous, cast little new light upon this part of the history of philosophy. Notwithstanding all that has been done, it resembles a wood, which after many trees are cut down, and many thickets cleared away, still remains dark, rugged, and pathless. We shall therefore hope for indulgence if, in this part of our work, the reader should frequently find it necessary to suspend, and sometimes even to withhold, his assent.

The ancients are by no means agreed concerning the birth-place of PYTHAGORAS;* but the more common opinion is, that he was a native of the island of Samos. Of his extraction nothing farther is known than that his father's name was Mnesarchus, probably a merchant of Tyre, or some other maritime city, who, trading to Samos, was admitted to the rights of citizenship, and settled his family in that island. As to the tale of Jamblicus,† which makes him a descendant of Jupiter, and relates a prediction of his birth and character from the Delphian priest, barely to mention, is to refute it.

The time of the birth of Pythagoras is covered with inextricable obscurity. Three English critics of great eminence have employed their profound erudition in endeavouring to settle this point. Bentley, in his dispute with Boyle‡ concerning the age of Phalaris, investigates with his usual industry the time of the birth of Pythagoras, and (chiefly on the testimony of Eratosthenes, who relates, that whilst he was young he was a victor at the Olympic games, in the forty-eighth Olympiad§) determines the date to be the fourth year of the forty-third Olympiad.|| Lloyd, in his dissertation concerning the chronology of Pythagoras¶ endeavours to prove that the Olympic victor was not the same person with the philosopher, and insists upon several particulars, which make it probable that he was born about the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad.** Dodwell discusses the same subject at large, in two dissertations on the age of Phalereus and Pythagoras,†† and places the birth of Pythagoras in the fourth year of the fifty-second Olympiad.‡‡ His opinion chiefly rests on the authority of Porphyry and Jamblicus. Le Clerc has given a summary of their arguments.§§ We must content ourselves with observing, that, after carefully examining what has been written upon this question, we find the authorities so feeble and inconsistent, that we dare not give a decisive judgment; for where we cannot arrive at certain proof, we think it better honestly to confess our ignorance, than to impose an unsupported opinion upon our readers. We are however inclined to think that the preponderancy of argument is in favour of Lloyd, whose opinion is, that Pythagoras was born about the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad.||| and died about the third year of the sixty-eighth Olympiad.¶¶ It seems pretty certain that he was not born earlier than the fourth year of the forty-third Olympiad,*** nor later than the fourth year of the fifty-second.†††

If we dismiss the tales of Jamblicus concerning the early wisdom, gravity, and temperance of Pythagoras, which are said to have been such

* Laert. l. viii. sect. 1. Conf. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 300. Plut. Qu. Conv. l. viii. c. 7. t. iii. p. 286. † Vit. Pyth. c. 2. Porph. n. 1.
‡ Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris. § B. C. 588. || B. C. 608.
¶ Ed. Lond. 1699. ** B. C. 586. †† London, 1704.
‡‡ B. C. 569. §§ Bibliothéque Choisée, t. x. p. 81, &c. ||| B. C. 586.
¶¶ B. C. 506. *** B. C. 605. ††† B. C. 569.

as to have filled all men with admiration, to have commanded respect and reverence from grey hairs, and even to have led many to assert that he was the Son of God,* we meet with no other credible particulars of his childhood and early education, but that he was first instructed in his own country by Creophilus, and afterwards by Pherecydes in the island of Scyrus.† When he had paid the last honours to his preceptor, for whom he appears to have entertained a high respect, he returned to Samos, and again studied under the direction of his first master.

Much is said by Jamblicus, and other later biographers, of Pythagoras's early journey into Ionia, and his visits to Thales and Anaximander; but we find no ancient record of this journey, nor any traces of its effects on his doctrine, which differs essentially from that of the Ionic School. It is probable that his first journey from the Grecian islands was to Egypt, the country at that time celebrated, above all others, for that kind of wisdom which best suited the genius and temper of Pythagoras.

On his way to Egypt, Jamblicus asserts ‡ that he visited Phœnicia, and conversed with the descendants of Moschus, and other priests of that country, and was initiated into their peculiar mysteries. And it may seem not entirely improbable that he might wish to be farther acquainted with the Phœnician philosophy, of which he had doubtless heard a general report from his father, and other merchants who traded to this coast. But it is certainly a fiction of the Alexandrian school that Pythagoras received his doctrine of numbers from the Phœnicians; for we have already seen that their knowledge of numbers extended no farther than to the practical science of arithmetic. Whatever be thought of this journey to the East (which, by the way, Le Clerc discredits§), we must dismiss, as wholly incredible, the stories of his visiting the temple on Mount Carmel, and remaining there several days without food, passing among the inhabitants for a good demon, and obtaining from them religious honours, and of his proceeding into the country of Judea, and there going through several ceremonies of the Mosaic law.

In Egypt|| Pythagoras was introduced, by the recommendation of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, to Amasis, king of Egypt, a great patron of learned men, particularly those of Greece, that he might the more easily obtain access to the colleges of the priests. The king himself could scarcely, with all his authority, prevail upon the priests to admit a stranger to the knowledge of their sacred mysteries.¶ The college of Heliopolis, to whom the king's instructions were sent, referred Pythagoras to the college of Memphis, as of greater antiquity; from Memphis he was dismissed, under the same pretence, to Thebes. The Theban priests, not daring to reject the royal mandate, yet loth to comply with it, prescribed Pythagoras many severe and troublesome preliminary ceremonies, among which was that of circumcision,** hoping thereby to discourage him from prosecuting his design. Pythagoras, however, executed all their injunctions with such wonderful patience and perseverance, that he obtained their entire confidence, and was instructed in their most recondite doctrines. He passed twenty-two years in Egypt.†† During this time he made himself perfectly master of the three kinds of writing which were in use in Egypt, the epistolary, the hieroglyphical, and the symbolical; and, having obtained access to the most learned men in every celebrated college of priests, he

* Jamb. Vit. P. n. 6.

† Laert.

‡ L. ii. n. 13.

§ L. c. p. 98.

|| Laert. l. viii. sect. 3. Porphy. n. 5.

¶ Herodot. l. ii. c. 172. Diodor. Sic. l. i. c. 2.

** Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 302.

†† Jamb. c. 4. n. 18.

became intimately conversant with their ancient records,* and gained an accurate acquaintance with their doctrine concerning the origin of things, with their astronomy and geometry, and, in short, with Egyptian learning in its whole extent.

Many writers, who flourished after the commencement of the Christian era, both Pagan and Christian, have related that Pythagoras, immediately after he left Egypt, visited the Persian and Chaldean Magi, and travelled so far into the East as to converse with the Indian Gymnosophists. The occasion of this journey is thus related by Jamblicus :†—"After spending twenty-two years in Egypt, he was conveyed by the victorious army of Cambyzes, among a numerous train of captives, to Babylon, where he made himself perfectly acquainted with the learning and philosophy of the East; and after the expiration of twelve years, when he was in the sixtieth year of his age, he returned to Samos." Cicero,‡ Eusebius,§ Lactantius,|| and Valerius Maximus,¶ though they say nothing of the captivity, agree that he visited the Persian Magi. Some have maintained that in this journey he attended upon the instructions of the celebrated Persian sage, Zoroaster;** whilst others, who have placed the life of Zoroaster in an earlier period than that of Pythagoras, have asserted that he conversed with certain Jewish prophets, who were at that time in captivity at Babylon, and by this means became intimately conversant with the Jewish laws and customs.†† After all, however, we must confess that we see much reason to suspect the truth of the whole narrative of Pythagoras's journey into the East, for the relation is incumbered with inextricable chronological difficulties. It is unanimously agreed by chronologists that Cambyzes invaded Egypt in the fifth year of his reign, or the third year of the sixty-third Olympiad. According to Jamblicus,‡‡ Pythagoras, after staying twelve years in Babylon, and visiting several other countries, went into Italy in the sixty-second Olympiad. Diodorus§§ and Clemens Alexandrinus||| affix nearly the same date to this journey; and others place it fourteen years earlier. Now it is evident, that if Pythagoras left the East before the sixty-second Olympiad, after remaining twelve years, he could not have been carried thither by Cambyzes in the sixty-third Olympiad. The whole narration of Pythagoras's journey into the East is also contradicted by the express authority of Antiphon (quoted by Porphyry ¶¶) who says, that Pythagoras, after his residence in Egypt, returned into Ionia, and opened a school in his own country; and that *at the age of forty years*, finding himself harassed by the tyranny of Polycrates, he withdrew into Italy; an account which evidently leaves no interval for the supposed eastern expedition. The whole proof of the reality of this expedition rests either upon the evidence of certain Alexandrian Platonists, who were desirous of exalting as much as possible the reputation of those ancient philosophers, to whom they looked back as the first oracles of wisdom, or upon that of certain Jewish and Christian writers,*** who were willing to credit every tale which might seem to render it probable that the Pytha-

* Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

† Vit. Pyth. c. iv. n. 19.

‡ De Fin. l. v. c. 9.

§ Præp. Ev. l. viii. c. 6. l. x. c. 4.

|| L. iv. c. 2.

¶ L. viii. c. 7. Conf. Apul. Flor. l. i. p. 357. Lact. l. iv. c. 7.

** Porph. n. 10. 12. Suidas in Pyth. Cyril. contr. Jul. l. iv. p. 133. Beausobre, Hist. Manich. p. 1. l. i. c. 2. sect. 2.

†† Clem. Alex. Str. l. i. p. 304. Huet. Dem. Pr. iv. p. 54. 83. 186. 224.

‡‡ C. vii. n. 35.

§§ Excerpt. Peiresc. p. 241.

||| Strom. l. i. p. 302. 330.

¶¶ N. 8, 9, p. 12, 13.

*** Hermipp. ap. Joseph. cont. Ap. l. i. p. 1046, et Orig. cont. Cels. l. i. p. 13. Aristobul. ap. Clem. Al. Str. l. i. p. 342. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. ix. c. 6.

gorean doctrine was derived from the oriental philosophers, and ultimately from the Hebrew Scriptures. There is therefore some reason to suspect that these writers admitted a story so favourable to their respective views, without scrupulously inquiring into its authenticity. The relation concerning Pythagoras's preceptor in the East, under the several names of Zabratius, Nazaratus, and Zares or Zoroaster, rests upon uncertain rumour. Nor is there any probable argument to prove that he received instruction from any prophet of the Hebrew nation during his supposed residence in Babylon. It seems therefore on the whole most reasonable, to look upon the story of this eastern journey as a mere fiction, and to conclude that Pythagoras never passed over from Egypt to the East, but returned thence immediately to Samos.* The story of his having visited the northern Druids is so improbable in itself, and so ill supported by evidence, that it may be confidently dismissed without particular examination.

Pythagoras, returning from Egypt to his native island, after an absence of more than twenty years, was desirous that his fellow-citizens should reap the benefit of his travels and studies, and for this purpose attempted to institute a school for their instruction in the elements of science,† but chose to adopt the Egyptian method of teaching, and communicate his doctrines under a symbolical form. The Samians were either too indolent, or too stupid, to profit by his instructions. The number of his followers was so inconsiderable, that he was obliged for the present to relinquish his design. Loth, however, entirely to abandon the project, he determined, if possible, to find other means of engaging the attention of his countrymen. With this idea he repaired to Delos, and after presenting an offering of cakes to Apollo, there received, or pretended to receive, moral dogmas from the priestess,‡ which he afterwards delivered to his disciples under the character of divine precepts. With the same design he also visited the island of Crete, so celebrated in mythological history, where he was conducted by the Corybantes, or priests of Cybele, into the cave of Mount Ida, in which Jupiter is said to have been buried.§ Here he conversed with Epimenides, an eminent pretender to prophetic powers, and was by him initiated into the most sacred mysteries of Greece. About the same time he visited Sparta and Elis, and was present during the celebration of the Olympic games,|| where he is said to have exhibited a golden thigh to Abaris, in order to convince him that he was Apollo. Amongst the places which he visited during his stay in Greece, was Phlius, the residence of Leon, king of the Phliasians. Here he first assumed the appellation of philosopher.¶

Thus furnished, not only with fresh stores of learning, but with a kind of authority which was still more likely to procure him respect, he returned to Samos, and made a second more successful attempt to institute among his countrymen a school of philosophy.** The place which he chose for his purpose was a semicircular building, in which the Samians had been accustomed to meet for public business. Here he chiefly employed himself in delivering, with an air of sacred authority, popular precepts of morality, which might contribute to the general benefit of the people. Besides this, he provided himself with a secret cave, into which he retired with

* Lloyd, Bentley, Le Clerc, Fabricius, L'Enfant, &c. gave no credit to the tale of this eastern journey. † Jamb. c. v. n. 20. 25. Laert. l. viii. sect. 13.

‡ Porphy. n. 41. Laert. sect. 8. § Porph. n. 17. Laert. sect. 3.

|| Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

¶ Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 3. Conf. Laert. l. i. sect. 12. Jamb. c. viii. n. 44. xii. 58.— See Preliminary Observations to this work, p. 1. ** Jamb. c. v. n. 26. Porph. n. 9.

his intimate friends and professed disciples, and here, not without a wonderful parade of mystery, gave them daily instructions in the more abstruse parts of philosophy.* These arts, which unquestionably rank this celebrated philosopher among impostors, proved successful, and procured him a great multitude of followers. What he had been unable to effect by the mere force of learning and ability, he soon accomplished by concealing his doctrines under the veil of mysterious symbols, and by issuing forth his precepts as responses from a divine oracle.†

Having for some time successfully executed his plan of instruction in Samos, whether the Samians began to detect his frauds, or to be apprehensive of his increasing popularity, or whether Pythagoras wished to escape the tyranny of the governor, Syloson, the brother of Polycrates, he suddenly left Samos, and passing over into Italy, attempted to establish his school among the colonies of *Magna Græcia*.‡ The time of this expedition is uncertain; but it seems most probable that it happened about the beginning of the fifty-ninth Olympiad.§ It is more certain that when Pythagoras arrived in this country, in order to obtain credit with the populace, he pretended to a power of performing miracles, and practised many arts of imposture.

The first place at which Pythagoras arrived was Crotona,|| a city in the bay of Tarentum, whose inhabitants were at this time exceedingly corrupted in their manners. Upon his first arrival, Plutarch and Apuleius relate,¶ that observing a large draught of fishes, which had just been taken, he bought the whole capture of the fishermen, and ordered them to throw them again into the water, as a lesson to the spectators to spare the lives of fishes, and to refrain from this, as well as every other kind of animal food. Porphyry and Jamblicus relate the same story, with the addition of this marvellous circumstance, that Pythagoras, while the fishermen were drawing up the net, told them the exact number of fishes which it contained.

By these and other arts, Pythagoras obtained such a degree of respect and influence in Crotona, that people of all classes assembled to hear his discourses. The effect was, that an entire change was produced in the manners of the citizens; so that, from great luxury and licentiousness, they were converted to strict sobriety and frugality of manners.** It is asserted that in Crotona there were not less than six hundred persons (some say two thousand) who were prevailed upon to submit to the strict discipline which he required, and to throw their effects into a common stock for the benefit of the whole fraternity.

Pythagoras did not confine the influence of his philosophy to Crotona. He taught his doctrine in many other cities of *Magna Græcia* with so much energy and effect, that he established a large and extensive interest through the country, and obtained from his followers a degree of respect little short of adoration.††

Had Pythagoras contented himself with issuing forth oracular precepts of wisdom, and instructing his select disciples in the speculative doctrines of philosophy, it is probable he might have continued his labours, without molestation, to the end of his life. But he discovered on many occasions a strong propensity towards political innovations. Not only at Crotona, but at Metapontus, Rhegium, Agrigentum, and many other places, he obtained great influence over the people, and employed it in urging them to

* Jamb. c. v. n. 27.

† Vid. Van Dale de Oraculis Gent. Diss. ii.

‡ Jamb. c. v. n. 18. § Comp. Dodwell and Stanley. || Ib. n. 36. Porph. n. 25.

¶ Plut. Symp. l. viii. qu. 8. Apul. Apolog. p. 209.

** Justin, l. xx. c. 4. Jamb. c. v. n. 29. Porphyry. n. 20. †† Jamb. n. 33.

the strenuous assertion of their rights against the encroachments of their tyrannical governors.*

These attempts, together with the singularities of his school, excited a general spirit of jealousy, and raised a powerful opposition against him. At the head of this opposition was Cylo, a man of wealth and distinction in Crotona, who had been refused admission into the society of the Pythagoreans, and whose temper was too haughty and violent to endure with patience such an indignity. The party thus raised against the Pythagoreans hearing that they were assembled in a large body at the house of Milo, one of their chief friends, surrounded the house, and set it on fire. About forty persons perished in the flames. Archippus and Lysis, two natives of Tarentum, alone escaped: the former withdrew to his own city; the latter fled to Thebes.

Pythagoras himself, if he was not present at the assembly, was probably in Crotona at the time when this fatal attack was made upon his school; for the report of his having been then upon a journey to Delos, to visit his master Pherecydes, is inconsistent with chronology, that philosopher having died before Pythagoras left Samos. He was, however, wholly incapable of resisting the torrent of jealousy and enmity which rushed upon him. His remaining friends fled to Rhegium, and he was himself obliged to retire to Metapontum, after having in vain sought for protection from the Locrians. At Metapontum Pythagoras found himself still surrounded with enemies, and was obliged to take refuge in the temple of the Muses, where, not being able to procure from his friends the necessary supply of food, he perished with hunger.† This is the most probable account we are able to collect of the last incidents in the life of Pythagoras. The time of his death is uncertain. According to the Chronicon of Eusebius, which we are inclined to follow, he died in the third year of the sixty-eighth Olympiad,‡ after having lived, according to the most probable statement of his birth, to the age of eighty years. After his death his disciples paid a superstitious respect to his memory. They erected statues in honour of him, converted his house in Crotona into a temple of Ceres, and appealed to him as a divinity, swearing by his name.§

Many tales are related of Pythagoras, which carry with them their own refutation. That, by speaking a word, he tamed a Daunian bear which had laid waste the country; that he prevented an ox from eating beans, by whispering in his ear; that he called down an eagle from the sky; that he was, on the same day, present, and discoursed in public, at Metapontum in Italy, and at Tauromenium in Sicily; that he predicted earthquakes, storms, and other future events; and that a river, as he passed over it with his friends, cried out, Hail, Pythagoras! are wonders,|| which would require much clearer and better evidence to gain them credit, than the testimony of Apollonius, Porphyry, and Jamblicus, or even of Laertius and Pliny. It appears, upon the face of the history of this philosopher, that he owed much of his celebrity and authority to imposture. Why did he so studiously court the society of Egyptian priests, so famous in ancient times for their arts of deception? why did he take so much pains to be initiated in religious mysteries? why did he retire into a subterraneous cavern in

* Porph. n. 20. Jamb. c. 31. n. 214. Conf. Diodor. l. xii.

† Jamb. c. xxxv. n. 248, &c. Porphyry. n. 54, &c. Laert. l. viii. sect. 39, &c.

‡ B. C. 506.

§ Laert. sect. 44, &c. Justin. l. xx. c. 4. Porph. n. 4. 20. Hierocl. in Aur. Carm. p. 225. 230. Jamb. n. 28.

|| Porph. n. 23. Jamb. c. 28. n. 134. Laert. l. viii. sect. 11. &c. Apollon. Hist. c. 6. Philost. l. iv. c. 10. Plin. l. xxiv. c. 17. l. xxx. c. 1.

Crete? why did he assume the character of Apollo, at the Olympic games? why did he boast that his soul had lived in former bodies, and that he had been first Æthalides the son of Mercury, then Euphorbus, then Pyrrhus of Delos, and at last Pythagoras,* but that he might the more easily impose upon the credulity of an ignorant and superstitious people? His whole manner of life, as far as it is known, confirms this opinion. Clothed in a long white robe, with a flowing beard, and, as some relate, with a golden crown on his head,† he preserved among the people, and in the presence of his disciples, a commanding gravity and majesty of aspect. He made use of music to promote the tranquillity of his mind, frequently singing, for this purpose, hymns of Thales, Hesiod, and Homer.‡ He had such an entire command of himself, that he was never seen to express, in his countenance, grief, or joy, or anger. He refrained from animal food, and confined himself to a frugal vegetable diet,§ excluding from his simple bill of fare, for sundry mystical reasons, pulse or beans. By this artificial demeanour Pythagoras passed himself upon the vulgar as a being of an order superior to the common condition of humanity, and persuaded them that he had received his doctrine from heaven.

Pythagoras married Theano|| of Crotona, or, as some relate, of Crete,¶ by whom he had two sons, Telauges and Mnesarchus, who, after his death, took the charge of his school.

Whether Pythagoras left behind him any writings, is a point much disputed. Laertius** enumerates many pieces which appeared under his name; and Jamblicus†† and Pliny‡‡ increase the list. But Plutarch,§§ Josephus,||| Lucian,¶¶ and others, confess that there were no genuine works of Pythagoras extant; and, from the pains which Pythagoras took to confine his doctrine to his own school during his life, it appears highly probable that he never committed his philosophical system to writing, and that those pieces to which his name was early affixed were written by some of his followers, according to the principles and tenets which they had learned in his school. Among the pieces attributed to Pythagoras, no one is more famous than the Golden Verses, which Hierocles has illustrated with a Commentary. It is generally believed that they were not written by Pythagoras: perhaps they are to be ascribed to Epicharmus, or Empedocles.*** They may be considered as a brief summary of his popular doctrines.

THE METHOD OF INSTRUCTION adopted by Pythagoras was twofold, exoteric and esoteric,††† or public and private. This distinction he had seen introduced with great advantage by the Egyptian priests, who found it admirably adapted to strengthen their authority, and increase their emolument. He therefore determined, as far as circumstances would admit, to form his school upon the Egyptian model. For the general benefit of the people, he held public assemblies, in which he delivered discourses in praise of virtue, and against vice; and in these he gave particular instructions, in different classes, to husbands and wives, parents and children, and others who filled the several relations of society. The auditors who attended these public lectures did not properly belong to his school, but continued to follow their usual mode of living. Besides these he had a select body

* Laert. l. viii. sect. 4. Porphy. l. c. Lucian in Gallo. t. ii. p. 613.

† Laert. sect. 19. Jamb. c. 21. n. 100. Ælian, l. xii. c. 32. ‡ Porph.

§ Laert. Jamb. Porph. l. c. || Suidas in Thean. Laert. sect. 11. ¶ Porphyr. n. 4.

** L. viii. sect. 7. †† C. 19. n. 90. ‡‡ L. xxiv. c. 17. Conf. l. xix. c. 5.

§§ De Fort. Alex. t. ii. ||| Contr. Apion, t. i. p. 1046. ¶¶ De Lapsu, t. iii. p. 198.

*** Stanley's Lives of Phil. p. viii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 129: 460.

††† Jamb. c. viii. xxxii. Justin, l. xx. c. 4.

of disciples, whom he called his companions and friends,* who submitted to a peculiar plan of discipline, and were admitted by a long course of instruction into all the mysteries of his esoteric doctrine.

Before any one could be admitted into this fraternity Pythagoras examined his features and external appearance;† inquired in what manner he had been accustomed to behave towards his parents and friends;‡ remarked his manner of conversing, laughing, and keeping silence; and observed what passions he was most inclined to indulge, with what kind of company he chose to associate, how he passed his leisure moments, and what incidents appeared to excite in him the strongest emotions of joy or sorrow. From these and other circumstances, Pythagoras formed an accurate judgment of the qualifications of the candidate; and he admitted no one into his society till he was fully persuaded of the docility of his dispositions, the gentleness of his manners, his power of retaining in silence what he was taught, and, in fine, his capacity of becoming a true philosopher.

Upon the first probationary admission, the fortitude and self-command of the candidate was put to the trial by a long course of severe abstinence and rigorous exercise.§ In order to subdue every inclination towards luxurious enjoyment, Pythagoras accustomed those who were admitted to this initiatory discipline to abstain from animal food, except the remains of the sacrifices, and to drink nothing but water, unless in the evening, when they were allowed a small portion of wine. That he might effectually inure them to self-denial, he sometimes ordered a table richly covered with dainties to be spread before them, and, when they were impatiently expecting to gratify their appetites, commanded the whole entertainment to be taken away, and dismissed them without any refreshment.|| He suffered them to wear no other garments but such as were suited to express the utmost purity and simplicity of manners. Of sleep he required them to be exceedingly frugal; and, in short, indulged them in nothing which could be supposed to inflame their passions, or cherish voluptuous desires. To correct an effeminate dread of labour or suffering, he prescribed them exercises which could not be performed without pain and fatigue. To teach them humility and industry, he exposed them, for three years, to a continued course of contradiction, ridicule, and contempt, among their fellows.¶ The powerful passion of avarice he opposed, by requiring his disciples to submit to voluntary poverty. He not only taught them to be contented with a little, but even deprived them of all command over their own property, by casting the possessions of each individual into a common stock, to be distributed by proper officers, as occasion should require. From the time of this sequestration of their goods, as long as they continued members of this society, they lived upon the footing of perfect equality, and sat down together daily at a common table. If any one, however, repented of the connexion, he was at liberty to depart, and might reclaim, from the general fund, his whole contribution.**

That he might give his disciples a habit of entire docility, Pythagoras

* Jamb. c. xxxv. n. 257. Suidas *ἐταίρες*. † *Ἐφυσιογνωμόνει*, Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 9.

‡ Jamb. l. c. c. xx. n. 94. Porphy. n. 33.

§ Jamb. c. xxiv. n. 106. Porph. n. 34. Laert. l. viii. sect. 19.

|| Jamb. n. 108. Diodor. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 245.

¶ Jamb. c. xvi. n. 68. c. xvii. n. 72. c. xxviii. n. 149. c. xxxi. n. 204, &c. c. xxxii. n. 225. Porph. n. 8. Athen. l. iv. p. 161.

** Jamb. c. v. n. 29. c. vi. n. 30. c. xvii. n. 72. c. xviii. n. 81. c. xxx. n. 168. Aul. Gell. l. c. Porph. n. 20.

also enjoined upon them, from their first admission, a long term of silence, called *ἐχεμυθία*. This exoteric silence is not to be confounded with that sacred reserve,* with which all the disciples of Pythagoras were bound, upon oath, to receive the doctrines of their master, that they might, from no inducement whatever, suffer them to pass beyond the limits of the sect. The initiatory silence probably consisted in refraining from speech, not only during the hours of instruction, but through the whole term of initiation. It continued from two to five years, according to the degree of propensity which the pupil discovered towards conceit and loquacity.† The restraint which Pythagoras thus put upon the *ἔπεα πτερόεντα*, “winged words,” of his pupils, might possibly be of great use to them; it was certainly a judicious expedient with respect to himself, as it restrained impertinent curiosity, and prevented every inconvenience of contradiction. Accordingly we find that his disciples silenced all doubts, and refuted all objections, by appealing to his authority. *Αὐτὸς ἔφα, ipse dixit*, decided every dispute.‡ Nor was this preparatory discipline deemed sufficiently severe, without adding, during the years of initiation, an entire prohibition of seeing their master, or hearing his lectures, except from behind a curtain.§ And even this privilege was too great to be commonly allowed; for in this stage of tuition they were usually instructed by some inferior preceptor, who barely recited the doctrines of Pythagoras, without assigning the reasonings or demonstrations upon which they were grounded, and required the obedient pupil to receive them as unquestionable truths, upon their master’s word.|| Those who had sufficient perseverance to pass these several steps of probation were at last admitted among the esoterics, and allowed to hear and see Pythagoras behind the curtain. But if it happened that any one, through impatience of such rigid discipline, chose to withdraw from the society before the expiration of his term of trial, he was dismissed with a share of the common stock, the double of that which he had advanced; a tomb was erected for him as for a dead man, and he was to be as much forgotten by the brethren as if he had been actually dead.¶

It was the peculiar privilege of the members of the esoteric school (who were called *γνήσιοι ὀμλήται*,** genuine disciples) to receive a full explanation of the whole doctrine of Pythagoras, which to others was delivered in brief precepts and dogmas, under the concealment of symbols. They were also permitted to take minutes of their master’s lectures in writing, and to propose questions, and offer remarks upon every subject of discourse.†† These disciples were particularly distinguished by the appellation of the Pythagoreans; they were also called Mathematicians, from the studies upon which they entered immediately after their initiation. After they had made a sufficient progress in geometrical science, they were conducted to the study of nature, the investigation of primary principles, and the knowledge of God. Those who pursued these sublime speculations were called Theorists; and such as more particularly devoted themselves to theology were styled *σεβαστικοί*, Religious. Others, according to their respective abilities and inclinations, were engaged in the study of Morals, Economics and Policy; and were afterwards employed in managing the affairs of the

* Jamb. c. xxxi. n. 188. c. xxxii. n. 226. Porph. n. 19.

† Jamb. c. xvi. n. 68. Aul. Gell. l. c. Ælian, l. iv. c. 6. Lucian. Vit. Auct. Laert. l. viii. sect. 10.

‡ Jamb. c. xviii. n. 81. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. ii. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 6.

§ Jamb. c. xvii. n. 72.

|| Jamb. c. xviii. n. 81, 82. Porph. n. 37.

¶ Jamb. c. xvii. n. 37. n. 75.

** Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 575.

†† Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 9. Anon. Photii, p. 56. Porphy. n. 56.

fraternity, or sent into the cities of Greece, to instruct them in the principles of government, or assist them in the institution of laws.*

The brethren of the Pythagorean college at Crotona, who were about six hundred in number, lived together, as one family, with their wives and children, in a public building called *δῆμοσιον*, the common auditory. The whole business of the society was conducted with the most perfect regularity.† Every day was begun with a distinct deliberation upon the manner in which it should be spent, and concluded with a careful retrospect of the events which had occurred, and the business which had been transacted.‡ They rose before the sun, that they might pay him homage;§ after which they repeated select verses from Homer, and other poets, and made use of music, both vocal and instrumental, to enliven their spirits and fit them for the duties of the day.|| They then employed several hours in the study of science. These were succeeded by an interval of leisure, which was commonly spent in a solitary walk for the purpose of contemplation. The next portion of the day was allotted to conversation. The hour immediately before dinner was filled up with various kinds of athletic exercises. Their dinner consisted chiefly of bread, honey, and water; for after they were perfectly initiated, they wholly denied themselves the use of wine. The remainder of the day was devoted to civil and domestic affairs, conversation, bathing, and religious ceremonies.¶

The exoteric disciples of Pythagoras were taught after the Egyptian manner, by images and symbols, which must have been exceedingly obscure to those who were not initiated into the mysteries of the school. And they who were admitted to this privilege were trained from their first admission to observe invariable silence with respect to the recondite doctrines of their master. That the wisdom of Pythagoras might not pass into the ears of the vulgar, they committed it chiefly to memory, and where they found it necessary to make use of writing, they were careful not to suffer their minutes to pass beyond the limits of the school.**

After the dissolution of their assembly by Cylo's faction, Lysis and Archippus thought it necessary, in order to preserve the Pythagorean doctrine from total oblivion, to reduce it to a systematic summary; at the same time, however, strongly enjoining their children to preserve these memoirs secret, and to transmit them in confidence to their posterity. From this time books began to multiply among the followers of Pythagoras, till at length, in the time of Plato, Philolaus exposed the Pythagorean records to sale, and Archytas of Tarentum†† gave Plato a copy of his commentaries upon the aphorisms and precepts of his master.

It is sufficiently evident, from this account of the manner in which Pythagoras taught his followers, that the sources of information concerning his doctrine must be very uncertain. Instructions, designedly concealed under the veil of symbols, and chiefly transmitted by oral tradition, must always have been liable to misrepresentation. Of the imperfect records of the Pythagorean philosophy left by Lysis, Archytas, and others, nothing

* Jamb. c. xvii. n. 72. c. xix. n. 90. c. xxiv. n. 108. c. xxx. n. 172.

† Jamb. c. vi. n. 30. Porph. n. 20. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i.

‡ Jamb. c. xxix. n. 165.

§ Ib. n. 256. Porph. n. 40.

|| Ib. c. xxv. n. 20. Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 9. Æl. Var. Hist. l. xiv. c. 23.

¶ Jamb. c. xxi. n. 96. c. xxiv. 106. c. xxviii. n. 153. xxxi. 209. Anon. Photii, l. c. Plut. de Esu Carn. t. ii. p. 371. Sen. Ep. 108. Porph. de Abstin. l. i. c. 24. 27. Vit. Pyth. n. 34. Jamb. n. 98. Laert. l. viii. sect. 35. Athén. l. iv. c. 17.

** Jamb. c. xxii. n. 101, &c. c. xxxv. 252. Porph. n. 57, 58.

†† Plat. Ep. 12.

has escaped the wreck of time, except perhaps sundry fragments collected by the diligence of Stobæus, concerning the authenticity of which there are some grounds of suspicion;* and which, if admitted as genuine, will only exhibit an imperfect view of the moral and political doctrine of Pythagoras under the disguise of symbolical and enigmatical language. The strict injunction of secrecy, which was given by oath to the initiated Pythagoreans, has effectually prevented any original records of their doctrine concerning nature and God from passing down to posterity. We are entirely to rely for information on this head, and indeed concerning the whole doctrine of Pythagoras, upon Plato and his followers. Plato himself, whilst he enriched his system with stores from the magazine of Pythagoras, accommodated the Pythagorean doctrines, as he also did those of his master Socrates, to his own system, and thus gave an imperfect, and, we may suppose, in many particulars, a false representation of the doctrines of the Samian philosopher. It was farther corrupted by the followers of Plato, even in the Old Academy, and afterwards in the Alexandrian school. The latter, especially, made no scruple of obtruding their own dogmas upon the world, under the sanction of Pythagoras, or any other ancient sage, and were chiefly employed in attempting to reconcile, or rather confound, the doctrines of the ancient philosophers with later systems. What confidence can be placed in such authorities? What satisfactory information can we expect from such sources? especially when it is added, that the doctrine of Pythagoras itself, probably in its original state, certainly in every form in which it has been transmitted to us, was obscured, not only by symbolical, but by mathematical language, which is rather adapted to perplex than to illustrate metaphysical conceptions. In this fault Pythagoras was afterwards imitated by Plato, Aristotle, and others.†

If the unconnected and doubtful records which remain can enable us to form any judgment upon this subject, the following may perhaps be considered as a faint delineation of the Pythagorean philosophy.

The end of philosophy is to free the mind from those incumbrances, which hinder its progress towards perfection, and to raise it to the contemplation of immutable truth, and the knowledge of divine and spiritual objects. This effect must be produced by easy steps, lest the mind, hitherto conversant only with sensible things, should revolt at the change. The first step towards wisdom is the study of mathematics, a science which contemplates objects that lie in the middle way between corporeal and incorporeal beings, and as it were on the confines of both, and which most advantageously inures the mind to contemplation. The whole course of mathematical science may be divided into four parts; two respecting numbers, and two respecting magnitude. Number may be considered either abstractedly in itself, or as applied to some object. The former science is arithmetic; of the latter kind is music. Magnitude may be considered as at rest, or as in motion; the science which treats of the former is Geometry, that which treats of the latter is Astronomy.‡

Arithmetic is the noblest science; numbers the first object of study, and a perfect acquaintance with numbers, the highest good.§ Numbers are either scientific or intelligible.

Scientific number is the production of the powers involved in unity, or

* Conf. Herm. Conring. in Propol. c. xv. p. 104. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 513.

† Burnet, Archæol. l. i. c. 11. Arist. Metaph. l. xiii. c. 4.

‡ Porph. n. 46. Proclus in Euclid. l. i. p. 13.

§ Laert. l. viii. sect. 8. 12. Pseudo Orig. c. ii. p. 30. Theodoret, Therap. l. xi. p. 152. Elian, l. iv. c. 17. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 2.

the progression of multitude from the monad or unity, and its return to the same.* *Unity* and *one* are to be distinguished from each other; the former being an abstract conception, the latter belonging to things capable of being numbered. Number is not infinite, but is the source of that infinite divisibility into equal parts, which is the property of all bodies.†

Intelligible numbers are those which subsisted in the Divine mind before all things, from which every thing hath received its form, and which always remain immutably the same. It is the model, or archetype, after which the world, in all its parts, is framed.‡ Numbers are the Cause of Essence to Beings: τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς οὐσίας.§

The Monad, or unity, is that quantity which, being deprived of all number, remains fixed; whence called Monad, from τοῦ μένειν. It is the fountain of all number. The Duad is imperfect and passive, and the cause of increase and division. The Triad, composed of the Monad and Duad, partakes of the nature of both. The Tetrad, Tetractys, or quaternion number, is the most perfect. The Decad, which is the sum of the four former, comprehends all arithmetical and musical proportions.||

According to some writers, the Monad denotes the active principle in nature, or God; the Duad, the passive principle, or matter; the Triad, the world formed by the union of the two former; and the Tetractys, the perfection of nature. Some have understood by this mysterious number the four elements; others, the four faculties of the human mind; others, the four cardinal virtues; and others have been so absurd as to suppose that Pythagoras made use of this number to express the name of God, in reference to the word יְהוָה, by which that name is expressed in the Hebrew language. But every attempt to unfold this mystery has hitherto been unsuccessful.

The most probable explanation of the Pythagoric doctrine of numbers is, that they were used as symbolical or emblematical representations of the first principles and forms of nature, and particularly of those eternal and immutable essences to which Plato afterwards gave the appellation of Ideas. Not being able, or not choosing to explain in simple language the abstract notions of principles and forms, Pythagoras seems to have made use of numbers, as geometricians make use of diagrams, to assist the conceptions of scholars. More particularly, conceiving some analogy between numbers and the Intelligent Forms which subsist in the Divine mind, he made the former a symbol of the latter. As numbers proceed from unity, or the Monad, as a simple root, whence they branch out into various combinations, and assume new properties in their progress, so he conceived the different forms of nature to recede, at different distances, from their common source, the pure and simple essence of deity, and at every degree of distance to assume certain properties in some measure analogous to those of number; and hence he concluded, that the origin of things, their emanation from the first being, and their subsequent progression through various

* Jamb. ad Nicom. p. 5. Stob. ib.

† Anon. Photii, l. c. Nicomach. apud Phot. Themist. in Phys. l. iii. sect. 25. p. 67.

‡ Jamb. ad Nic. p. 11. Porphy.

§ Arist. Metaph. l. i. c. 6. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. Athenag. Apol. p. 49. Hierocl. in Aur. Carm. p. 224.

|| Jamb. ad Nic. p. 13. Stob. Ecl. Phys. c. 2. Jamb. Vit. Pyth. c. xxviii. Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 10. Orig. Philos. p. 33. Hieroc. ad Aur. Carm. v. 47. p. 227. Iren. l. i. c. 1. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. i. p. 457. Athenag. Leg. p. 6.

orders, if not capable of a perfectly clear explanation, might however be illustrated by symbols and resemblances borrowed from numbers. *

Next to numbers, music had the chief place in the preparatory exercises of the Pythagorean school, by means of which the mind was to be raised above the dominion of the passions, and inured to contemplation. Pythagoras considered music, not only as an art to be judged of by the ear, but as a science to be reduced to mathematical principles and proportions.† The musical chords are said to have been first discovered by Pythagoras in the following manner: as he was one day reflecting upon this subject, happening to pass by a smith's forge, where several men were successively striking with their hammers a piece of heated iron upon an anvil, he remarked, that all the sounds produced by their strokes were harmonious except one. The sounds, which he observed to be chords, were the octave, the fifth, and the third; but that sound which he perceived to lie between the third and the fifth he found to be discordant. Going into the work-shop, he observed that the diversity of sounds arose, not from the form of the hammers, nor from the force with which they were struck, nor from the position of the iron, but merely from the difference of weight in the hammers. Taking therefore the exact weight of the several hammers, he went home, and suspended four strings of the same substance, length, and thickness, and twisted in the same degree, and hung a weight at the lower end of each, respectively equal to the weight of the hammers; upon striking the strings, he found that the musical chords of the strings corresponded with those of the hammers. Hence it is said, that he proceeded to form a musical scale, and to construct stringed instruments. His scale was, after his death, engraved in brass, and preserved in the temple of Juno at Samos.‡

Pythagoras conceived that the celestial spheres in which the planets move, striking upon the ether through which they pass, must produce a sound; and that this sound must vary according to the diversity of their magnitude, velocity, and relative distance. Taking it for granted that every thing respecting the heavenly bodies is adjusted with perfect regularity, he further imagined that all the circumstances necessary to render the sounds produced by their motion harmonious were fixed in such exact proportions, that the most perfect harmony is produced by their revolutions. This fanciful doctrine respecting the music of the spheres gave

* Conf. Meursii Theolog. Arithm. Nicomach. apud Phot. Alexand. in Metaph. c. 5. Macrob. Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 6. Anon. Vit. Pyth. apud Phot. Cudworth, Syst. Int. c. iv. sect. 20. Weigelius in Tetract. Pyth. p. 350. Huet. Dem. Pr. iv. c. ii. sect. 8. Selden de Diis Syriis, l. ii. c. 1. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 11. Hen. More de Cab. Phil. c. ii. p. 125, &c. Plut. Plac. Phil. l. i. c. 3. Gassend. Phys. l. i. c. 5.

† Jamb. c. xxv. n. 110. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 257. Theon. Smyrn. Math. c. i. p. 15. Ptolom. Harm. c. 2. Porphy. in Harm. Ptol. Nicom. Manual. Harm. l. i. c. 2.

‡ Jamb. c. xxvi. n. 115. Nicom. c. vi. n. 10. Boeth. de Music. c. 10. Macrob. in Somn. Scip. l. ii. c. 6. Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 10.

Dr. Burney discredits the whole of this story, and humorously says: "Though both hammers and anvil have been swallowed by ancients and moderns, and have passed through them from one to another with an ostrich-like digestion, upon examination and experiment it appears, that hammers of different size and weight will no more produce different tones upon the same anvil, than bows or clappers of different size will, from the same string or bell." He adds, however, that though modern incredulity and experiment have robbed Pythagoras of the glory of discovering musical ratios by accident, he has been allowed the superior merit of arriving at them by meditation and design. At least the invention of the Harmonical Canon, or Monochord (an instrument of a single string furnished with movable bridges, and contrived for the measuring and adjusting the ratios of musical intervals by accurate divisions) has been ascribed to him both by ancient and modern writers. See Burney's History of Music, vol. i. p. 441.

rise to the names which Pythagoras applied to musical tones. The last note in the musical octave he called *Hypate*, because he supposed the sphere of Saturn, the highest planet, to give the deepest tone; and the highest note he called *Neate*, from the sphere of the moon, which being the lowest, or nearest the earth, he imagined produced the shrillest sound. In like manner of the rest. It was said of Pythagoras by his followers, who hesitated at no assertion, however improbable, which might seem to exalt their master's fame, that he was the only mortal so far favoured by the gods as to be permitted to hear the celestial music of the spheres.* Pythagoras applied music to the cure of diseases both bodily and mental.† It was, as we have seen, the custom of his school to compose their minds for rest in the evening, and to prepare themselves for action in the morning, by suitable airs, which they performed upon the lute, or other stringed instruments. The music was, however, always accompanied with verse, so that it may be doubted whether the effect was to be ascribed more to the musician or to the poet. It is said of Clinius,‡ a Pythagorean, that whenever he perceived himself inclined to anger, spleen, or other restless passions, he took up his lute, and that it never failed to restore the tranquillity of his mind. Of Pythagoras himself it is related§ that he checked a young man who, in the midst of his revels, was meditating some act of Bacchanalian madness, by ordering the musician, who had inflamed his passions by Phrygian airs, to change the music on a sudden into the slow and solemn Doric mood. If the stories which are related by the ancients concerning the wonderful effects of their music are to be credited, we must acknowledge we are strangers to the method by which these effects were produced.

Besides arithmetic and music, Pythagoras cultivated geometry, which he had learned in Egypt; but he greatly improved it by investigating many new theorems, and by digesting its principles, in an order more perfectly systematical than had before been done. Several Grecians, about the time of Pythagoras, applied themselves to mathematical learning, particularly Thales in Ionia. But Pythagoras seems to have done more than any other philosopher of this period towards reducing geometry to a regular science.|| His definition of a point is, a monad or unity with position. He taught that a geometrical point corresponds to unity in arithmetic, a line to two, a superficies to three, a solid to four. Of the geometrical theorems ascribed to Pythagoras, the following are the principal; that the interior angles of every triangle are together equal to two right angles; that the only polygons which will fill up the whole space about a given point are the equilateral triangle, the square, and the hexagon; the first to be taken six times, the second four times, and the third three times; and that, in rectangular triangles, the square of the side which subtends the right angle is equal to the two squares of the sides which contain the right angle. Upon the invention of this latter proposition (Euclid, l. i. Prop. 47.) Plutarch says that Pythagoras offered an ox, others an hecatomb, to the gods. But this story is thought by Cicero¶ inconsistent with the institutions of Pythagoras, which, as he supposes, did not admit of animal sacrifices. Pythagoras inferred the stature of Hercules from the length of the Olympic course,** which measured six hundred of his

* Jamb. Vit. Pyth. c. xiv. n. 65. Voss. de Mathem. c. xx. p. 81. Gebhard de Harm. Cœl. Pythag. Macrobian. l. ii. c. 6.

† Porph. n. 30. Jamb. c. xxv. n. 65.

‡ Ælian, l. xiv. c. 23.

§ Boeth. de Mus. l. iv. c. 14.

|| Proclus in Euclid. l. ii. iii. Laert.

¶ De Nat. Deor. l. iii.

** Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 1.

feet. Observing how much shorter a course six hundred times the length of the foot of an ordinary-sized man was than the Olympic course, he inferred, by the law of proportion, the length of Hercules's foot; whence the usual proportion of the length of the foot to the height of a man enabled him to determine the problem. Pythagoras also applied geometrical ideas as symbolical expressions of bodies, and of natural principles; but nothing certain or intelligible is preserved on this head.

On astronomy, the doctrine of Pythagoras, or, however, of the ancient Pythagoreans, was as follows:—

The term Heaven either denotes the sphere of the fixed stars, or the whole space between the fixed stars and the moon, or the whole world, including both the celestial spheres and the earth.* There are ten celestial spheres; nine of which are visible to us; namely, that of the fixed stars, those of the seven planets, and that of the earth; the tenth is the Antichthon, or an invisible sphere opposite to the earth, which is necessary to complete the harmony of nature, as the Decad is the completion of numerical harmony. And this Antichthon may be the cause of the greater number of the eclipses of the sun than of the moon.† Fire holds the middle place in the universe;‡ or, in the midst of the four elements is placed the fiery globe of unity: the earth is not without motion, nor situated in the centre of the spheres, but is one of those planets which make their revolution about the sphere of fire. The revolution of Saturn is completed in thirty years, that of Jupiter in twenty, that of Mars in two, that of the Sun, and of Mercury and Venus, in one year. The distances of the several celestial spheres from the earth correspond to the proportion of notes in the musical scale. The moon and other planetary globes are habitable. The earth is a globe, which admits of antipodes.§

From several of these particulars respecting the astronomical doctrine of Pythagoras, it has been inferred that he was possessed of the true idea of the solar system, which was revived by Copernicus, and has since been fully established by Newton.

The pupils of the Pythagorean school were conducted from this preparatory study to the knowledge of natural, theological, and moral science.

Concerning Wisdom in general, Pythagoras taught that it is the science which is conversant with those objects which are in their nature immutable, eternal, and incorruptible, and therefore alone can properly be said to exist. The man who applies himself to this kind of study is a philosopher. The end of philosophy is, that the human mind may, by such contemplation, be assimilated to the divine, and at length be qualified to join the assembly of the gods. In the pursuit of wisdom, the utmost care must be taken to raise the mind above the dominion of the passions, and the influence of sensible objects, and to disengage it from all corporeal impressions, that it may be inured to converse with itself, and to contemplate things spiritual and divine.|| For this purpose the assistance of God and of good

* Anon. Photii, l. c.

† Plut. de an. Procr. t. iii. p. 98. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 614. Simplic. ad Arist. de Cælo, l. ii. c. 13.

‡ Stob. Ecl. Ph. l. i. c. 25. Plut. in Num. x. t. i. p. 123. Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 12. Laert. l. viii. sect. 85. Plut. Plat. Qu. et in Num. Clem. Alex. p. 556. Arist. t. i. p. 363.

§ Jamb. c. vi. n. 31. Plin. l. ix. c. 21. Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 13. Laert. l. viii. sect. 14. 26. Plin. l. ii. c. 8.

|| Jamb. c. xii. n. 59. c. xxix. n. 159, 160. c. xxxii. n. 228. Porph. n. 46. 53. Jamb. Intr. in Nicom. Stob. Sermon. i. p. 7. Hierocl. in fin. Aur. Carm.

demons must be invoked by prayer.* Philosophy, as it is conversant with speculative truth, or with the rules of human conduct, is either theoretical or practical. Practical philosophy is only to be studied so far as may be necessary for the purposes of life; theoretical philosophy is the perfection of wisdom. Contemplative wisdom cannot be completely attained without a total abstraction from the ordinary affairs of life, and a perfect tranquillity and freedom of mind. Hence the necessity of instituting a society, separated from the world, for the purpose of contemplation and study.†

Active or moral philosophy, which prescribes rules and precepts for the conduct of life, according to Aristotle,‡ was first taught by Pythagoras, and after his death by Socrates. Among the moral maxims and precepts ascribed to Pythagoras are the following:—

Virtue is divided into two branches, private and public. Private virtue respects education, silence, abstinence from animal food, fortitude, sobriety, and prudence. The powers of the mind are, reason and passion; and when the latter is preserved in subjection to the former, virtue is prevalent. Young persons should be inured to subjection, that they may always find it easy to submit to the authority of reason. Let them be conducted into the best course of life, and habit will soon render it the most pleasant. Silence is better than idle words. A wise man will prepare himself for every thing which is not in his own power. Do what you judge to be right, whatever the vulgar may think of you: if you despise their praise, despise also their censure. It is inconsistent with fortitude to relinquish the station appointed by the Supreme Lord before we obtain his permission. Sobriety is the strength of the soul, for it preserves its reason unclouded by passion. No man ought to be esteemed free who has not the perfect command of himself. Drunkenness is a temporary frenzy. That which is good and becoming, is rather to be pursued, than that which is pleasant. The desire of superfluity is foolish, because it knows no limits. All animal pleasures should rather be postponed, than enjoyed before their time, and should only be enjoyed according to nature, and with sobriety. Much forethought and discretion is necessary in the production and education of children. Wisdom and virtue are our best defence; every other guard is weak and unstable. It requires much wisdom to give right names to things.§

Concerning public virtue, the doctrine of Pythagoras, as it is transmitted to the present time, respects conversation, friendship, religious worship, reverence to the dead, and legislation. Upon these heads he is said to have taught thus:—

Conversation should be adapted to the characters and condition of the persons with whom we converse: that discourse and behaviour which might be proper among young persons, may be exceedingly improper between the young and aged. Propriety and seasonableness are the first things to be regarded in conversation. In all society a due regard must be had to subordination. Respect is due to a worthy stranger, sometimes in preference even to countrymen or relations. It is better that those who converse with you should respect you, than that they should fear you; for

* Aur. Carm. v. 61, 62. Hieroc. Jamblic. Protrept. c. 3. 9. 14. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vi. sect. 50.

† Hieroc. l. c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii. p. 417. Stob. Eth. c. 3. p. 164. Jamb. Vit. P. c. xxii. n. 101.

‡ Magna Mor. l. i. c. 2.

§ Stobæi, Sermon. 5. 17, 18. 37. 39. 66. 99. Jamb. Vit. Pyth. c. xxxi. n. 224. xxxii. Protrept. c. 6. Diod. Excerpt. Vales. p. 247. Cic. de Senect. c. 20. Tusc. Qu. l. i.

respect produces admiration, but fear produces hatred. It is an evident proof of a good education to be able to endure the want of it in others. Between friends, the utmost care should be taken to avoid contention, which can only be done by shunning as much as possible all occasions of strife, suppressing resentment, and exercising mutual forbearance. Re proof and correction are useful and becoming from the elder to the younger; especially when they are accompanied, on the part of the reprover, with evident tokens of affection.*

Mutual confidence is never for a moment to be interrupted between friends, whether in jest or earnest; for nothing can heal the wounds which are made by deceit. A friend must never be forsaken in adversity, nor for any infirmity in human nature, excepting only invincible obstinacy and depravity. Before we abandon a friend, we should endeavour, by actions as well as words, to reclaim him. True friendship is a kind of union which is immortal.†

The design and object of all moral precepts is to lead men to the imitation of God. Since the Deity directs all things, every good thing is to be sought for from him alone, and nothing is to be done which is contrary to his pleasure. Whilst we are performing divine rites, piety should dwell in the mind. The gods are to be worshipped not under such images as represent the forms of men, but by such symbols as are suitable to their nature, by simple lustrations and offerings, and with purity of heart. Gods and heroes are to be worshipped with different degrees of homage, according to their nature. Oaths are in no case to be violated.‡

The bodies of dead men are not to be burned. Next to gods and demons, the highest reverence is due to parents and legislators; and the laws and customs of our country are to be religiously observed.§—Thus much concerning the Active or Moral philosophy of Pythagoras.

THEORETICAL Philosophy, which treats of Nature and its Origin, was the highest object of study of the Pythagorean school, and included all those profound mysteries, which those, who have been ambitious to report what Pythagoras said behind the curtain, have endeavoured to unfold. Upon this subject nothing can be advanced with certainty, especially respecting theology, the doctrine of which Pythagoras, after the manner of the Egyptian priests, was peculiarly careful to hide under the veil of symbols, probably through fear of disturbing the popular superstitions.|| The ancients have not, however, left us without some grounds of conjecture.

With respect to God, Pythagoras appears to have taught that he is the Universal Mind; diffused through all things; the source of all animal life; the proper and intrinsic cause of all motion; in substance similar to light; in nature like truth; the first principle of the universe; incapable of pain; invisible; incorruptible, and only to be comprehended by the mind.¶

The phrase made use of by Theophilus Antiochenus, who, in representing the Pythagorean doctrine concerning the Deity, calls him *αὐτοματισμὸς*

* Jamb. c. vi. n. 32. c. xxx. n. 180. 182. Stob.

† Jamb. c. xvi. n. 69. c. xxvii. n. 162. c. xxx. n. 181. c. xxxiii. n. 229—232. Cic. de Off. l. iii. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 7. Lactant. l. v. c. 18.

‡ Jamb. n. 86. c. xxviii. n. 149. 151. c. xxx. n. 174. Diod. Exc. Cic. de Leg. l. ii. c. 11. Laert. l. viii. sect. 32. 35.

§ Jamb. c. xxviii. n. 154. c. xxx. n. 175. Porph. n. 38. Plin. l. xxxv. c. 5.

|| Clem. Alex. Strom. l. iv. p. 477. Joseph. contra Apion, l. ii. p. 1077.

¶ Lactant. l. i. c. 5. Theoph. Antiochen. ad Autolyc. l. i. c. 5. Porphyry. n. 41. Plut. Num. t. iv. p. 117.

τῶν παντῶν,* “the self-moving principle of all things,” has been understood to imply the doctrine of the fortuitous formation of the world, afterwards taught by Epicurus; but the phrase, when applied to God, may as properly denote that he is the original intrinsic cause of all motion; and this is the only sense which can be affixed to the words, consistently with the general voice of antiquity concerning the theology of Pythagoras.

An obscure passage in Aristotle,† where he relates, that “among the Pythagoreans some assert Soul to be of the nature of ξύσματα, the motes which float in the air, and others maintain it to be that by which they are moved,” has also been adduced to prove that Pythagoras ought to be ranked among the atomic philosophers. But these ξύσματα, though themselves material, are by the Pythagoreans supposed, prior to the existence of bodies, to have been portions of that eternal fire or ether, which is active and intelligent, and from that cause to have a principle of motion within themselves.

The account which we have given of the Pythagoric doctrine concerning the Divine Nature is confirmed by Cicero, who asserts‡ that Pythagoras conceived God to be a soul pervading all nature, of which every human soul is a portion; a doctrine perfectly consonant to the opinions received in the countries which Pythagoras visited, and where he learned theology. Clemens Alexandrinus, speaking of the tenets of the Pythagoreans, says, that they held God to be ψύχωσις τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ,§ the animating principle of the universal sphere. And Justin Martyr (in a passage which deserves the more attention, because, being in the Doric dialect, it is probably a quotation from some ancient Pythagorean) expressly ranks Pythagoras among the Theistical philosophers. “If any one,”|| says he, “wishes to be informed more accurately concerning the doctrine of Pythagoras with respect to One God, let him hear his opinion; for he says, God is one; he is not, as some conjecture, exterior to the world, but in himself entire pervades the universal sphere, superintends all productions, is the support of all nature, eternal, the source of all power, the first simple principle of all things, the origin of celestial light, the father of all, the mind and animating principle of the universe, the first mover of all the spheres.” From comparing this passage with others before cited, it may be concluded, with much appearance of probability, that Pythagoras conceived the Deity to be the informing soul of the world, animating it in a manner similar to that in which the human soul animates the body; the doctrine which Zeno afterwards adopted as the foundation of the Stoic system. It may also be conjectured, from the phrase, φωστέρα ἐν οὐρανῷ, “heavenly light,” that Pythagoras, after the oriental philosophers, conceived of the Deity as a subtle fire, eternal, active, and intelligent. Though he does not seem to have had the idea of a pure spirit, he nevertheless appears to have conceived of him as incorporeal, in the sense in which that term was commonly understood by the ancients; that is, as free from all the properties of gross matter, and as possessing a power of communicating motion, and of forming and directing the universe, with which he is intimately connected as its animating principle. Pythagoras probably did not admit two primary principles, but considered nature, in its original state, as one whole, animated by an intelligent, but material principle, which at length separated itself from the chaotic mass, or detached passive matter from itself; after which the subtle active fire and the passive matter remained distinct principles.

This explanation of the doctrine of Pythagoras may serve to cast some

* L. c. † De Cœlo, c. iii. sect. 14. ‡ Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 12. de Senect. c. 21.
§ L. c. || Orat. ad Gentes, p. 18. ed. Paris.

light upon the mysterious symbols under which his theory of nature was concealed. Upon this supposition, the Monad, or Unity, will denote the primary chaotic state of nature existing as one whole, which comprehended an active principle, and a passive mass capable of undergoing alterations and receiving forms. When God is considered as acting upon matter, the forming and animating power in nature becomes the Monad, the passive mass is the Duad, and the whole universe, perfectly framed, is the Triad; whence all subsequent forms arise, as the remaining numbers, by the combination of the first three, till the whole system, or Decad, is completed. But lest we should bewilder ourselves and our readers in the mazes of conjecture, we desist.

Subordinate to the Deity, it was taught in the Italic school that there are three orders of Intelligence, Gods, Demons, Heroes, who are distinguished by their respective degrees of excellence and dignity, and by the nature of the homage which is due to them; gods being to be preferred in honour to demi-gods or demons, and demons to heroes, or men.* These three orders, in the Pythagorean system, were emanations, at different degrees of proximity, from the Supreme Intelligence, the particles of subtle ether assuming a grosser clothing the farther they receded from the fountain.† The third order, or heroes, were supposed to be invested with a subtle material clothing. Hierocles defines a hero to be,‡ — a rational mind united with a luminous body. If to these three species we add a fourth, the human mind, we have the whole scale of divine emanation, as it was conceived by this sect of philosophers. All these they imagined to proceed from God, as the first source of intelligence, and to have received from him a pure, simple, immutable nature. God, being himself one, and the origin of all diversity, they represented him under the notion of Monad, and subordinate intelligences, as numbers derived and included in Unity. Thus the numbers or derived intelligences of Pythagoras agree with the ideas of Plato, except, perhaps, that the latter were of a nature perfectly spiritual, but the former were clothed with a subtle ethereal body.

The region of the air was supposed by the Pythagoreans§ to be full of spirits, demons, or heroes, who cause sickness or health to man or beast, and communicate, at their pleasure, by means of dreams, and other instruments of divination, the knowledge of future events. That Pythagoras himself held this opinion cannot be doubted, if it be true, as his biographers relate, that he professed to cure diseases by incantations. It is probable that he derived it from the Egyptians,|| among whom it was believed that many diseases were caused by demoniacal possessions.

The MATERIAL WORLD, according to Pythagoras, was produced by the energy of the Divine Intelligence.¶ It is an animated sphere, beyond which is a perfect vacuum. It contains spheres, which revolve with musical harmony.** The atmosphere of the earth is a gross, immutable, and morbid mass; but the air, or ether which surrounds it, is pure, healthful, serene, perpetually moving, the region of all divine and immortal natures.†† The sun, moon, and stars, are inhabited by portions of the divinity, or gods. The sun is a spherical body.‡‡ Its eclipses are caused by the passing of the moon between it and the earth; those of the moon by the in-

* Laert. l. viii. sect. 32. Aur. Carm. v. l. Hierocl. Jamb. c. vi. n. 31. Porphy. *περὶ ἀποχῆς*, l. ii. sect. 38. † Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 8. t. ii. p. 14.

‡ L. c. sect. 67. p. 212. § Laert. l. viii. sect. 32. || Jamb. de Myst. Egypt.

¶ Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 25.

** Laert. l. viii. sect. 27. Arist. de Cælo, l. ii. c. 1. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 10. 25. Sext. Emp. l. vii. c. 95. †† Hierocl. l. c. ‡‡ Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 15. Stob. l. c. p. 55.

tervention of the *antichthon* before explained. The moon is inhabited by demons. Comets are stars, which are not always seen, but rise at stated periods. *

Concerning MAN, the Pythagoreans taught, that, consisting of an elementary nature, and a divine or rational principle, he is a microcosm, or compendium of the universe; that his soul is a self-moving principle, composed of two parts, the rational, which is a portion of the soul of the world, seated in the brain, and the irrational, which includes the passions, and is seated in the heart;† that man participates in both these with the brutes, which from the temperament of their body, and their want of the power of speech, are incapable of acting rationally; that the sensitive soul, *θυμὸς*, perishes, but the rational mind, *φρὴν*, is immortal, because the source whence it is derived is immortal;‡ that after the rational mind is freed from the chains of the body, it assumes an ethereal vehicle, and passes into the regions of the dead, where it remains till it is sent back to this world, to be the inhabitant of some other body, brutal or human; and that after suffering successive purgations, when it is sufficiently purified, it is received among the gods, and returns to the eternal source from which it first proceeded.§

The doctrines of the Pythagoreans, respecting the nature of brute animals, and *μετεμψύχωσις*, the TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS, were the foundation of their abstinence from animal food and of the exclusion of animal sacrifices from their religious ceremonies. The latter doctrine is thus beautifully represented by Ovid, || who introduces Pythagoras as saying—

Morte carent animæ: semperque priore relictæ
Sede, novis domibus habitant, vivuntque receptæ.—
Omnia mutantur; nihil interit; errat et illinc,
Huc venit, hinc illuc, et quoslibet occupat artus
Spiritus, eque feris humana in corpora transit,
Inque feras noster: nec tempore deperit ullo,
Utque novis fragilis signatur cera figuris,
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem,
Sed tamen ipsa eadem est, animam sic semper eandem
Esse, sed in varias doceo migrare figuras. (a)

This doctrine Pythagoras probably learned in Egypt, where it was commonly taught. ¶ Nor is there any sufficient reason for understanding it, as some have done, symbolically.

* Plut. l. c. c. 28. Jamb. c. vi. n. 30.

† Laert. l. viii. sect. 28—31. Plut. l. c. l. iv. c. 2. 4. 7. 20.

‡ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 590. Cic. l. c.

§ Laert. Hieroc. in Aur. Carm. Porph. Vit. Pyth. n. 19.

|| Metam. l. xv. v. 158, &c.

(a) What then is death, but ancient matter drest
In some new figure, and a varied vest?
Thus all things are but alter'd, nothing dies;
And here and there th' unbodied spirit flies,
By time, or force, or sickness dispossess'd,
And lodges where it lights, in man or beast;
Or hunts without, till ready limbs it find,
And actuates those according to their kind;
From tenement to tenement is tost,
The soul is still the same, the figure only lost:
And as the soften'd wax new seals receives,
This face assumes, and that impression leaves;
Now call'd by one, now by another name,
The form is only changed, the wax is still the same:
So death, thus call'd, can but the form deface,
The immortal soul flies out in empty space,
To seek her fortune in some other place. DRYDEN.

¶ Herodot. l. ii. c. 123. Diod. Sic. apud Euseb. Pr. l. x. c. 8.

We must not take our leave of Pythagoras without adding a few specimens of his *SYMBOLS*, which, though they were at first made use of for the purpose of concealment, and though their meaning has always been religiously kept secret by the Pythagoreans themselves, have awakened much curiosity, and given occasion to many ingenious conjectures, which, however, unless they were more satisfactory, it would answer no purpose to repeat.

Among the symbols of Pythagoras, recited by Jamblicus and others,* are the following:—Adore the sound of the whispering wind. Stir not the fire with a sword. Turn aside from an edged tool. Pass not over a balance. Setting out on a journey, turn not back, for the Furies will return with you. Breed nothing that hath crooked talons. Receive not a swallow into your house. Look not in a mirror by the light of a candle. At a sacrifice, pare not your nails. Eat not the heart, or brain. Taste not that which hath fallen from the table. Break not bread. Sleep not at noon. When it thunders, touch the earth. Pluck not a crown. Roast not that which has been boiled. Sail not on the ground. Plant not a palm. Breed a cock, but do not sacrifice it, for it is sacred to the sun and moon. Plant mallows in thy garden, but eat them not. Abstain from beans.†

The precept prohibiting the use of beans is one of the mysteries which the ancient Pythagoreans never disclosed, and which modern ingenuity has in vain attempted to discover. Its meaning was probably rather diætic, than physical or moral. But enough of these enigmatical trifles. Pythagorean precepts of more value are such as these:—Discourse not of Pythagorean doctrines without light. Above all things govern your tongue. Engrave not the image of God in a ring. Quit not your station without the command of your general. Remember that the paths of virtue and of vice resemble the letter Y. To this symbol Persius refers, when he says,‡

Et tibi quæ Samios diduxit litera ramos,
Surgentem dextro monstravit limite collem. (a) §

* Ch. xxxii. n. 227. *Protrept. c. ult. Laert. l. viii. Plut Is. et Os.*

† Adjicienda hæc: Ad solem conversus, ne meioto. *Facula sedem ne extergito. Cum ea, quæ aurum habet, non congregitor.* ‡ *Sat. iii. 56.*

§ See Pythagoras's Golden Verses with the Commentary of Hierocles; and compare Rowe's Paraphrase.

- (a) There has the Samian Y's instructive make
Pointed the road thy doubtful foot should take;
There warn'd thy raw and yet unpractised youth
To tread the rising right-hand path of truth.

|| *Vidend. Jons. l. i. c. 3. ii. 3. iv. ult. Vit. Pythag. a Porphyrio et a Jamblico; Rittershusio, Altdorf, 1610. Holstenio, Rom. 1630; Kustero, Amst. 1707. Anon. ap. Phot. Cod. 259. Schæffer de Nat. et Constit. Phil. Ital. Wittenb. 1701. Gerdilii Introd. ad Stud. Theol. Ploucquet de Speculat. Pyth. Tubing. 1758. Burnet, Archæol. l. i. c. 11. Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. iv. c. 54. 83. 186. 224. Pr. ix. c. 147. Voss. de Sect. p. 19. Budd. Ann. Hist. Ph. p. 8. Le Clerc, Biblioth. Chois. t. x. p. 81—90. t. xxvii. p. 424. Voss. de Math. p. 149. Horn. Hist. Phil. p. 173. Petav. Rat. Temp. p. i. p. 135. Amœnit. Lit. t. vii. p. 188. Selden de Jure, l. i. c. 2. Grot. Epist. 552. L'Enfant Bibl. Germ. t. ii. art. 5. Budd. Hist. Eccl. V. T. t. ii. p. 1077. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 450. v. ii. p. 257. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, t. ii. p. 592. Meurs. in Cret. c. 111. Naude Apologie, c. x. p. 136. Stoll. Hist. Phil. Mor. Gent. sect. 119. Bayle. Schuler de Disciplina Pyth. Schraderus de Pythag. Diss. 1. Crugerus de Aureo Femore Pyth. Budd. Diss. de *ἑσκήσει* Phil. Ann. p. 109. Deulengii Obs. Sac. t. iii. p. 443. Koeler, Diss. de Pædantismo Pyth. Windet de Vit. Funct. Statu, sect. 5. p. 88. Nicomach. Intr. ad Arithm. Budd. Diss. de *κάθαρσει* Pyth. in Ann. Lud. Boye, Diss. 10. Weinreich de Abstin. carn. Pyth. Misc. Lips. t. iv. Obs. 85. Dodwel. de Ætat. Pyth. p. 125. Mourgues, Plan. Theol. de Pythag. Herbert, Rel. Gent. c. x. Cudworth, c. iv.*

SECTION II.—OF THE DISCIPLES AND FOLLOWERS OF PYTHAGORAS.

IN the preceding history of Pythagoras we have seen that disciples flocked to him from various parts of Italy, and that his popularity created him numerous enemies, and, during his life, brought upon his followers a severe persecution, which drove many of them into exile.

After the death of the celebrated founder of the Italic sect, the care and education of his children, and the charge of the school, devolved upon ARISTÆUS of Crotona. He was particularly eminent in the mathematical sciences, and wrote a treatise concerning solids, which is mentioned with applause by the ancients. Having taught the doctrine of Pythagoras thirty-nine years, he was succeeded by MNESARCHUS, the son of Pythagoras. Pythagorean Schools were afterwards conducted in Heraclea, by Clinias and Philolaus; at Metapontum, by Theorides and Eurytus; and at Tarentum, by Archytas. Stobæus professes to have collected fragments of Hippodamus, Hipparchus, and several other philosophers, who are said to have belonged to this sect; but the authenticity of these fragments is doubtful.*

It will be necessary to give a more particular account of those who, though they ranked themselves among the Pythagoreans, departed in different degrees from the genuine doctrine of their master. Among these were Alcmaeon, Ecphantus, Hippo, Empedocles, Epicharmus, Ocellus Lucanus, Timæus Locrus, Archytas, Hippasus, Philolaus, and Eudoxus.

ALCMEON of Crotona, one of Pythagoras's disciples, acquired a high degree of reputation in the Italic school by his knowledge of nature and his skill in medicine. He is said to have been the first person who attempted the dissection of a dead body. The *sum* of his tenets, as far as they can be collected from scattered fragments, is this: †

Natural objects, which appear multiform to men, are in reality two-fold; intelligible natures, which are immutable, and material forms, which are infinitely variable. The sun, moon, and stars are eternal, and are inhabited by portions of that divine fire which is the first principle in nature. The moon is in the form of a boat, and when the bottom of the boat is turned towards the earth, it is invisible. The brain is the chief seat of the soul. Health consists in preserving a due mean between the extremes of heat and cold, dryness and moisture.

ECPHANTUS, who was a native of Syracuse, taught, that it is impossible to arrive at the certain knowledge of nature, which is perpetually liable to change; that the first principles of sensible things are invisible atoms, which differ in size, form, and power; that the number of these is infinite;

sect. 20, 21. cum not. Mosheim. Gerasen. Arithm. ap. Phot. Cod. 187. Diss. de Num. Pyth. Amœn. Lit. t. vii. p. 173. Morhoff, Polyhist. Lit. t. ii. l. i. c. 2. Beausob. Hist. Manich. t. i. p. ii. l. i. c. 6. Wallis, Op. t. i. p. 65. Sturm. Math. p. 6. H. More, Defens. Cabb. Ph. c. 11. p. 125. Bapt. Dous de Præstant. Mus. Vet. Rom. 1635. Fell, on Anc. Mus. Oxon, 1672. Hansch. de Enthus. Plat. s. v. D. Omeis in Ethic. Pyth. Altdorf, 1693. Syrbius, Introd. in Phys. Pyth. Kepler de Harm. Mundi. Rhodius de Transmigratione.

* Jamb. c. ult. n. 265. Laert. l. viii. sect. 45, 46. Porph. n. 22. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 486.

† Laert. l. viii. sect. 83, &c. Clem. Alex. Str. l. i. p. 305. Arist. Met. l. i. c. 5. l. v. c. 1. Jamb. Vit. P. c. xxiii. n. 104. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 11. Stob. Eccl. Phys. p. 54. 60. 93. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 16. 27. l. iv. c. 17, 18.

that they are moved in a perfect void, by the immediate energy of the Divine mind, by which the world is animated and governed; and that the earth, placed in the middle of the world, is moved about its centre towards the east.*

The peculiar tenets of HIPPO of Rhegium were: that the first principles in nature are cold and heat, or water and fire; that fire separated itself from water, and produced the world; that animal life proceeds from moisture; and that nothing is free from decay.† On account of this latter opinion Hippo has been ranked among atheists. Perhaps the truth is, that, with several philosophers of the Ionic school, he paid attention, in his doctrine of physics, to material principles alone, taking for granted the existence of an intelligent Efficient Cause.

EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum in Sicily, who flourished about the eighty-fourth Olympiad,‡ appears from his doctrine to have been of the Italic school; but under what master he studied philosophy is uncertain. It is not probable that he was born so early as to have had an opportunity of hearing Pythagoras himself. After the death of his father Meto, who was a wealthy citizen of Agrigentum, he acquired great weight among his fellow-citizens by espousing the popular party, and favouring democratic measures. He employed a large share of his paternal estate in giving dowries to young women, and marrying them to men of superior rank. His consequence in the state became at length so great, that he ventured to assume several of the distinctions of royalty, particularly a purple robe, a golden girdle, a Delphic crown, and a train of attendants, always retaining a grave and commanding aspect. He was a determined enemy to tyranny, and is said to have employed his influence in establishing and defending the rights of his countrymen.§

The skill which Empedocles possessed in medicine and natural philosophy enabled him to perform many wonders, which he passed upon the superstitious and credulous multitude for miracles. He pretended to drive away noxious winds from his country, and hereby put a stop to epidemical diseases. He is said to have checked, by the power of music, the madness of a young man, who was threatening his enemy with instant death; to have cured Pantha, a woman of Agrigentum, whom all the physicians had declared incurable; to have restored a woman to life, who had lain breathless for thirty days; and to have done many other things equally astonishing, after the manner of Pythagoras; on account of which he was an object of universal admiration, so that when he came to the Olympic games, the eyes of all the people were fixed upon him.||

Besides medical skill, Empedocles possessed poetical talents. The fragments of his verses, which are dispersed through various ancient writers, have been in part collected by Henry Stephens.¶ This circumstance affords some ground for the opinion of Fabricius,** that Empedocles was the real author of that ancient fragment which bears the name of "The Golden Verses of Pythagoras." He is said also to have been a dramatic

* Stobæi Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 13. 25. Pseudo-Orig. Philosophum, c. xv. Jamb. c. ult.

† Arist. Met. l. i. c. 3. Ælian, l. ii. c. 31. Plut. adv. Colot. t. iii. p. 459. Arnob. l. iv. p. 145. Clem. Alex. Adhort. ad Gent. p. 15. Ps. Orig. Philos. c. xvi. Simplicii Phys. l. i. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. iii. c. 4. sect. 30. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 361.

‡ B. C. 444.

§ Laert. l. viii. sect. 54—73. Jamb. c. xxiii. n. 4. Porph. Vit. P. n. 29. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. l. i. c. 1. l. vii. c. 7. sect. 6. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. i. sect. 302.

|| Jamb. c. xxv. 110. c. xxviii. n. 143. Porph. n. 30. Suidas. Laert. Plin. l. vii. c. 51. Plut. de Curios. t. i. p. 237.

¶ In Poesi Phil. 1574, 8vo.

** Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 466.

poet; but Empedocles the tragedian* was another person; Suidas, upon some unknown authority, calls him the grandson of the philosopher. Gorgias Leontinus, a celebrated orator, was his pupil; whence it may seem reasonable to infer that he was an eminent master of the art of eloquence. The particulars of his death are variously related. Some report, that during the night, after a sacred festival, he was conveyed away towards the heavens, amidst the splendour of celestial light. Others say, that on the same night he ascended Mount Etna, and threw himself into the burning crater, that the manner of his death not being known, he might afterwards pass for a god; but that the secret was discovered by means of one of his brazen sandals, which was thrown out from the mountain in a subsequent eruption of the volcano:

Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Insiluit.† (a)

The former story is unworthy of the least attention; and the latter is rejected as fictitious by Strabo, and other judicious writers. The truth probably was, as Timæus relates, that towards the close of his life Empedocles went into Greece, and never returned; whence the exact time and manner of his death remains unknown. According to Aristotle, he died at sixty years of age. A statue was erected to his memory at Agrigentum, which was afterwards carried to Rome.‡

The substance of his philosophy, as may be collected from his fragments, is this:—It is impossible to judge of the truth by the senses without the assistance of reason, which is led, by the intervention of the senses, to the contemplation of the real nature and immutable essences of things.§ The first principles of nature are of two kinds, active and passive; the active is unity, or God; the passive matter. The active principle is a subtle ethereal fire, intelligent and divine. This principle gives being to all things, animates all things, and into this all things will at last be resolved. Many demons, portions of the divine nature, wander through the region of the air, and administer human affairs. Not only man, but brute animals are allied to the Divinity; for that one spirit which pervades the universe unites all animated beings to itself, and to one another. It is therefore unlawful to kill or eat animals, which are allied to us in their principle of life.|| The world is one whole, circumscribed by the revolution of the sun, and surrounded, not by a vacuum, but by a mass of inactive matter. The first material principles of the four elements are similar atoms, indefinitely small, and of a round form. Matter, thus divided into corpuscles, possessed the primary qualities of friendship and discord, by means of which, upon the first agitation of the original chaotic mass, homogeneous parts were united, and heterogeneous separated, and the four elements composed, of which all bodies are generated. The motion of the corpuscles, which excites the qualities of friendship and discord, is produced by the energy of the intellectual fire, or divine mind: all motion, and consequently all life

* Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 646.

† Hor. Ars Poet. v. 465.

(a) Empedocles, ambitious to be deem'd
A god, leap'd coolly into Ætna's flames.

‡ Laert. Lucian. Vet. Hist. l. ii. t. ii. p. 495. Ovid. in Ibin. Strabo, l. vi.

§ Cic. Lucull. c. 8. Claudian. de Cons. v. 71. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 120. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 9. Arist. de Anim. l. iii. c. 3.

|| Sext. Emp. ib. l. ix. sect. 4. 64. 303. Arist. Met. l. ii. c. 4. De Mund. c. 6. Ps. Orig. Phil. c. iii. p. 49. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 599. Porphy. de Abst. l. ii. c. 21. Ovid. Met. l. xv. v. 13.

and being, must therefore be ascribed to God. The first principles of the elements are eternal; nothing can begin to exist, or be annihilated; but all the varieties of nature are produced by combination or separation.*

In the formation of the world, ether was first secreted from chaos; then fire, then earth, by the agitation of which were produced water and air. The heavens are a solid body of air crystalised by fire. The stars are bodies composed of that fiery substance which the ether sent forth in its first secretion. The stars are fixed in the crystal of heaven, the planets wander freely beneath it. The sun is a fiery mass, larger than the moon. The moon is in the form of a hollow plate, and is twice as far from the sun as from the earth.†

The soul of man consists of two parts; the sensitive, produced from the same first principles with the elements; and the rational, a demon sprung from the divine soul of the world, and sent down into the body as a punishment for its crimes in a former state, to remain there till it is sufficiently purified to return to God. In the course of the transmigration to which human souls are liable they may inhabit not only different human bodies, but the body of any animal or plant: All nature is subject to the immutable and eternal law of necessity.‡

EPICHRMUS, of the island of Coos, was early removed by his father to Megara, and afterwards to Syracuse, where he became a disciple in the Pythagorean school. The tyranny of Hiero preventing him from assuming the public profession of philosophy, he chiefly applied himself to the study of dramatic poetry, and offended the Pythagoreans by introducing the doctrines and precepts of Pythagoras upon the stage. No accurate account of his philosophical tenets remains. Among the apophthegms ascribed to him are these:—To die is an evil; but to be dead is no evil. Every man's natural disposition is his good or evil demon. He who is naturally inclined to good is noble, though his mother were an Ethiopian.§

OCELLUS the Lucanian, who lived in the age preceding that of Plato (for Archytas informed Plato, in a letter preserved by Laertius, || that he had received several pieces written by Ocellus from his grandson) wrote a book *On the Universe*, which is still extant, ¶ and from which Aristotle seems to have borrowed freely, in his treatise on Generation and Corruption. This work, in the state in which it now appears, is not indeed written, after the usual manner of the Pythagoreans, in the Doric dialect; but it is probable that it has undergone a change which was not uncommon, and, at the period when the writings of the Pythagoreans became obscure on account of the dialect in which they were written, was converted, by the industry of some learned grammarian, from the Doric to the Attic dialect. That it was originally written in the Doric appears from several fragments preserved by Stobæus.** Little attention is therefore due to

* Sext. adv. Math. l. viii. sect. 287. Arist. Met. l. i. c. 4. De Plant. l. i. c. 1. Laert. l. viii. sect. 76. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 13. 17. 25. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 3. 5. 17. 30. Ad Colot. Clem. Alex. Adm. ad Gent. c. 5.

† Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. 6—13. 20. 24. 27. 31.

‡ Plut. l. c. c. 32. l. iv. c. 25. adv. Colot. Stob. Ecl. Ph. l. i. p. 112. Plut. de Exilio, et de Vit. t. ii. p. 475. 531. et de Isid. p. 144. Hierocles in Aur. Carm. p. 186. Laert. sect. 77. Clem. Strom. l. v. p. 607. Ælian, de Nat. Anim. l. xvi. c. 29. Arist. Phys. l. ii. c. 4. Rhetor. l. i. c. 13.

§ Laert. l. viii. sect. 78. Suidas. Jamb. Vit. P. c. xxxv. n. 241. xxxvi. 266. Plut. in Apophthegm. t. iii. p. 326. De Adul. ib. p. 172. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 645. Stob. Sermon. 36. 218. 228. Lucian. in Longæv. t. ii. p. 835. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. i. sect. 273. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 8. || L. viii. sect. 80.

¶ Edit. D'Argens, Berolin. 1762, en Grec et en François.

** Conf. Ocell. Luc. ap. Gale, Opusc. Myth. Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 24.

the opinion* that this book was compiled from the writings of Aristotle, and is to be considered only as an epitome of the Peripatetic doctrine concerning nature. Whatever Aristotelian appearance the treatise in its present form may bear, is to be ascribed to the pains taken by transcribers to elucidate the work. If its doctrine be carefully compared with what has been advanced concerning the Pythagorean system, there will be little room left to doubt that it was written by a disciple of Pythagoras. The fundamental dogmas of Ocellus perfectly agree with those of the Italic school. His subtle speculations concerning the changes of the elements are consonant to the manner of the Pythagoreans, after they exchanged the obscure method of philosophising by numbers into a less disguised explanation of the causes of natural phenomena. As this book passed out of the hands of Archytas into those of Plato, it is evident that it was in being before the time of Aristotle; and it becomes probable that the Stagirite, after his usual manner, borrowed many things from Ocellus, but in a sense very different from that of their first author. This remnant of philosophical antiquity is therefore to be received as a curious specimen of the Pythagorean doctrine, mixed, however, with some tenets peculiar to the author. But that the reader may be able to form a judgment for himself, we subjoin the following brief summary of the doctrine of Ocellus.

Some things are known by the certain evidence of nature, others are learned by probable reasoning and conjecture. The universe never had a beginning, and will never have an end. The world, in its present beautiful form, is to be distinguished from the universe from which it is framed. That collection of all beings which forms the world is in itself perfect and entire, and has no connexion with any thing extrinsic; but the several parts of the world, consisting of natures which are not in themselves perfect, are connected with other parts, as animals with the air, vision with light, and plants with the earth. There are certain essences, natures, or principles of things, which are not objects of sight, which are themselves immutable and perfect, and which are the cause of the permanent existence of other things, and of their mutual relation and harmony. Since there is nothing exterior to the universe, it is impossible that any thing which now exists should ever have been produced from, or should ever be reduced to, nothing: individual beings, however, are of limited duration, being subject to the changes of birth, increase, and decay, in perpetual succession. Fire condensed becomes air; air, water; and water, earth: by an inversion of the process, the other elements again return to fire; and thus a perpetual circuit of nature is preserved. Human beings do not undergo this kind of circuitous change, but at death suffer entire dissolution. The form of the world is spherical, and it continues perpetually to revolve, without increase or diminution. Two things exist, production, and its cause; the former the passive, the latter the active principle. The world is divided, by the appointment of fate, into the region above the moon, which is liable to no change, and is the habitation of the gods, and the region below the moon, which is subject to perpetual variation. In the variable world, the primary active causes of things are heat and cold; the passive, dryness and moisture. Of the elements, fire and earth are the extremes, water and air the means. Fire is hot and dry; air, hot and moist: water, moist and cold; earth, cold and dry. All changes, in the variable region of the world are produced by the sun, who, as he approaches to, or recedes from the earth, produces a continual change in the air, and thence in all sublunary things.

* Burnet, *Archæol. Phil.* l. i. c. 11. Parker de Deo, *Disp.* iv. sect. 3.

Every region of nature is filled with inhabitants ; the heavens with gods, the air with demons, and the earth with men. The race of man is perpetual. The parts of the earth, and its inhabitants, are changed, and perish ; the earth itself always remains.

It seems to have been the idea of Ocellus, that the first cause of the universe having always existed, things immutable in their nature have existed from eternity, and the variable world has from eternity suffered a perpetually revolving succession of changes ; a doctrine not inconsistent with the Pythagorean dogma, concerning the production of all things from one eternal source, obscurely expressed under the image of the Monad, the fountain of all numbers. The immutable essences of Ocellus are the same with the intelligible natures of Pythagoras. The doctrine of Ocellus concerning demons, that they inhabit the sublunar regions, is essentially different from that of Aristotle, who supposed no such intelligences, except in the celestial sphere. On the whole, we think there is little room to doubt that Ocellus's work, "Concerning the Universe," ought to be ranked among the remains of the Pythagorean, rather than the Peripatetic philosophy.

TIMÆUS, the Locrian,* flourished in the Italic school during the time of Plato, who was indebted to him, among other Pythagoreans, for his acquaintance with the doctrine of Pythagoras, and who wrote his dialogue, entitled *Timæus*, on the ground of his book, "On the Nature of Things." A small piece, which he wrote concerning the Soul of the World, is preserved by Proclus, and is in some editions prefixed to Plato's *Timæus*. In this treatise, though he for the most part treads in the footsteps of Pythagoras, he departs from him in two particulars ; the first, that instead of one whole, or Monad, he supposes two independent causes of nature, God, or Mind, the fountain of intelligent nature, and Necessity, or Matter, the source of bodies ; the second, that he explains the cause of the formation of the world, from the *external* action of God upon matter, after the pattern or ideas existing in his own mind. From comparing this piece with Plato's dialogue, it will be found that the Athenian philosopher has obscured the simple doctrine of the Locrian with fancies drawn from his own imagination, or from the Egyptian schools.

Among the Pythagoric preceptors of Plato, besides Timæus, was ARCHYTAS of Tarentum. He is said to have been the eighth in succession from Pythagoras ; and this account deserves more credit than the assertion of Jamblicus, that he heard Pythagoras in person ; for the father of this sect flourished, as we have seen, about the sixtieth Olympiad,† but Archytas conversed with Plato upon his first visit to Sicily, which was in the ninety-sixth Olympiad;‡ whence it appears that there was an interval of above a century between the time of Pythagoras and that of Archytas.§

Such was the celebrity of this philosopher, that many illustrious names appear in the train of his disciples, particularly Philolaus, Eudoxus, and Plato.|| To these, Suidas, and after him Erasmus,¶ add Empedocles ; but Empedocles certainly flourished about the eighty-fourth Olympiad,** near fifty years before Archytas. He excelled, not only in speculative philosophy, but in geometry and mechanics.†† He is said to have invented a kind of winged automaton, and several curious hydraulic machines. He

* Cic. de Fin. l. v. Tusc. Qu. l. i. Macrob. Sat. l. i. c. 1. Chalcidius in Tim. p. 75. Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. viii. p. 523. † B. C. 540. ‡ B. C. 396.

§ Laert. l. viii. sect. 79—86. Suidas. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1. Strabo, l. vi. Jamb. c. xxiii. n. 103. || Laert. Suid. Cic. ¶ Chiliad. p. 550. ** B. C. 444.

†† Vitruv. l. ix. c. 3. Aul. Gell. l. x. c. 12. Ælian, l. vii. c. 14.

was in such high reputation for moral and political wisdom, that, contrary to the usual custom, he was appointed seven different times to the supreme magistracy in Tarentum. He exercised his authority with moderation, and endeared himself to his countrymen by his affability and condescension. He never chastised a servant, or punished an inferior, in wrath. To one of his dependants who had offended him, he said, "It is well for you that I am angry; otherwise, I know not what you might expect."* Of his writings none remain except a metaphysical work, "On the Nature of the Universe," in which he has explained the predicaments; and sundry fragments, "On Wisdom," and "On the Good and Happy Man," preserved by Stobæus, and edited from him by Gale.† His death, which is said to have been occasioned by a shipwreck, is made a subject of poetical description by Horace, who celebrates him as an eminent geographer and astronomer. ‡

Te maris et terræ, numeroque carentis arenæ
 Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
 Pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
 Munera : nec quidquam prodest
 Aerias tentasse domos, animoque rotundum
 Percurrisse polum, morituro. (a)

Concerning the philosophical tenets of Archytas the ancients are silent; except that Aristotle, who was an industrious collector from the Pythagoreans, borrowed from him the general arrangements which are usually called his ten categories. The sum of his moral doctrine is; that virtue is to be pursued for its own sake in every condition of life; that all excess is inconsistent with virtue; that the mind is more injured by prosperity than by adversity; and that there is no pestilence so destructive to human happiness as pleasure.§ It is probable that Aristotle was indebted to Archytas for many of his moral ideas; particularly for the notion which runs through his ethical pieces, that virtue consists in avoiding extremes.

HIPPASUS of Metapontum is mentioned as having excelled in the application of mathematical principles to music, statics, and mensuration. He appears to have been an enemy to the concealed method of philosophising adopted by Pythagoras, and to have expressed himself more plainly concerning the nature of things than was usual in the Italic school.|| In common with other Pythagoreans he held that fire is the first principle of all things, whence they spring, and into which they are resolved in certain periodical revolutions; that this first principle is intellectual, and the source of all mind; but that when it is extinguished or condensed, it is converted into the grosser elements.¶ In this doctrine he approached near to the

* Æl. l. xii. c. 19. l. xiii. c. 15. l. xiv. c. 19. Jamb. c. xxxi. n. 197. Plut. de Inst. Puer. t. i. p. 14. † Opuscul. Myth. p. 673. ‡ L. i. Od. 28.

(a) Archytas, what avails thy nice survey
 Of ocean's countless sands, of earth and sea?
 In vain thy mighty spirit once could soar
 To orbs celestial, and their course explore;
 If here upon the tempest-beaten strand
 You lie confined, till some more liberal hand
 Shall strew thy pious dust in funeral rite,
 And wing thee to the boundless realms of light. FRANCIS.

§ Fragm. de vero bono, ap. Gale. Cic. de Senect. c. 12.

|| Jamb. Vit. Pyth. c. xviii. n. 81. 88. Laert. l. viii. sect. 84. Jamb. Intr. Nic. p. 11. Smyrnæus de Music. c. 12.

¶ Laert. Clem. Al. Protrept. Euseb. Pr. l. xiv. c. 14. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. iii. c. 4. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 361. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 3. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 13.

system of Heraclitus, afterwards to be explained. He also taught that the universe is finite, is always changing, and undergoes a periodical conflagration.

The first philosopher who divulged the Pythagoric doctrine was PHILOLAUS, a native of Crotona, who afterwards lived at Heraclea. He was a disciple of Archytas, and flourished in the time of Plato.* It was from him that Plato, as we have before related, purchased the written records of the Pythagorean system, contrary to an express oath taken by the society of Pythagoreans, pledging themselves to keep secret the mysteries of their sect. It is probable that among these books were the writings of Timæus, upon which Plato formed the dialogue which bore his name. Plutarch relates, that Philolaus was one of the persons who escaped from the house which was burned by Cylon, during the life of Pythagoras; but this account cannot be correct. Philolaus was contemporary with Plato, and therefore certainly not with Pythagoras. Interfering in affairs of state, he fell a sacrifice to political jealousy.

Philolaus treated the doctrine of nature with great subtlety, but at the same time with great obscurity, referring every thing that exists to mathematical principles. He taught, that reason, improved by mathematical learning, is alone capable of judging concerning the nature of things; that the whole world consists of infinite and finite; that number subsists by itself, and is the chain which by its power sustains the eternal frame of things; that the Monad is not the sole principle of all things, but that the Binary is necessary to furnish materials from which all subsequent numbers may be produced; that the world is one whole, which has a fiery centre, about which the ten celestial spheres revolve, heaven, the sun, the planets, the earth, and the moon; that the sun has a vitreous surface, whence the fire diffused through the world is reflected, rendering the mirror from which it is reflected visible; that all things are preserved in harmony by the law of necessity; and that the world is liable to destruction, both by fire and by water.†

From this summary of the doctrine of Philolaus it appears probable that, following Timæus, whose writings he possessed, he so far departed from the Pythagorean system as to conceive two independent principles in nature, God and Matter, and that it was from the same source that Plato derived his doctrine upon this subject.

The last celebrated name, which remains to be added to the list of Pythagoreans is EUDOXUS of Gnidus. His first preceptor was Archytas, by whom he was instructed in the principles of geometry and philosophy. About the age of twenty-three he came to Athens; and though his patrimony was small, by the generous assistance of Theomedon, a physician, he was enabled to attend the schools of the philosophers, particularly that of Plato. The liberality of his friends afterwards supported him during a visit to Egypt, where he was introduced by Agesilaus to king Nectanebis II., and by him to the Egyptian priests. It has been said that he accompanied Plato into Egypt; but this is inconsistent with chronology; for Nectanebis II. reigned in Egypt from the second year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad‡ to the second year of the hundred and seventh;§ and it

* Laert. l. viii. sect. 15. Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 17. Cic. de Orat. l. iii. Jamb. c. xxxvi. n. 266. xxxi. n. 199. Tzetzes, Chil. x. Hist. 355. Plut. de Gen. Soc. Porph. Vit. Pyth. n. 57.

† Laert. l. viii. sect. 85, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 92. Jamb. ad Nic. p. 7. 11. Claud. Mamertus de Statu Animæ, l. ii. c. 2, 3. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 18. 25. Plut. de Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. 20. l. iii. c. 13.

‡ B. C. 363.

§ B. C. 351.

was before Plato opened his school, that is, before the ninety-eighth Olympiad,* about the fortieth year of his age, that he visited Egypt. Eudoxus is highly celebrated by the ancients for his skill in astronomy; but none of his writings on this or any other subject are extant. Aratus, who has described the celestial phenomena in verse, is said to have followed Eudoxus. He flourished about the ninety-seventh Olympiad,† and died in the fifty-third year of his age.‡

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE ELEATIC SECT.

ALTHOUGH the founder of the sect, whose history now comes under our consideration was an Ionian, three of its most celebrated preceptors, Parmenides, Zeno, and Leucippus, having been natives of Elea, or Velia (a town in Magna Græcia, built by a colony of Phoceans in the time of Cyrus), the sect has derived its name from this place, and is called the ELEATIC.§ It must be divided into two classes; one of which treated concerning the nature and origin of things upon *metaphysical*, the other upon *physical*, principles. To the former class belong Xenophanes, Parmenides, Melissus, and Zeno of Elea; to the latter, Leucippus, Democritus, Protagoras, Diagoras, and Anaxarchus. Concerning each of these we shall treat distinctly.

XENOPHANES,|| the author of the Eleatic sect, was a native of Colophon. The great length of his life has led different writers to fix different dates to the time in which he flourished; but if the several chronological accounts of this philosopher be compared, it will appear probable that he was born, as Eusebius asserts, about the fifty-sixth Olympiad.¶ From some cause which is not related, Xenophanes early left his country, and took refuge in Sicily, where he supported himself by reciting, in the court of Hiero elegiac and iambic verses, which he had written in reprehension of the theogonies of Hesiod and Homer. From Sicily he passed over into *Magna Græcia*, where he took up the profession of philosophy, and became a celebrated preceptor in the Pythagorean school. Indulging, how-

* B. C. 388. † B. C. 392.

‡ Plut. de vivend. sec. Epic. t. ii. p. 95. Cic. de Div. l. ii. c. 42. Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21. Laert. l. viii. sect. 86. Suidas. Athen. l. vii. p. 276. l. vi. p. 288. 395. Strabo, l. ii. p. 100. l. xvii. Euseb. Chron. Ol. 89. 3. 97. 1. Ælian, l. vii. c. 17. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. i. sect. 301.

Vidend. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 466. 486. 501. 508. 645, 646. Obs. Hal. Lat. t. ii. Obs. 19. p. 433. t. iv. Obs. 18, 19. Bayle. Amœnit. Lit. t. vii. p. 247. Le Clerc, Hist. Med. p. i. l. ii. c. 5. Otium Vindel. Mel. iii. p. 265. Scip. Aquilianus de Plac. Phil. ante Arist. c. 20. 22. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 21, &c. cum Not. Mosh. De Antichthon. Pythag. Obs. Hal. t. iv. Ob. 19. sect. 25. Stoll. Hist. Ph. Mor. Gent. sect. 136. 138. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 11. Parker de Deo, Disp. iv. sect. 3. Reimmann. Hist. Ath. c. 20. sect. 3. Jons. l. i. c. 6. 11. Gale, præf. ad Tim. Opusc. Myth. Schmidii Diss. de Archyta, Jenæ, 1683. Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 48. sect. 1. c. 33. sect. 13. Lipsii Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. l. iii. Diss. vii. Thomas. de loc. Anim. et Scapha Lunæ, c. 5. sect. 11. in Hist. Sap. et Stult. t. i. p. 72. Carist. Hist. Mirab. c. 95. Bentleii Ep. Phal. p. 87. Mamertus de Statu Animæ, l. ii. c. 2, 3.

§ Strabo, l. vi. p. 252.

|| Laert. l. viii. sect. 18. l. i. sect. 16. Clem. Al. Strom. l. i. p. 301. Plut. Apoth. t. i. p. 327. Ps. Orig. Phil. c. xiv. p. 94. ¶ B. C. 556.

ever, a greater freedom of thought than was usual among the disciples of Pythagoras, he ventured to introduce new opinions of his own, and in many particulars to oppose the doctrines of Epimenides, Thales, and Pythagoras. This gave occasion to Timon, who was a severe satirist, to introduce him in ridicule as one of the characters in his dialogues. Xenophanes possessed the Pythagorean chair of philosophy about seventy years, and lived to the extreme age of an hundred years, that is, according to Eusebius, till the eighty-first Olympiad.*

Of the writings of the Eleatic school nothing remain except a few fragments collected by Henry Stephens. We chiefly rely for our information concerning this sect upon the authority of Plato and Aristotle; the former of whom, while he professed to explain the doctrines of Parmenides, in the dialogues which bear his name, is acknowledged to have adulterated them with opinions of his own; and the latter, in a particular treatise concerning Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias, has not scrupled to misrepresent their tenets, that he might the more easily refute them. These and other circumstances render it extremely difficult to relate, with accuracy, the tenets of the Eleatic sect. As far as respects Xenophanes, after a careful comparison of the accounts which are given by Aristotle and others, the following is the best SUMMARY we are able to collect of his doctrine.

In METAPHYSICS, Xenophanes taught,† that if ever there had been a time when nothing existed, nothing could ever have existed. That whatever is, always has been from eternity, without deriving its existence from any prior principle; that nature is one and without limit; that what is one is similar in all its parts, else it would be many; that the one infinite, eternal, and homogeneous universe is immutable, and incapable of change; that God is one incorporeal eternal being, and, like the universe, spherical in form; that he is of the same nature with the universe, comprehending all things within himself; is intelligent, and pervades all things; but bears no resemblance to human nature either in body or mind.‡

In PHYSICS, he taught,§ that there are innumerable worlds; that there is in nature no real production, decay, or change; that there are four elements, and that the earth is the basis of all things; that the stars arise from vapours, which are extinguished by day and ignited by night; that the sun consists of fiery particles collected by humid exhalations, and daily renewed; that the course of the sun is rectilinear, and only appears curvilinear from its great distance; that there are as many suns as there are different climates of the earth; that the moon is an inhabited world; that the earth, as appears from marine shells, which are found at the tops of mountains, and in caverns, far from the sea, was once a general mass of waters; and that it will at length return into the same state, and pass through an endless series of similar revolutions.

The doctrine of Xenophanes concerning nature is so imperfectly pre-

* Laert. Plut. l. c. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 33. sect. 224. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 557. B. C. 456.

† Arist. Phys. Acroas. l. i. c. 2. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 37. Arist. Met. l. i. c. 5. Ps. Orig. Ph. c. xi. p. 95. Laert. l. ix. sect. 19. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 33. Cic. in Lucull. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 37.

‡ Clem. Alex. Str. l. v. p. 601. l. vii. p. 701.

§ Arist. Orig. Laert. l. c. Stob. Ecl. Phys. p. 52. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 49. Plut. de aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 24, 25. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 20. Euseb. Pr. l. i. c. 8. l. xiv. c. 17. Stob. Ecl. Ph. l. i. p. 55, 56. Cic. de Div. l. i. c. 3. Plin. l. ii. c. 103.

served, and obscurely expressed, that it is no wonder that it has been differently represented by different writers. Some have confounded it with the modern impiety of Spinoza, who supposed all the appearances in nature to be only modifications of one material substance. Others have endeavoured to accommodate it to the ancient system of emanation; and others, to the Pythagoric and Stoic notions of the soul of the world. But none of these explanations accord with the terms in which the tenets of Xenophanes are expressed. Perhaps the truth is, that he held the universe to be one in nature and substance, but distinguished in his conception between the matter of which all things consist, and that latent divine force, which, though not a distinct substance, but an attribute, is necessarily inherent in the universe, and is the cause of all its perfection. This view of his doctrine seems to give consistency to the language ascribed to him, and is particularly suitable to his doctrine, preserved by Sextus Empiricus, that God is of the same nature with the universe; τὸν Θεὸν συμφυῇ τοῖς πᾶσι.

What Xenophanes maintained concerning the immobility and immutability of nature is to be understood of the universe considered as one whole, and not of its several parts, which his physical tenets supposed to be liable to change. If he asserted that there is no motion in nature, he probably understood the term motion metaphysically, and only meant that there is no such thing in nature as passing from nonentity to entity, or the reverse. Perhaps the disputes among the ancients concerning motion, like many other metaphysical contests, were mere combats in the dark, for want of settling, at the beginning of the dispute, the meaning of terms. By the term motion they seem more commonly to have meant change of nature, than change of place.

The notion ascribed to Xenophanes concerning the nature and origin of the celestial bodies, as meteors daily renewed, is so absurd, that we are inclined to think it must have been defectively or unfairly stated. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that many of the fancies ascribed to philosophers are nothing more than the misconceptions of ignorant or careless biographers.

Equally distinguished in the Eleatic school with Xenophanes was his disciple PARMENIDES,* who continued the sect at Elea, his native city. He flourished about the sixty-ninth Olympiad.† He is said to have attended upon the instructions of Anaximander; but if this be true, it must have been while he was very young. His patrimony was large, his early manner of life was splendid, and his influence in the civil affairs of life considerable, till he formed an intimacy with Diochetas, a Pythagorean, by whom he was persuaded to withdraw from the business of public life to the science and leisure of the schools. He thought himself so much indebted to this poor but honest Pythagorean, for having introduced him into the recesses of philosophy, that after his death he consecrated a temple to his memory. Cebes in his allegorical table speaks of Parmenides as "an eminent pattern of virtue. He wrote the doctrines of his school in verses,‡ of which a few fragments still remain, but in so mutilated a state, that they afford little help in explaining his system of philosophy. Plato, in the dialogue which bears the name of Parmenides, professes to represent his tenets, but confounds them with his own. From the scattered

* Laert. l. ix. sect. 21, &c. Suidas. Plato in Parmen. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 505. Jamb. Vit. Pyth. c. xxix. n. 166.

† B. C. 504.

‡ Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 481. 489.

reports of the ancients we gather up the following ABSTRACT* of the PHILOSOPHY of PARMENIDES.

Philosophy is twofold, that which follows the report of the senses, and that which is according to reason and truth. The former treats of the appearances of sensible objects, the latter considers the abstract nature of things, and inquires into the constitution of the universe. Abstract philosophy teaches, that from nothing nothing can proceed. The universe is one, immovable, immutable, eternal, and of a spherical form. Whatever is not comprehended in the universe has no real existence. Nothing in nature is either produced or destroyed, but merely appears so to the senses.† Physical philosophy teaches that the principles of things are heat and cold, or fire and earth, of which the former is the efficient, the latter the material cause; that the earth is spherical, and placed in the centre, being exactly balanced by its distance from the heavens, so that there is no cause why it should move one way rather than another; that the first men were produced from mud, by the action of heat upon cold; that the frame of the world is liable to decay, but the universe itself remains the same; and that the chief seat of the soul is the heart.‡

There is so near a resemblance between the metaphysical doctrines of Parmenides and Xenophanes, that it appears reasonable to explain both in the same way; excepting, perhaps, that while Xenophanes considered the universe as possessing within itself a divine force, Parmenides adhered more strictly to the Pythagorean doctrine, and supposed the Deity to be an informing principle, or intellectual fire, diffused throughout the universe, but more especially residing in the extreme sphere of the world; on which account he is metaphorically represented by this philosopher as a crown of light, inclosing within its circumference the celestial orb.§

MELISSUS of Samos was a disciple of Parmenides, and adhered closely to his doctrines. As was usual with the Pythagorean philosophers, he acquired influence among his countrymen in affairs of state. Plutarch relates that he was entrusted with the command of a fleet, and gained a victory in a naval engagement with the Athenians. He flourished about the eighty-fourth Olympiad.|| Like Parmenides, he held that the principle of all things is one and immutable; that this one being includes all things, and is infinite, without beginning or end; that there is neither vacuum nor motion in the universe, nor any such thing as production or decay;¶ doctrines which admit of the same explanation which has been given of the tenets of Xenophanes and Parmenides.

About the same time flourished Zeno, called the Eleatic, to distinguish him from Zeno the Stoic, and others. He was a zealous friend of civil liberty, and is celebrated for his courageous and successful opposition to tyrants; but the inconsistency of the stories related by different writers concerning him in a great measure destroys their credit. He chose to reside in his small native city of Elea, rather than at Athens, because it

* Laert. l. ix. sect. 22. Euseb. Pr. l. i. c. 8. l. xiv. c. 17. Plut. adv. Colot. t. iii. p. 416. 434. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 111. Simplic. in Phys. Arist. sect. 7. 17. 31.

† Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 2, 3. Ps. Orig. l. c. c. 11. p. 86. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 24. et adv. Colot. l. c.

‡ Laert. l. c. Plut. adv. Colot. l. c. Arist. Met. l. i. c. 4. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 9. l. vii. sect. 6. Stob. Ecl. Ph. c. 12. 24. Plat. in Conv. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iii. c. 15. l. iv. c. 5. § Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 11. || B. C. 444.

¶ Laert. l. ix. sect. 24. Plut. adv. Colot. t. iii. p. 434. Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 7. l. iv. c. 8. Plat. in Theat. Sext. Emp. Pyr. Hyp. l. iii. c. 7. sect. 65. Simplic. ad Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 3. Arist. de Cælo, l. iii. c. 1.

afforded freer scope to his independent and generous spirit, which could not easily submit to the restraints of authority. It is related that he vindicated the warmth with which he resented reproach, by saying, "If I were indifferent to censure, I should also be indifferent to praise."* The invention of the dialectic art has been improperly ascribed to Zeno; but there can be no doubt that this philosopher, and other metaphysical disputants in the Eleatic sect, employed much ingenuity and subtlety in exhibiting examples of most of the logical arts which were afterwards reduced to rule by Aristotle and others.†

According to Aristotle,‡ Zeno of Elea taught that nothing can be produced either from that which is similar or dissimilar; that there is only one being, and that is God; that this being is eternal, homogeneous, and spherical, neither finite nor infinite, neither quiescent nor movable; that there are many worlds; that there is in nature no vacuum; that all bodies are composed of four elements, heat and moisture, cold and dryness; and that the body of man is from the earth, and his soul an equal mixture of these four elements. He argued with great subtlety against the possibility of motion. If Seneca's§ account of this philosopher deserves credit, he reached the highest point of scepticism, and denied the real existence of external objects. The truth is, that after all that has been advanced by different writers, it is impossible to determine whether Zeno understood the term *One*, metaphysically, logically, or physically; or whether he admitted or denied a nature properly divine. It is with equal judgment and modesty that Mosheim|| applies to the doctrine of Zeno the words of Terence:

Incerta hæc, si tu postules
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,
Quam si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias. (a)

Thus much concerning that branch of the Eleatic sect which explained the nature and origin of the universe METAPHYSICALLY. A second sect of philosophers arose in this school, who treated the subject PHYSICALLY; and who, giving up all metaphysical explanations of the cause of things, attempted to account for the *phenomena* of nature from the known laws of matter and motion.

The author of this essential innovation was LEUCIPPUS,¶ who is said by Laertius to have been a native of Elea, and who was a disciple of Zeno the Eleatic philosopher. He wrote a treatise concerning nature,** now lost, from which the ancients probably collected what they relate concerning his tenets. Dissatisfied with the metaphysical subtleties, by which the former philosophers of this school had confounded all evidence from the senses, Leucippus, and his follower Democritus, determined, if possible, to discover a system more consonant to nature and reason. Leaving behind them the whole train of fanciful conceptions, numbers, ideas, proportions, qualities, and elementary forms, in which philosophers had hitherto taken refuge, as the asylum of ignorance, they resolved to examine the real con-

* Laert. l. ix. sect. 25, &c. Suidas. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 3.

† Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 7. Plut. in Pericle, t. iii. p. 178. Plat. in Phædro.

‡ De Xenoph. Zeno. Gorgia, t. i. c. 3. p. 942. Phys. l. vi. c. 9. § Ep. 58.

|| Ad Cudw. c. iv. sect. 21.

(a) Things thus uncertain, if by reason's rules
You'd certain make; it were as wise a task
To try with reason to run mad. COLMAN.

¶ Laert. l. ix. sect. 30. Tzetz. Chil. v. 980.

** Pseud. Orig. Phil. c. xii. p. 88. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 778.

stitution of the material world, and inquire into the mechanical properties of bodies; that from these they might, if possible, deduce from certain knowledge of natural causes; and hence be able to account for natural appearances. Their great object was to restore the alliance between reason and the senses, which metaphysical subtleties had dissolved. For this purpose they introduced the doctrine of indivisible atoms, possessing within themselves a principle of motion. Several other philosophers, before their time, had indeed considered matter as divisible into indefinitely small particles, particularly Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and Heraclitus. But Leucippus and Democritus were the first who taught that these particles were originally destitute of all qualities except figure and motion, and therefore may justly be reckoned the authors of the Atomic System of Philosophy. They looked upon the qualities, which preceding philosophers had ascribed to matter as the mere creatures of abstraction; and they determined to admit nothing into their system which they could not establish upon the sure testimony of the senses. They were moreover of opinion, that both the Eleatic philosophers and those of other sects had unnecessarily encumbered their respective systems by assigning some external or internal cause of motion, of a nature not to be discovered by the senses. They therefore resolved to reject all metaphysical principles, and, in their explanation of the *phenomena* of nature, to proceed upon no other ground than the sensible and mechanical properties of bodies. By the help of the internal principle of motion, which they attributed to the indivisible particles of matter, they made a feeble and fanciful effort to account for the production of all natural bodies from physical causes, without the intervention of Deity. But, whether they meant entirely to discard the notion of a divine nature from the universe is uncertain. The first idea of the atomic system was suggested by Leucippus; it was improved by Democritus, and afterwards carried to all the perfection which a system so fundamentally defective would admit of, by Epicurus. The following SUMMARY of the DOCTRINE of LEUCIPPUS will exhibit the infant state of the Atomic Philosophy, and at the same time sufficiently expose its absurdity.

The Universe, which is infinite, is in part a *plenum*, and in part a *vacuum*. The *plenum* contains innumerable corpuscles or atoms, of various figures, which falling into the *vacuum*, struck against each other; and hence arose a variety of curvilinear motions, which continued till at length atoms of similar forms met together, and bodies were produced. The primary atoms being specifically of equal weight, and not being able, on account of their multitude, to move in circles, the smaller rose to the exterior parts of the vacuum, whilst the larger, entangling themselves, formed a spherical shell, which revolved about its centre, and which included within itself all kinds of bodies. This central mass was gradually increased by a perpetual accession of particles from the surrounding shell, till at last the earth was formed.* In the mean time, the spherical shell was continually supplied with new bodies, which, in its revolution, it gathered up from without. Of the particles thus collected in the spherical shell, some in their combination formed humid masses, which, by their circular motion, gradually became dry, and were at length ignited, and became stars. The sun was formed in the same manner, in the exterior surface of the shell; and the moon, in its interior surface. In this manner the world was formed; and, by an inversion of the process, it will at length be dissolved.†

* Laert. l. c. Theodoret. Therapeut. Serm. iv. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. Plut. de Plac. Ph. l. ii. c. 7. l. iii. c. 12.

† Laert. et Ps. Orig. l. c.

DEMOCRITUS,* the successor of Leucippus, was a native of Abdera,† a town in Thrace, the stupidity of whose inhabitants became proverbial. He was of noble descent. Laertius, after Apollonius, fixes the time of his birth in the first year of the eightieth Olympiad.‡ Ælian§ must therefore have been mistaken in making him contemporary with Alexander, and could have no good authority for the story which he relates, that Democritus laughed at Alexander, who complained that he had only one world to conquer. Democritus was contemporary with Socrates, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Parmenides, Zeno, and Protagoras.|| The father of Democritus, with his fellow-citizens, is said¶ to have contributed largely towards the entertainment of the army of Xerxes, on his return to Asia; in reward of which service, the Persian king made the Abderites rich presents, and left among them several Chaldean Magi. Democritus, according to Laertius, was instructed by some of these eastern sages in astronomy and theology. After the death of his father, Democritus determined to travel in search of wisdom; and therefore, in the distribution of his father's estates among him and his three brothers, he made choice of that part which, though least in value, consisted of money. His portion is said to have amounted to one hundred talents. Little stress is therefore to be laid upon the inconsistent story of his leaving his fields untilled, and giving up his patrimony to his country.** Amply provided with money to defray the expenses of travelling, after the manner of the age, in which it was customary to visit distant countries in pursuit of knowledge, he went first into Egypt, for the sake of learning geometry from the Egyptian priests; and then turned aside into Ethiopia, to converse with the Gymnosophists of that country; after which he passed over into Asia, resided some time among the Persian Magi, for the purpose of learning magical philosophy, and, as some assert, travelled into India.†† Whether in the course of his travels Democritus visited Athens, or attended upon Anaxagoras, is uncertain.‡‡ There can be little doubt, however, that during some part of his life he was instructed in the Pythagorean school, and particularly that he was a disciple of Leucippus.

After a long course of years spent in travelling, Democritus returned to Abdera, richly stored with the treasures of philosophy, which he had spared neither labour nor expense to procure, but destitute of the necessary means of subsistence. His brother Damasis, however, received him kindly, and liberally supplied his exigencies. It was a law in Abdera, that whoever should waste all his patrimony should be deprived of the rights of sepulture. Democritus, desirous of avoiding the disgrace to which this law subjected him, gave public instructions to the people, chiefly from his larger *Diacosmus*, the most valuable of his writings: in return he received from his hearers many valuable presents, and other testimonies of respect, which relieved him from all apprehension of suffering public censure as a spendthrift.§§ Laertius asserts that his countrymen loaded him with riches, to the amount of five hundred talents; but it is wholly incredible that a sum, which few royal treasuries were at that time able to furnish,

* Laert. l. ix. sect. 34.

† Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 2. Solin, c. 10. Cic. ad Attic. l. iv. Ep. 16. Juv. Sat. ix. v. 49. Mart. l. ix. Ep. 25. ‡ B. C. 460. § L. iv. c. 20.

|| Aul. Gell. l. xviii. c. 21. Plin. l. xxx. c. 1. Euseb. Chron. Dioc. Sic. l. xiv. c. 11. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7. ¶ Herod. l. viii. Laert. sect. 34, &c.

** Val. Max. et Æl. l. c. Hor. Ep. l. i. Ep. 12. v. 12. Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 29.

†† Laert. Æl. Suid. Clem. Al. Strom. l. i. p. 304. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xxx. Procœm. xxiv. c. 17. ‡‡ Laert. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7.

§§ Laert. Suid. Plin. Hist. N. l. xviii. c. 35. Athen. l. iv. p. 168.

should have been raised in an obscure town as a gratuity to an individual. There can be no doubt, however, that Democritus, by his learning and wisdom, and especially by his acquaintance with nature, acquired great fame, and excited much admiration among the ignorant Abderites. By giving previous notice of unexpected changes in the weather, and by other artifices, he had the address to make them believe that he possessed a power of predicting future events; and by this means he gained such an ascendancy over them, that they not only gave him the appellation of *Wisdom*, and looked upon him as something more than mortal, but proposed to entrust him with the direction of their public affairs. From inclination and habit he, however, preferred a contemplative to an active life, and therefore declined these public honours, and passed the remainder of his days in solitude.*

It is said that, from this time, Democritus spent his days and nights in caverns and sepulchres; and that in one of these gloomy retreats, whilst he sat by his midnight lamp busily engaged in writing, he was on a sudden visited by several young men, who, in order to terrify him, had clothed themselves in black garments, and put on masks, pretending to be ghosts; but that, upon their appearance, he coolly requested them not to play the fool, and went on with the studies in which they found him employed.† Others relate, ‡ that Democritus, in order to be more perfectly master of his intellectual faculties, by means of a burning glass deprived himself of the organs of sight. But the former of these stories has the air of fable; and the latter is wholly incredible, since the writers who relate it affirm that Democritus employed his leisure in writing books, and in dissecting the bodies of animals, neither of which could very well have been effected without eyes. Cicero, who was not destitute of credulity, mentions the story, but at the same time intimates his own doubts concerning its truth. Nor is greater credit due to the tale, § that Democritus spent his leisure hours in chemical researches after the philosopher's stone, the dream of a later age; or to the story of his conversation with Hippocrates, grounded upon letters, || which are said to have passed between that father of medicine and the people of Abdera, on the supposed madness of Democritus, but which are so evidently spurious, that it would require the credulity of the Abderites themselves to suppose them genuine. All that is probable concerning this conversation, so circumstantially and eloquently related in the Epistles ascribed to Hippocrates is, that Hippocrates, who was contemporary with Democritus, admired his extensive knowledge of nature, and reprobated the stupidity of the Abderites, who imputed his wonderful operations to a supernatural intercourse with demons, or to madness.

The only reasonable conclusion which can be drawn from these marvellous tales is, that Democritus was, what he is commonly represented to have been, a man of sublime genius and penetrating judgment, who, by a long course of study and observation, became an eminent master of speculative and physical science; the natural consequence of which was, that, like Roger Bacon in a later period, he astonished and imposed upon his ignorant and credulous countrymen. Petronius relates that he was perfectly acquainted with the virtues of herbs, plants, and stones, and that he spent his life in making experiments upon natural bodies.

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. p. 631. Laert. Suidas.

† Lucian, Philopseud. t. iii. p. 595.

‡ Aul. Gell. l. x. c. 17. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 39. Plut. de Polypragm. Tertull. Apol. c. 46.

§ Borrich. de Art. Chem. p. 69. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 766.

|| Hippocr. Op. t. ii. p. 901. ed. Lind. Laert. sect. 42. Æl. l. iv. c. 20.

Democritus has been commonly known under the appellation of The Laughing Philosopher; and it is gravely related by Seneca* that he never appeared in public without expressing his contempt of the follies of mankind by laughter. But this account is wholly inconsistent with what has been related concerning his fondness for a life of gloomy solitude and profound contemplation, and with that strength and elevation of mind, which his philosophical researches must have required, and which are ascribed to him by the general voice of antiquity. Thus much, however, may be easily admitted, on the credit of Ælian† and Lucian,‡ that a man so superior to the generality of his contemporaries, and whose lot it was to live among a race of men who were stupid to a proverb, might frequently treat their follies with ridicule and contempt. Accordingly we find that among his fellow-citizens he obtained the appellation of γέλᾱσιμος, The Derider.

Democritus appears to have been in his manners chaste and temperate; § and his sobriety was repaid by a healthy old age. He lived, and enjoyed the use of his faculties, to the term of a hundred years (some say several years longer), and at last died through mere decay. || The following singular circumstance is said to have happened just before his death. His sister, who had the care of him, observing him to be near his end, expressed great regret that his immediate death would prevent her celebrating the approaching festival of Ceres; upon which Democritus, who was now unable to receive any nourishment, that he might if possible gratify her wish by living a few days longer, desired her often to bring hot bread near his nostrils: the experiment succeeded, and he was preserved alive without food for three days. His death was exceedingly lamented by his countrymen; and the charge of his funeral was defrayed from the public treasury. He wrote much, but none of his works are extant.

Concerning TRUTH Democritus taught, ¶ that there are two kinds of knowledge; one, obscure; the other, genuine; the former, that which is derived from the senses; the latter, that which is derived from the exercise of thought upon the nature of things. This exercise of the reason, to produce certain knowledge, he confessed to be exceedingly difficult; and therefore said, that truth lay in a deep well, from which it is the office of reason to draw it up.

Concerning PHYSICS, the doctrine of Democritus was as follows: ** nothing can ever be produced from that which has no existence; nor can any thing which exists be ever annihilated. Whatever exists must therefore owe its being to necessary and self-existent principles. The first principles of all new things are two, atoms and vacuum. For bodies must consist of both these, since they cannot be divided till they are reduced to nothing. Neither of these principles is produced from the other. They are both infinite, atoms in number, vacuum in magnitude. Atoms†† are solid, and the only beings; vacuum, or entire space, can neither be said to be existent nor non-existent, being neither corporeal nor incorporeal. Atoms have the properties of figure, magnitude, motion, and weight, being heavy in pro-

* De Ira, l. ii. c. 10. De Tranq. c. 15.

† Var. H. l. iv. c. 20.

‡ Vit. Auct. t. iii. p. 112.

§ Plin. N. H. l. xxviii. c. 6. Tertull. de Anim. c. 27. Clem. Al. Pædag. l. ii. p. 193.

|| Laert. sect. 39—43. Diodor. Sic. lib. xiv. Cic. de Senect. c. 7. Luc. de Longæv. t. ii. p. 829. Athen. l. ii. p. 46. Suidas.

¶ Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 135, 136. l. viii. sect. 139, 327. Laert. l. ix. sect. 44—46. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 12. l. iv. c. 10.

** Laert. l. c. Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 6. l. iii. c. 4. Cic. Acad. Qu. l. iv. c. 37.

†† Arist. Metaph. l. i. c. 4. Laert. Arist. de Gener. l. i. c. 1. l. v. c. 8. Phys. l. i. c. 6. l. viii. c. 1. De Cælo, l. iii. c. 4. Pseud. Or. c. xiii. p. 91. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 24. De Fin. l. i. c. 6. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 16. l. iv. c. 4.

portion to their bulk. In figure they are various; some are angular, others not so; some circular, others curved, others plain; some smooth; others rough; some hooked, others pointed. With respect to magnitude, they are too small to be singly visible, but are of different sizes; they are perfectly solid, indivisible, and unalterable.

These atoms, or first corpuscles, have been eternally moving in infinite vacuum or space, where there is neither high nor low, middle nor end.* Their motion is of one kind, that which perpetually deviates from a right line. By their continual and rapid motion, collisions are produced which occasion innumerable combinations of particles, whence arise the various form of things. The natural necessity, by which the primary particles are thus moved and united, is the only fate by which the world is created or governed. The system of nature is one, consisting of parts, which differ only in their figure, order, and situation. The production of an organised body takes place when those atoms, which are in their nature fitted to form that body, happen to be suitably arranged: if this arrangement be diversified, alteration takes place; if it be entirely destroyed, dissolution. The qualities of bodies are not essential to their nature, but the casual effect of arrangement; and to this cause is to be ascribed the different impressions which they make upon the senses. Bitterness and sweetness, for example, are not properties essential to bodies, but effects produced upon the senses in consequence of the various arrangement of atoms.†

In infinite space there are innumerable worlds, some of which are perfectly similar, others dissimilar; but all subject to growth, decay, and destruction.‡ The world has no animating principle, but all things are moved by the rapid agitation of atoms, as by an universally penetrating fire. The sun and moon are composed of light particles, which revolve about a common centre. The order of the heavenly bodies is, first, the fixed stars, then the planets, then the sun, then the moon. All the heavenly bodies move from east to west, and those which are nearest revolve with the least velocity; whence the sun, the inferior planets, and the moon, move slower than the rest. A comet is a combination of planets which, approaching near each other, appear as one body. The earth at the first was so small and light, as to wander about in the regions of space; but at length increasing in density, it became immovable. The sea is continually decreasing, and will at length be dried up.§

MEN were at first produced from water and earth. Our knowledge of the existence of man arises from consciousness. The soul, or principle of animal life and motion is the result of a combination of round or fiery particles: it consists of two parts, the one seated in the breast, which is the rational, the other diffused through the whole body, which is the irrational. The soul is mortal, and perishes with the body; but human bodies, which perish, will revive. Different animal beings possess different senses. Perception is produced by εἰδωλα, images, which flow

* Arist. de Cælo, l. iii. c. 4. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 6. Stob. Ecl. Phys. l. i. c. 23. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 38. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 113.

† Arist. Met. l. i. c. 4. De Gener. l. i. c. 2. 7, 8. De Cælo, l. i. c. 4. Laert. l. ix. sect. 45. 72. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 30. Adv. Log. l. i. c. 135. 368. l. ii. sect. 6. 184. Adv. Mus. sect. 53.

‡ Laert. l. ix. sect. 44. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 1. 3. Orig. Pl. Ph. c. xiii. p. 91.

§ Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 17. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 4. l. ii. c. 20. 25. l. iii. c. 12, 13. Arist. de Cælo, l. iii. c. 4. 13. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 6. Arist. de Meteor. l. i. c. 6. l. ii. c. 3. Senec. Qu. Nat. l. v. c. 2.

from bodies according to their respective figures, and strike upon the organ of sense.*

The vacuum of Democritus is not to be confounded, as it has sometimes been, with air; it is unquestionably the same with that infinite space which gives locality to all bodies. The fundamental difference between the doctrine of Democritus, and that of former philosophers, concerning atoms, is, that the latter conceived small particles endued with various qualities; whereas this philosopher conceived the qualities of bodies, not to arise from any essential difference in the nature of primary particles, but to be the mere effect of arrangement. It is evident, from the whole tenor of the Democratic system, that it pays no regard to an external Efficient Cause, but absurdly supposes that the intrinsic necessity, which is conceived to give motion to atoms, is alone sufficient to account for the *phenomena* of nature. This philosopher admitted no other soul of the world than one similar to that which he allowed to man, a blind force resulting from the combination of certain subtle atoms, of a round form, which produces fire. Whatever, therefore, he is said to have taught concerning nature, fate or providence, he can only be understood as asserting that this fire is a mechanical agent in nature, whose rapid motion is the chief cause of the changes which take place in the universe. According to Plutarch,† Democritus thought the sun and moon to be ignited plates of stone; but this is inconsistent with his general system, and with that knowledge of nature which this philosopher appears to have possessed. The belief of the natural materiality of the soul was a necessary consequence of the atomic system; for if the soul be a composition of atoms, when these are dispersed it must perish. The notion of Democritus concerning the reviviscence of human bodies seems to have been misunderstood by Pliny.‡ This philosopher can only be supposed, consistently with his system, to have meant, that the atoms of which any human soul had consisted, after being separated and dispersed through infinite space, would in some distant period meet again, and recover their former life. The term *εἰδωλον*, image, appears to have been used by Democritus in two different significations; first, for those images which he supposed to flow from external objects, and strike upon the senses, and to create notions or ideas in the mind; and secondly, for divine beings existing in the air, which he called gods. For want of attending to this distinction, several writers have been led into mistakes concerning the tenets of Democritus.

Although Democritus either entirely rejected the notion of DEITY, or allowed him no share in the creation or government of the world, yet he endeavoured to conceal his impiety, by admitting the popular belief of divinities inhabiting the aerial regions, and teaching that they make themselves visible to favoured mortals, and enable them to predict future events. His doctrine concerning them was, § that they are in form like men, but of a larger size, and superior nature; that they are composed of the most subtle atoms, and less liable to dissolution than human beings, but are nevertheless mortal; and that they have a power of serving or injuring mankind, and of communicating their thoughts to them by vocal sounds, and often give them information concerning futurity.

* Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 4. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 4. 8. 10. l. iv. c. 4. 7. l. v. c. 16. Sect. Emp. Pyrr. Hyp. l. ii. c. 5. sect. 23. Adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 265. Arist. de Anim. l. i. c. 10. Laert. sect. 44. Plin. H. N. l. vii. c. 55. Cic. ad Att. l. ii. Ep. 4. Fam. l. xv. Ep. 16. Lucret. l. iv. v. 238.

† L. c. 20.

‡ Hist. N. l. vii. c. 55.

§ Laert. l. i. sect. 7. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 43. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 19. 42.

The moral doctrine of Democritus,* like that of Epicurus, afterwards to be considered, makes the enjoyment of a tranquil state of mind, εὐθυμία, the great end of life, and consequently teaches moderation as the first law of wisdom. At the same time this philosopher held, that there is nothing naturally becoming or base in human actions, but that every distinction of this nature arises from custom or civil institutions, and that laws are framed to curb the natural propensity of mankind to injure one another. This latter tenet nearly coincides with the modern doctrine of Hobbes. The similarity between the ethics of Democritus and Epicurus renders it unnecessary to enter into further particulars on this head at present. We shall therefore only add a few of the most valuable MAXIMS which have been ascribed to Democritus:—† he who subdues his passions is more heroic than he who vanquishes an enemy; yet there are men who, whilst they command nations, are slaves to pleasure. It is criminal, not only to do mischief, but to wish it. He who enjoys what he has, without regretting the want of what he has not, is a happy man. We are most delighted with those pleasures which we have the fullest opportunity of enjoying. The sweetest things become the most bitter by excess. Do nothing shameful, though you are alone; revere yourself more than all other men. A man must either be good, or seem to be so. Every country is open to a wise man, for he is a citizen of the world. It is better for fools to be governed, than to govern. Rulers are chosen, not to do ill, but good. By desiring little, a poor man makes himself rich. A cheerful man is happy, though he possesses little; a fretful man is unhappy in the midst of affluence. One great difference between a wise man and a fool is, that the former only wishes for what he may possibly obtain, the latter desires impossibilities. It is the office of prudence, where it is possible, to prevent injuries; but where this cannot be done, a wise regard to our own tranquillity will preserve us from revenging them.

Democritus had many disciples. Of these the most celebrated was PROTAGORAS, of Abdera.‡ In his youth his poverty obliged him to perform the servile offices of a porter, and he was frequently employed in carrying logs of wood from the neighbouring fields to Abdera. It happened, that as he was one day going on briskly towards the city under one of those loads, he was met by Democritus, who was particularly struck with the neatness and regularity of the bundle. Desiring him to stop and rest himself, Democritus examined more closely the structure of the load, and found that it was put together with mathematical exactness; upon which he asked the youth whether he himself had made it up. The youth assured him that he had, and immediately took it to pieces, and with great ease replaced every log in the same exact order as before. Democritus expressed much admiration of his ingenuity, and said to him, “Young man, follow me, and your talents shall be employed upon greater and better things.” The youth consented, and Democritus took him home, maintained him at his own expense, and taught him philosophy.§

Protagoras afterwards acquired reputation at Athens, among the sophists for his eloquence, and among the philosophers for his wisdom. His public lectures were frequented, and he had many disciples, from whom he received the most liberal rewards; so that, as Plato relates, he became exceedingly rich.|| At length, however, he brought upon himself the dis-

* Laert. l. ix. sect. 45, &c. Stob. Serm. 28. 37. 39. 44. 48. 117. 136. 139. 147. 249, Plut. de Inst. Lib. t. i. p. 12. † Laert. Stob. ‡ Laert. Suid.

§ Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 3.

|| Laert. l. ix. sect. 50. Suid. Gell. Plat. in Theæteto, conf. ejusdem Protag.

pleasure of the Athenian state, by teaching doctrines favourable to impiety. In one of his books he said, "Concerning the gods, I am wholly unable to determine whether they have any existence or not; for the weakness of the human understanding, and the shortness of human life, with many other causes, prevent us from attaining this knowledge." On account of this and several other similar expressions, his writings were ordered to be diligently collected by the common crier, and burnt in the market-place, and he himself was banished from Attica.* He wrote many pieces upon logic, metaphysics, ethics, and politics, none of which are at present extant. After having lived many years in Epirus, he was lost by sea on his passage from that country to Sicily.†

The *Tenets* of Protagoras, as far as they can be discovered, appear to have leaned towards scepticism. He is said to have taught that contradictory arguments may be advanced upon every subject; that all natural objects are perpetually varying; that the senses convey different reports to different persons, and even to the same person at different times; and that, nevertheless, we have no other criterion of truth than our own perception, and cannot know that any thing is otherwise than it appears to our senses, which are the essence of the soul.‡ Adopting the doctrine of Democritus, that the atoms of which bodies are composed are in perpetual motion, Protagoras conceived that external objects are liable to such continual fluctuation, that nothing can be certainly known concerning them; and therefore concluded, that nothing can be pronounced to exist but that which is at any instant perceived by the senses; and that, since these are perpetually or incessantly varying, things themselves vary accordingly; so that, upon the same evidence, that of the senses, contradictory opinions may be advanced. This seems to be the true explanation of the fundamental maxim of Protagoras, that man himself is the only measure, or criterion, of all things.

DIAGORAS, § a native of the island of Melos, was another follower of Democritus. Having been sold as a captive in his youth, he was redeemed by Democritus, and trained up in the study of philosophy. At the same time he cultivated polite learning, and distinguished himself in the art of lyric poetry, which was so successfully practised about that period by Pindar, Bacchylis, and others. His name has been transmitted to posterity with infamy, as an avowed advocate for the entire rejection of all religious belief. And, though Clemens Alexandrinus,|| and others, have taken pains to exculpate him, by pleading that his only intention was to ridicule heathen superstitions, the general voice of antiquity has so strongly asserted his atheistical principles, that we cannot refuse credit to the report without allowing too much indulgence to historical scepticism. It is easy to conceive, that one who had studied philosophy in the school of Democritus, who admitted no other principles in nature than atoms and a vacuum, would reject the whole doctrine of Deity, as inconsistent with the system which he had embraced. And it is expressly asserted by ancient writers, that when in a particular instance he saw a perjured person escape punishment, he publicly declared his disbelief of divine providence, and from that time

* Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. Sext. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 18. Min. Fel. c. 8.

† Laert. Philostr. Vit. Soph. l. i. p. 496.

‡ Laert. sect. 51. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 32. sect. 216. Plato in Theæt. Arist. Met. l. iii. c. 5. l. x. c. 6. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 42. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. xiv. c. 20.

§ Suidas. Hesychius. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 554. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 53. Tatian contr. Græc. p. 164. Athenag. Legat. pro Chr. p. 5. ed. Par.

|| Adm. ad Gent. p. 13.

spoke of the gods, and of all religious ceremonies, with ridicule and contempt. He even attempted to lay open the sacred mysteries, and to dissuade the people from submitting to the rites of initiation. These public insults offered to religion brought upon him the general hatred of the Athenians; who, upon his refusing to obey a summons to appear in the courts of judicature, issued forth a decree, which was inscribed upon a brazen column, offering the reward of a talent to any one who should kill him, or two talents to any one who should bring him alive before the judges. This happened in the ninety-first Olympiad.* From that time Diagoras became a fugitive in Attica, and at last fled to Corinth, where he died.† It is said, that being on board a ship during a storm, the terrified sailors began to accuse themselves for having received into their ship a man so infamous for his impiety; upon which Diagoras pointed out to them other vessels, which were near them on the sea in equal danger, and asked them, whether they thought that each of these ships also carried a Diagoras; and that afterwards, when a friend, in order to convince him that the gods are not indifferent to human affairs, desired him to observe how many consecrated tablets were hung up in the temples in grateful acknowledgment of the escapes from the dangers of the sea, he said in reply, “True; but here are no tablets of those who have suffered shipwreck, and perished in the sea.” But there is reason to suspect that these tales are mere inventions; for similar stories have been told of Diogenes the Cynic, and others.

From the school of Democritus also arose ANAXARCHUS,‡ of Abdera, who flourished about the hundred and tenth Olympiad. He is chiefly celebrated for having lived with Alexander, and enjoyed his confidence.§ It reflects no credit, however, upon his philosophy, that when the mind of this prince was torn with regret for having killed his faithful Clitus, he administered the balm of flattery, saying, “that kings, like the gods, could do no wrong.” This philosopher addicted himself to pleasure, and it was on this account, and not, as some supposed, on account of the apathy and tranquillity of his life, that he obtained the surname of Εὐδαιμονικός, The Fortunate. A marvellous story is related, of his having been pounded in an iron mortar by Nicocreon king of Cyprus, in revenge for the advice which he had given to Alexander to serve up the head of that prince at an entertainment, and of his enduring the torture with invincible hardiness. But the tale, for which there is no authority prior to the time of Cicero, is wholly inconsistent with the character of a man who had through his life been softened by effeminate pleasure. The same story is also related of Zeno the Eleatic. We therefore think ourselves at liberty to set it down among the numerous fables which some of the Grecian writers discovered so much ingenuity in inventing, and which so well justified the sarcasm of Juvenal: ||

— Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia.¶ (a)

* B. C. 416.

† Laert. Suid. Cic. de Nat. D. l. iii. c. 37.

‡ Laert. l. ix. sect. 58. Plut. Symp. l. vii. c. 5.

§ Ælian, l. ix. c. 3. 30. Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. iv. p. 84. Plut. ad Princ. indoct. Luc. Parasit. t. iii. p. 250. Athen. l. vi. p. 250. l. xii. p. 548. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. ii. c. 22. Nat. D. l. iii. c. 33. Laert. Ov. in Ibin.

|| Sat. x. 174.

¶ Vidend. Budd. Ann. Hist. Phil. p. 320—323. Bayle. Reimmann. Hist. Ath. c. 17. 20. 30. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 12. Waltheri Sepulchra Eleatica, c. 3. sect. 5, 6.

(a) Whate'er in story lying Greece dares tell.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE HERACLITEAN SECT.

ANOTHER sect, derived from Pythagoras, the founder of the Italic school, was that which was instituted at Ephesus by Heraclitus; a sect which, though it has been almost entirely overlooked by the moderns, obtained among the ancients no small share of celebrity.

HERACLITUS,* by birth an Ephesian, discovered an early propensity to the study of wisdom, and, by a diligent attention to the operations of his own mind, soon became sensible of his ignorance, and desirous of instruction. He was initiated into the mysteries of the Pythagorean doctrine by Xenophanes and Hippasus, and afterwards incorporated them into his own system. His fellow-citizens solicited him to undertake the supreme magistracy; but, on account of their dissolute manners, he declined it in favour of his brother. When he was, soon afterwards, seen playing with the boys in the court of the temple of Diana, he said to those who expressed their surprise that he was not better employed, "Why are you surprised that I pass my time with children? It is surely better than governing the corrupt Ephesians." He was displeased with them for banishing from their city so wise and able a man as Hermodorus,† and plainly told them that he perceived they were determined not to keep among them any man who had more merit than the rest. His natural temper being splenetic and melancholy, he despised the ignorance and follies of mankind, shunned all public intercourse with the world, and devoted himself to retirement and contemplation. He made choice of a mountainous retreat for his place of residence, and lived upon the natural produce of the earth. Darius, king of Persia, having heard of his fame, invited him to his court; but he treated the invitation with contempt.‡ His diet and manner of life at length brought him into a dropsy; upon which this philosopher, who was always fond of enigmatical language, returning into the city, proposed to the physicians the following question: "Is it possible to bring dryness out of moisture?" Receiving no relief from them, he attempted to cure himself, by shutting himself up in a close stable with oxen; but it is doubtful how far he succeeded, for the cause and manner of his death are differently related by different writers. He flourished, as appears from his preceptors and contemporaries, about the sixty-ninth Olympiad.§ Sixty years are said to have been the term of his life.||

Cudworth, c. i. sect. 8. c. iv. sect. 20, 21. cum Not. Mosh. Grundling. p. xv. Diss. 1. Lips. Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. l. ii. Diss. 4. Gassendi, Phil. Ep. sect. ii. c. 5. Mourgues, Plan. Pyth. p. 16. Parker de Deo, Disp. vi. sect. 2. Scipio Aquilian. de Plac. Phil. ante Arist. c. 8—17. Jonsius, l. i. c. 14. l. ii. c. 5. Magnenus de Vita Democ. Hag. Comit. 1658. 12. Morhoff. Polyhist. t. ii. p. 183—185. Stollii Hist. Ph. Mor. sect. 10. 103. Heuman. Act. Ph. v. i. p. 671. Obs. Hal. t. ii. Obs. 15. Naude Apolog. c. 12. Thomas. Hist. Sap. et Stult. t. ii. p. 8. Clerici Hist. Med. p. i. l. iii. c. 31. Potter, Arch. Gr. l. ii. c. 20. Zimmerman, Epist. de Ath. Eumeri et Diag. ap. Mus. Brem. v. i. p. iv. art. 3.

* Laert. l. ix. sect. 1, &c. Suidas. Clem. Al. Strom. l. i. p. 302. Stob. Serm. 102. Plut. adv. Col. t. iii. p. 423.

† An eminent lawyer, of whom see Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 36. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 642. Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 5. ‡ Ib. l. vii. c. 19. § B. C. 504.

|| Laert. l. ix. sect. 1, &c.

It has been a tale commonly received,* that Heraclitus was perpetually shedding tears, on account of the vices of mankind, and particularly of his countrymen. But the story, which probably took its rise from the gloomy severity of his temper, ought to be ranked, like that of the perpetual laughing of Democritus, among the Greek fables; and it must be left to the poet to say concerning these two philosophers;

—— De sapientibus, alter
Ridebat, quoties a limine moverat unum
Protuleratque pedem; flebat contrarius alter.(a) JUV.†

Heraclitus wrote a treatise "On Nature," of which only a few fragments remain. Through the natural cast of his mind, and perhaps too through a desire of concealing unpopular tenets under the disguise of a figurative and intricate diction, his discourses were so incomprehensible, that he obtained the name of *Σκοτεινός*, The Obscure Philosopher; a title given him by the unanimous consent of the ancients. Neither critics nor philosophers were able to explain his writings; and they remained in the temple of Diana, where he himself had deposited them for the use of the learned, till they were made public by Crates, or, as Tatian relates the matter, till the poet Euripides, who frequented the temple of Diana, committing the doctrines and precepts of Heraclitus to memory, accurately repeated them.‡ From the fragments of this work, which are preserved by Sextus Empiricus, it appears to have been written in prose, which makes Tatian's account the less credible.

After what has already been said concerning the original obscurity of this philosopher, and the present deficient state of his remains, it will not be expected that we should lay before our readers a perfectly clear and full account of his system. The following brief *Heads* of his *Doctrine* are all that we have been able to collect:—§

REASON, by means of the senses, is the judge of truth. This common and divine principle is derived by inspiration from that which surrounds us. In dreaming, the passages of the senses are obstructed, and the connexion of the human mind with that which surrounds us is interrupted: on waking, this connexion is restored, and the power of reason returns. All common maxims, being comprehended by common and divine reason, are to be received as true.

FIRE, or an ethereal exhalation, *ἀναθυμίασις*, is the principle from which all things in nature are produced.|| This principle consists of small indivisible parts, *ψίγματα*, or atoms, which are simple in their natures, and eternal. There is in the universe no such thing as rest, the particles which compose the fiery or ethereal principle being perpetually in motion. From

* Æl. l. viii. c. 13. Senec. de Tranq. c. 4. de Ira, l. ii. c. 10. Lucian, Vit. Auct. t. iii. p. 123.

(a) Will you not now the pair of sages praise
Who the same end pursued by different ways?
One pitied, one condemn'd the woful times;
One laugh'd at follies, and one wept over crimes. DRYDEN.

† Sat. x. v. 34.

‡ Laert. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 760, 761. Clem. Alex. Protrept. p. 33. Tatian. adv. Græc. p. 143.

§ Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 126. Tert. de An. c. 15. Philost. Op. p. 391. Clem. Alex. Str. l. v. 602.

|| Arist. Met. l. i. c. 3. De Anim. l. i. c. 2. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 37. De Nat. D. l. iii. c. 14. Plut. de Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 3. 13. 23. Laert. l. ix. sect. 5. 7. Clem. Alex. Str. l. v. p. 599. Lucr. l. i. v. 636. Tat. p. 143. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 131. Stob. Ecl. p. 17. 40.

the combination of those minute particles, which are imperceptible by the senses, is produced elementary fire, and all the forms of nature; and into these they are all, at certain periods, resolved. The world comprehends the eternal, living, or self-moving fire, which was neither made by gods nor men, but always was and will be, and the various bodies which are produced from it, and which have both beginning and end. The primary fire has within itself eternal and necessary motion, by the force of which the system of nature was produced. This eternal and necessary intrinsic motion is caused by fate; the rational principle which animates the eternal fire, pervades the universe, and forms, preserves, and dissolves, in perpetual succession, the visible world. This principle or soul of the world, by its eternal, necessary, and rational motion, is God, *δημιουργός*, the maker of all things.* The minute particles, which compose the primary fire, move in different directions, whence they are variously agitated and impelled; and the contests or collisions, which these motions produce, collect into various masses the first principles of things, and thus produce natural bodies. Fire condensed becomes water; water, still further condensed, is converted into earth; and the reverse. When the primary particles are thus formed into elements, they are pursuing their upward course, *ὁδὸς ἄνω*; when the elements are again dissolved, they are pursuing their downward course, *ὁδὸς κάτω*. The elements of bodies being collected into one unformed mass, or chaos, this mass is at length, by the action of the animating fire, dissolved, the parts are diffused, *χεῖνται*, and the various forms of nature appear.

The heavenly bodies are in the form of boats, having the hollow side towards us; and they become luminous when certain fiery exhalations from the earth are collected within them. The sun is no larger than he appears to the sight, and becomes eclipsed when its convex surface happens to be turned towards the earth. The moon is of the same form and nature; and its monthly variations are caused by the gradual changes of its position towards the earth, from concave to convex, and the reverse. All the stars are nourished by exhalations from the earth, and these, as they are more or less splendid and warm, cause the varieties of day and night, of the seasons, and of weather.†

No certain account can be given of the nature of the soul; but the most probable notion is, that it is an exhalation from that fiery substance which pervades all things, and is the soul of the world, passing into human bodies through the senses. All nature is full of souls, or demons. Of these the best are such as have in their nature the least moisture, or approach nearest to the primary fire. Human souls are liable to perpetual changes; and when they are loaded with moist vapours, they pass into the watery mass and perish: but if they are purified from these, they return into the soul of the universe.‡

Aristotle ranks Heraclitus among those philosophers who supposed only one material principle in nature, and provided no efficient cause, and asserts the first principle in his system to have been essentially endued with motion. And it evidently appears from his whole doctrine that Heraclitus conceived the particles of matter to have been eternally moving from an intrinsic necessity. What he says therefore concerning fate, as an intelligent and rational principle in nature, the cause of motion, and consequently

* Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 42. Tertull. contr. Marcion. Stob. c. 23. 17. 27. Laert. l. ix. sect. 7, 8, 9.

† Laert. sect. 9, 10. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 22. 25. Stob. p. 53. 55. 60.

‡ Laert. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 3. Stob. S. 17.

of production and dissolution, must be understood, not of a substance or being distinct from the primary fire, but of the intrinsic power of this first principle, the necessary energy by which all things are produced. Although this philosopher introduced into his system the term God, he seems to have made use of it to express, not a distinct being of a peculiar nature, but merely that innate force in the primary fire, by means of which its particles have been in eternal motion, and have at length united to form the present regular system of nature. To this force, considered as distinct from the matter to which it belongs, he gave the appellation of God; and he called it rational and divine, because the effects, of which he conceived it to be the cause were produced in a regular series, and according to a certain and immutable law.*

On the subject of MORALS, Heraclitus taught, that the end of life is to enjoy happiness; that for this purpose it is necessary to repose the body, and confine its wants within as narrow limits as possible; that it is of more importance for men to know themselves, than to acquire extensive learning; that human life is in fact the death of the soul, as, whilst it continues in the body, it is confined and depressed, and never gains its true freedom and activity till it returns to the divine nature from which it comes; that the first virtue is to be temperate, and the first wisdom, to follow nature; and that all human laws are founded upon one divine law of necessity, which governs all things.†

These moral principles of Heraclitus have a reference to his physical system, as will be easily seen by comparing them. The Stoics were indebted to this philosopher for many parts of their physical and moral doctrine.

Although Heraclitus took great pains to conceal his doctrines, he may properly be considered as the father of a sect.‡ For after he had deposited his writings in the temple of Diana, they were read by many philosophers, who afterwards taught his system, or incorporated it with their own. Plato himself, when he was young, learned the Heraclitean philosophy from Cratylus, and adopted that part which treated of the nature and motion of matter. This sect must, however, very soon have become extinct, for we find no traces of its existence after the death of Socrates; which may be ascribed, in part, to the insuperable obscurity of the writings of Heraclitus, but chiefly to the superior splendour of the Platonic system, by which it was superseded. That Heraclitus, however, was long held in great estimation among the philosophers at Athens may be justly concluded from the great pains which Zeno took to transfer several tenets of the Heraclitean system into his own.

Among the admirers of Heraclitus are to be ranked those who, though they did not entirely approve of his system, paid so much attention to it, as to obtain among the ancients the name of Heraclitists. The only one of these, whom it is necessary distinctly to notice, is the celebrated father of medicine, Hippocrates; a name which also merits no mean place among philosophers. Without attempting to explain his system of medicine, which would be foreign from our design, § we shall mention a few particulars

* Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 7.

† Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 7. Theodoret. Ther. l. xi. p. 152. Suidas. Laert. Stob. Serm. 4. 28. 250. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 30. sect. 210. l. ii. c. 6. sect. 63. l. iii. c. 24. sect. 230. Cl. Alex. St. l. iv. p. 532. l. v. p. 615.

‡ Arist. Met. l. i. c. 6. l. xiii. c. 4. Laert. l. ix. sect. 6. 15. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 29.

§ Galen de Nat. Facultat. l. i. 11. De Decret. Hipp. et Pl. l. v. Le Clerc, Hist. Med. p. i. l. iii. c. 2. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. xii. p. 675.

respecting his opinions concerning nature, which may serve to cast further light upon the Heraclitean philosophy.

HIPPOCRATES is not to be ranked among the followers of Democritus or Heraclitus, or any other philosopher; for he expressly rejects the use of hypothetic philosophy in medicine, and particularly opposes, by arguments not unworthy of attention, the system which supposed four primary principles in nature, dryness and moisture, heat and cold.* His natural philosophy consisted of a collection of observations drawn from experience, from which he formed his judgment concerning the causes of diseases, and their remedies. For though he disapproved of the empirical method of relying wholly upon experience, without any attention to general rules or principles, and took pains to digest the art of healing into a systematic form, he did not derive his theory of medicine from any philosophical system, or hypothesis, but rather chose to raise it upon the foundation of the most accurate knowledge he was able to attain of the structure of the human body, and the nature of diseases. It is not therefore to be concluded that, because Hippocrates was a physician upon rational principles, he therefore professed any particular system of philosophy. What his ideas upon philosophical subjects were may be in part concluded from the following SPECIMEN:† — Concerning the sublime and divine subjects of philosophy, it is unnecessary to say more than may serve to improve our knowledge of the nature and causes of the diseases incident to the human body. That which we call heat seems to be an immortal principle, which understands, sees, hears, and perceives all things present and future. The purest part of this fire, in the original commotion of nature, retired into the superior region, which the ancients call the ether; a second part, taking the lower region, which is called the earth, is mixed by continual agitation with the principles of cold, moisture, and dryness. A third part has obtained the middle region of the air, and produces elementary heat. All nature is subject to certain laws. Nothing in nature entirely perishes, nor is any thing ever produced from nothing, but all the appearances of production, or dissolution, are merely changes in the form of bodies. By the necessary law of nature the elements are resolvable into each other, and all things are subject to a perpetual and reciprocal commixture. A portion of the primary principle of heat, uniting itself to the human body, forms the soul. The gods have established all nature in a certain order, and always conduct it well.‡

The reader will easily perceive a strong resemblance between the notions of Hippocrates and those of Heraclitus; but the expressions of the former are so vague and obscure, as to have occasioned a dispute among the learned concerning his theological principles, which, for want of sufficient data, we shall not attempt to decide.§

* De prisca Med. p. 8. ed. Foesii. † De Principiis, Op. t. i. sect. 3. tr. 4. p. 248.

‡ De Genit. t. i. sect. 3. p. 231. De Diæta, ib. p. 342.

§ Vidend. Jons. l. ii. c. 3. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 760. H. Steph. Poes. Phil. p. 129. Cudworth, c. i. sect. 16. c. iii. sect. 8. c. iv. sect. 13. Olearius de Heracliti Princip. ap. Stanley, p. ix. Hippocr. Vit. a Sorano. Schulz. Hist. Med. Per. i. s. iii. c. 1. J. Stephan. Hipp. Theolog. Venet. 1638. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 192. Schmidii Diss. de Theol. Hipp. Treller. in Hipp. falso Atheismi accus. Rud. 1719. Gesner, Diss. de ψυχᾷς Hippoc. Goetting. 1737.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE EPICUREAN SECT.

THE EPICUREAN SECT, a branch of the Eleatic, appeared with great distinction upon the theatre of ancient philosophy, and was strongly marked by its peculiar tenets and character. Whilst it has obtained the highest applause from some writers, it has met with the severest censure from others, and its real merit still remains undetermined. That the reader may be enabled to form a judgment for himself, on this much controverted question, it will therefore be necessary that we trace its rise and progress, and unfold its doctrines, with all the accuracy and diligence in our power. In this part of our undertaking our chief guides among the ancients are, Laertius, who has industriously collected many particulars concerning Epicurus and his philosophy from writings which are no longer extant; the fragments collected by Suidas, Pseudo-Origen, and others; and the poem of Lucretius, *De Natura Rerum*, "On the Nature of things," in which the doctrines of Epicurus are at once faithfully represented, and clothed in all the ornaments of poetic diction. As to the accounts which Plutarch, the Christian Fathers, and other later writers, have given of the Epicureans, it is evident that they were written too much under the bias of partiality to merit implicit confidence.

EPICURUS,* an Athenian, of the Egean tribe, was born at Gargettus, in the vicinity of Athens, at the beginning of the third year of the hundred and ninth Olympiad.† His father Neocles, and his mother, Chærestrata, were of honourable descent; but being reduced to poverty, they were sent with a colony of two thousand Athenian citizens to the island of Samos, which Pericles had subdued, to divide the lands among them by lot. The little farm which fell to their share not proving sufficient for their subsistence, Neocles took up the profession of a schoolmaster. Chærestrata, in the mean time, is said to have found her advantage in employing, among a superstitious populace, the arts of incantation and lustration, for the purposes of curing diseases, and driving away spectres, and in other equally marvellous services. It is added, that her son, whilst he was very young, furnished her with lustral songs for these solemn rites. At Samos, and the neighbouring island of Teos, Epicurus remained till he was eighteen years of age; when, for the sake of enjoying greater literary advantages, he removed to Athens. Upon the death of Alexander, when commotions rose in Athens through the tyranny of Perdiccas, Epicurus left the city, and went to his father at Colophon. Soon afterwards he removed to Mitylene, and after passing one year in that city, took up his residence four years in Lampsacus. At the expiration of this term, when he was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, he returned to Athens.‡

From his fourteenth year to this time he appears to have been industriously employed in the study of philosophy. The circumstance which first turned his attention to this study is said to have been, that, on reading the works of Hesiod, he consulted his master concerning the meaning of the word *Chaos*, who, not being able to explain it, referred him to the phi-

* Laert. l. x. sect. 1, &c. Suidas. Lucr. l. vi. v. 1. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 589. 638. Cic de Nat. D. l. i. c. 26. Euseb. Chron. Plut. de Amore Frat. t. ii. p. 294.

† B. C. 344.

‡ Laert. Suid.

losophers.* At Samos, according to Cicero,† he was instructed in the Platonic philosophy by Pamphilus; and Clement of Alexandria relates,‡ that in his early years he attended upon Nausiphanes a Pythagorean, and Pyrrho the Sceptic. At Athens, the public mart of learning, where at this time Xenocrates taught in the Academy, and Theophrastus in the Lyceum, it cannot be supposed that he would neglect to improve the advantages of his situation. When therefore it is related by Cicero and others that Epicurus boasted that he was *αὐτοδιδάκτος*, a Self-taught Philosopher, we are not to understand that he was never instructed in the tenets of other masters, but that his system of philosophy was the result of his own reflections, after comparing the doctrines of other sects.

The new edifice of philosophy, which Epicurus had thus raised, he was desirous to lay open for the benefit of others. About the thirty-second year of his age he opened a school at Mitylene, which he soon removed to Lampsacus, where he had disciples from Colophon. Not satisfied, however, with the narrow sphere of philosophical fame which this obscure situation afforded him, he determined to make his appearance on the more public theatre of Athens. Upon his return thither, he found the public places in the city, proper for this purpose, already occupied by other sects; the Academy, by the Platonists; the Lyceum, by the Peripatetics; the Cynosarges, by the Cynics; and the Porch, by the Stoics. He therefore purchased for his own use, at the expense of eighty *minæ*, a pleasant garden,§ where he took up his constant residence, and taught his system of philosophy. Hence the Epicureans were called the Philosophers of the Garden.|| Besides this garden, Epicurus had a house in Melite, a village of the Cecropian tribe, to which he frequently retreated with his friends. From this time to his death, notwithstanding all the disturbances of the state, Epicurus never deserted Athens, except that he made two or three excursions into Ionia to visit his friends. During the siege of Athens by Demetrius, which happened when Epicurus was forty-four years of age, while the city was severely harassed by famine, Epicurus is said to have supported himself and his friends on a small quantity of beans, which he shared equally with them.¶

The period in which Epicurus opened his school was peculiarly favourable to his design. In the room of the simplicity of the Socratic doctrine, nothing now remained but the subtlety and affectation of Stoicism, the unnatural severity of the Cynics, or the debasing doctrine of indulgence, taught and practised by the followers of Aristippus. The luxurious refinement which now prevailed in Athens, while it rendered every rigid scheme of philosophy, as well as all grossness of manners, unpopular, inclined the younger citizens to listen to a preceptor, who smoothed the stern and wrinkled brow of philosophy, and, under the notion of conducting his followers to enjoyment in the bower of tranquillity, led them unawares into the paths of moderation and virtue. Hence his school became exceedingly popular, and disciples flocked into the garden, not only from different parts of Greece, but from Egypt and Asia. Seneca, though a Stoic philosopher, bears this testimony to Epicurus:** “I the more freely quote the excellent maxims of Epicurus, in order to convince those who become his followers from the hope of screening their vices, that to whatever sect they attach themselves, they must live virtuously. Even at the entrance of the garden

* Sext. Emp. adv. Ph. l. ii. sect. 18, 19. Laert. † De Nat. D. l. i. c. 26.

‡ Strom. l. i. p. 302. § Laert. Plin. l. xix. c. 4.

|| Cic. ad Att. l. ii. Ep. 24. Juv. Sat. xiv. ¶ Laert. Plut. in Demet. t. iii. p. 96.

** Ep. 21.

they will find this inscription: ‘The hospitable keeper of this mansion, where you will find pleasure the highest good, will present you liberally with barley cakes, and water from the spring. These gardens will not provoke your appetite by artificial dainties, but satisfy it with natural supplies. Will you not then be well entertained?’”

Those disciples who were regularly admitted into the school of Epicurus lived together, not in the manner of the Pythagoreans, who cast their possessions into a common stock, for this, in his opinion, implied mutual distrust rather than friendship; but upon such a footing of friendly attachment, that each individual cheerfully supplied the necessities of his brother.* And this was no difficult task, not only on account of the smallness of the expenses attending their frugal manner of living, but because the most cordial affection subsisted among them. The friendship of the Epicurean fraternity is described by Cicero† as unequalled in the history of mankind; and Valerius Maximus‡ relates a memorable example of indissoluble friendship between Polycrates and Hippoclidēs, two philosophers of the garden.

Epicurus, that he might prosecute his philosophical labours with the less interruption, lived in a state of celibacy.§ In his own conduct he was exemplary for temperance and continence; and he inculcated upon his followers severity of manners, and the strict government of the passions, as the best means of passing a tranquil and happy life. Notwithstanding his regular manner of living, towards the close of his days, probably in consequence of intense application to study, his constitution became infirm, and he was afflicted with the stone. Perceiving from these marks of decay that his end was approaching, he wrote a will, in which he bequeathed his garden, and the buildings belonging to it, to Hermachus, and through him to the future professors of his philosophy. On the last day of his life he wrote to his friend Hermachus, informing him that his disease had for fourteen days tormented him with anguish, which nothing could exceed: at the same time he adds: “All this is counterbalanced by the satisfaction of mind, which I derive from the recollection of my discourses and discoveries.” He concluded with entreating his friend, by the affection which he had always shown to him and to philosophy, to take care of the children of Metrodorus. The emperor Marcus Antoninus confirms this account, attesting that Epicurus in his sickness relied more upon the recollection of his excellent life, than upon the aid of physicians, and instead of complaining of his pain, conversed with his friends upon those principles of philosophy which he had before maintained. At length, finding nature just exhausted, he ordered himself to be put into a warm bath, where, after refreshing himself with wine, and exhorting his friends not to forget his doctrines, he expired. His death happened in the second year of the hundred and twenty-seventh Olympiad,|| and the seventy-third of his age.¶

Epicurus is said to have written a greater number of works, from his own invention, than any other Grecian philosopher; but none of his writings have escaped the destroying hand of time, except a compendium of his doctrine preserved by Laertius, and a few fragments dispersed among ancient authors.**

Not only did the immediate followers of Epicurus adorn the memory of

* Laert. l. x. sect. 11, &c.

† De Fin. l. i. c. 20.

‡ L. i. c. 8. Chrysippus apud Stob. Serm. 117. Conf. Laert. l. x. sect. 119. Epict. Arr. l. i. c. 23. iii. 7. § Theodoret. Serm. 14. Clem. Al. Strom. l. ii. || B. C. 273.

¶ Laert. l. x. sect. 24, &c. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 30. De Fato, c. 9. Anton. de seipso, l. ix. sect. 42. ** Laert. sect. 39. Cic. de Fin. l. ii. c. 7. Fabr. Bib. Gr. vol. ii. p. 505.

their master with the highest honours,* but many eminent writers, who have disapproved his philosophy have expressed great respect for his personal merit. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied, that from the time when this philosopher appeared to the present day an uninterrupted course of censure has fallen upon his memory; so that the name of his sect has almost become a proverbial expression for every thing corrupt in principle, and infamous in character. The charges brought against Epicurus are, that he superseded all religious principles, by dismissing the gods from the care of the world;† that, if he acknowledged their existence, it was only in conformity to popular prejudice, since, according to his system, nothing exists in nature but material atoms; that he discovered great insolence and vanity in the disrespect with which he treated the memory of former philosophers, and the characters and persons of his contemporaries;‡ that both the master and the whole fraternity were addicted to the vilest and most infamous vices,§ so that the school ought not to have been called a garden, but a sty; and, in short, that this philosopher and his followers relinquished all liberal studies and manly pursuits, that they might devote themselves to the grossest impieties and debaucheries. These accusations against the Epicurean school have been not only the voice of common rumour, but have been more or less confirmed by men distinguished for their wisdom and virtue; Zeno, Cicero, Plutarch, Galen, and a long train of Christian Fathers.|| So that if the question were to be determined by the number of accusers, there can be no doubt that Epicurus and his followers must be condemned. But if the cause be examined with impartiality; if the credit of the witnesses against Epicurus be thoroughly canvassed; if the causes of the spirit of invective raised against him be duly considered; and if the evidences on the other side be allowed a fair hearing, it will perhaps be found that this philosopher, though in some respects highly censurable, has been in several others severely and unjustly condemned.

With respect to the first charge, that of impiety, it certainly admits of no refutation. The doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature not only militated against the superstitions of the Athenians, but against the agency of a Supreme Deity in the formation and government of the world; and his misconceptions, with respect to mechanical motion, and the nature of divine happiness, led him in his system to divest the Deity of some of his primary attributes. It does not indeed appear that he entirely denied the existence of superior powers. Cicero, who is unquestionably to be ranked among his opponents, relates,¶ that Epicurus wrote books concerning piety, and the reverence due to the gods, expressed in terms which might have become a priest; and he charges him** with inconsistency, in maintaining that the gods ought to be worshipped, whilst he asserted that they had no concern in human affairs; herein admitting that he revered the gods, but neither through hope nor fear, merely on account of the majesty and excellence of their nature.†† But if, with the utmost contempt for popular superstitions, Epicurus retained some belief in, and respect for, invisible natures, it is evident that his gods were destitute of many of the essential characters of divinity, and that his piety was of a kind very different from that which is inspired by just notions of Deity; not to urge that there is some reason to suspect that what he taught concerning the

* Laert. † Plut. adv. Colot. Senec. de Benef. l. iv. c. 19. ‡ Cic. de Nat. l. i.

§ Athen. l. iii. p. 101. l. vii. p. 278. l. x. p. 546. Suidas.

¶ Vid. Gassend. Vit. Ep. l. iii. c. 6. ¶ De Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 41

** Ib. c. 8.

†† Senec. de Benef. l. iv. c. 19.

gods might have been artfully designed to screen him from the odium and hazard which would have attended a direct avowal of atheism.

The second charge against Epicurus, that of insolence and contempt towards other philosophers, seems scarcely compatible with the general air of gentleness and civility which appears in his character. If he claimed to himself the credit of his own system, he did no more than Zeno, Plato, and Aristotle, after availing themselves of every possible aid from former philosophers, had done before him.

Calumny never appeared with greater effrontery than in accusing Epicurus of intemperance and incontinence. That his character was distinguished by the contrary virtues, appears not only from the numerous attestations adduced by Laetius,* but even from the confession of the more respectable opponents of his doctrine, particularly Cicero,† Plutarch,‡ and Seneca.§ And indeed, without any external evidence, this is sufficiently clear, from the particulars which are related concerning his usual manner of living. Chrysippus himself, one of his most violent enemies among the Stoics, acknowledged that Epicurus discovered little inclination towards sexual pleasures.|| Nothing can be a greater proof that his adversaries had little to allege against his innocence, than that they were obliged to have recourse to forgery. The infamous letters which Diotimus, or according to Athenæus, Theotimus, ascribed to him,¶ were proved, in a public court, to have been fraudulently imposed upon the world, and the author of the imposition was punished. Whatever might be the case afterwards, there is little reason to doubt that during the life of Epicurus his garden was rather a school of temperance, than a scene of riot and debauchery.

That Epicurus did not renounce every kind of learning, as insignificant and useless, will more fully appear in the sequel. For the present we shall content ourselves with the remarks which Cicero puts into the mouth of Torquatus, in other respects sufficiently severe against Epicurus. “The reason,” says he,** “why Epicurus appears to you deficient in learning is, that he thought nothing deserved the name of learning which was not conducive to the happiness of life.” And afterwards, “Epicurus therefore was not uninstructed, but they are unlearned who think that those studies, with which it would be disgraceful for youth not to be conversant, should be continued to old age.” Whence it appears that Epicurus was an enemy to liberal science no further than Socrates himself had been. Stobæus†† ascribes to Epicurus the following sentiment: We ought to be thankful to Nature for having made those things which are necessary easy to be discovered, and those things which are difficult to be known, not necessary.

If it be asked, whence it happened that a character so eminently distinguished by simplicity and purity as that of Epicurus appears to have been, was loaded with so many calumnies; we answer, the circumstances of the times in which he lived will sufficiently account for the fact.

Zeno and the Stoic sect began to flourish about the same time with Epicurus and his school, that is, about the hundred and twentieth Olympiad,‡‡ although the latter is of somewhat later date than the former. The father of the Stoics was, as we have seen, of a temper naturally severe and gloomy; and his character was, under Antisthenes, formed upon the plan of the Cynic school; so that, both by disposition and education, he was

* L. x. sect. 11.

† Tusc. Qu. l. v.

‡ Adv. Colot.

§ Ep. 21. 18.

|| Stob. l. c.

¶ Laet. l. x. sect. 3. Athen. l. xiii. p. 611.

** De Fin. l. i.

†† Sermon. 39. p. 137.

‡‡ B. C. 300.

inclined to carry his moral system beyond the limits of nature, and framed to himself a fanciful image of a wise man, which could have no archetype in real life. After pillaging the schools of other philosophers, in order to compose from the plundered mass a system of his own, that he might give it an air of novelty, he introduced new terms, or affixed new significations and definitions to the old; whence arose dogmas, which had indeed little originality, but which under a paradoxical form carried the appearance of profound wisdom. By these means, together with the external aid of uncommon gravity in language, dress, and demeanour, Zeno and his followers obtained such high reputation among the Athenians, that they were the only persons deemed worthy of the name of philosophers.

The temper of Epicurus, and the character under which he chose to appear, were the reverse of all this. In his natural disposition lively and cheerful, and accustomed from his infancy to mix in society with men of all descriptions, he had acquired a captivating facility of address, and urbanity of manners. Nothing could be more contrary to his disposition and habitude than the artificial reserve and hypocritical affectation of the Stoics. His aversion to unnatural austerity, and artificial grimace, induced him to open his garden in direct opposition to the Porch. Observing that all the Athenians were at this time immersed either in pleasures or in ideal and useless disputes, he attempted to lead them to such an employment of their rational faculties as would be conducive to the true enjoyment of life; and for this purpose introduced among them a system of philosophy, the professed object of which was, to enable men to preserve themselves from pain, grief, and sorrow of every kind, and to secure to themselves the uninterrupted possession of tranquillity and happiness. This great end he assured himself would be effected if, by taking off the forbidding mask with which the Stoics had concealed the fair face of Virtue, he could persuade men to embrace her as the only guide to a happy life.*

At the same time Epicurus was convinced that the subtlety of disputation would contribute little towards the accomplishment of his design, and therefore endeavoured to divert the public taste from these trifling occupations, and to put an end to the verbal contests of the Academics, Dialectics, and Stoics, by instituting a school, in which greater caution than had hitherto been customary should be exercised in the assumption of principles, and in the use of terms. The natural consequence was, that the Athenian youth willingly committed themselves to a preceptor, who smoothed the path of philosophy which others had rendered so rugged, and that the school of Epicurus was more frequented than any other; a circumstance which, it is easy to perceive, must have excited great jealousy and envy among his contemporaries. As Epicurus erected his school in direct opposition to that of the Stoics, and spared no pains to expose the futility of their system, and the ostentatious hypocrisy of their conduct, it cannot be questioned that this sect in particular, who were above all others the least able to bear contradiction, would be highly enraged; nor can it be thought surprising that, in such circumstances, they should call in the assistance of detraction and calumny against so powerful an opponent.

Another cause of the discredit into which Epicurus and his followers fell may be discovered in the nature and constitution of his philosophy. Epicurus made pleasure the end of his doctrine, and only employed wisdom as a guide to happiness;—*hinc illæ lacrymæ*: for the Stoics would easily perceive that a preceptor who attempted to correct the false and corrupt

* Laert. l. x. sect. 122. 144.

taste of the times, and to lead men to true pleasure, by natural and easy steps in the path of virtue, would be more likely to command the public attention, than one who rested his authority and influence upon a rigid system of doctrine, and an unnatural severity of manners. In order therefore to secure their own popularity, they thought it necessary to misrepresent the principles and character of Epicurus, and held him up to public censure as an advocate for infamous pleasures. That they might gain the greater credit by their misrepresentations, they invented and circulated many scandalous tales, which would obtain a ready reception among the indolent and credulous Athenians.* This might be the more easily effected, as Epicurus passed his time in his garden, remote from the crowd, and did not scruple, in his retirement, to enjoy such pleasures as he judged to be not inconsistent with that virtuous tranquillity which was the chief end of his philosophy. The calumnies which were thus ingeniously fabricated, and industriously propagated against the Epicurean sect would be the more willingly believed, on account of the contempt with which Epicurus treated the vulgar superstitions, and his avowed rejection of the doctrine of fate, or providence, so strongly maintained by the Stoics; and especially on account of the perverse abuse of his doctrine to the encouragement of licentiousness, by which many of his followers brought disgrace upon their sect.† These abuses ought not, however, to be imputed to the founder of the school. Seneca himself acknowledges‡ that the profligates, who in his time professed themselves disciples of Epicurus, were not led into their irregularities by his doctrine; but, being themselves strongly addicted to vice, sought to hide their crimes in the bosom of philosophy, and had recourse to a master who encouraged the pursuit of pleasure, not because they set any value upon that sober and abstemious kind of pleasure which the doctrine of Epicurus allowed, but because they hoped, in the mere name, to find some pretext or apology for their debaucheries.

If these circumstances be duly considered and compared, it will no longer appear strange that many eminent men, who had addicted themselves to other schools, have given an unfavourable judgment concerning Epicurus, whilst the force of truth has sometimes led them, at the expense of their own consistency, to attest his merit. Others, however, have penetrated through the thick cloud of calumny which has hung over the character of Epicurus, and, in opposition to the general current of censure, have ventured to give him that praise which, amidst all the absurdities of his speculative system, was so justly due to his personal virtues, and to his laudable attempts to conduct men, by innocence and sobriety, to the tranquil enjoyment of life.

Notwithstanding the violent opposition which Epicurus met with from the Stoics, he had many friends and followers during his life; and after his death a degree of respect was paid to his memory which fell little short of idolatry. His three brothers, Neocles, Chæredemus, and Aristobulus, devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, and were supported by his liberality. Of his intimate friends the most celebrated were, Metrodorus, Polyænus, and Hermachus.§

METRODORUS first attached himself to Epicurus at Lampsacus,|| and continued with him till his death. He maintained the cause of his friend and master with great intrepidity, both by his discourses and writings,

* Cic. de Fin. l. ii. Euseb. Præp. l. vi. c. 6. Athen. l. iii. p. 103. l. vii. p. 173. 279. l. viii. p. 335. Arrian, l. ii. c. 20.

† Ælian, l. ix. c. 12. Cic. Orat. in Pison.

‡ De Vit. Beat. c. 12. § Laert. l. x. sect. 10, &c. Suidas. || Strabo, l. xiii.

against the Sophists and Dialectics, and consequently partook largely of the obloquy * which fell upon the sect. Plutarch† charges him with having reprobated the folly of his brother Timocrates in aspiring to the honours of wisdom, whilst nothing was of any value but eating and drinking, and indulging the animal appetites. But it is probable that this calumny originated with Timocrates himself, who, from a personal quarrel with Metrodorus, deserted the sect, and therefore can deserve little credit.

POLYÆNUS‡ is said to have recommended himself to Epicurus by his amiable temper, and the modesty of his manners. Cicero also attests§ that he was an eminent mathematician.

HERMACHUS|| of Mitylene left the schools of the Rhetoricians to become a disciple of Epicurus, and obtained such entire possession of his confidence and affection, that at his death he entrusted him with the execution of his will, and committed to him the whole charge of his school.

After the death of Epicurus his followers celebrated his birth-day as a festival. They preserved his image on their rings or cups, or in pictures, which they either carried about their persons, or hung up in their chambers. So great was their reverence for his authority, and their regard to his dying advice, that they committed his maxims, and some of them the whole body of his instructions, to memory. For several ages they adhered with wonderful unanimity to his system, yielding as implicit submission to his decisions as the Athenians or Spartans ever yielded to the laws of Solon or Lycurgus. They carried this point so far, that it was deemed a kind of impiety to innovate upon his doctrine; so that the Epicureans formed a Philosophical Republic, regulated by one judgment, and animated by one soul.¶

Thus much concerning the LIFE of Epicurus. Our next business is to state, as accurately as the remaining sources of information will permit, the *Doctrines* which he taught. They may be arranged under the distinct heads of Philosophy in General, Canons or Rules of Philosophising, Physics, and Ethics.

The *Sum* of his doctrine concerning PHILOSOPHY in GENERAL is this:—**

PHILOSOPHY is the exercise of reason in the pursuit and attainment of a happy life; whence it follows, that those studies which conduce neither to the acquisition nor the enjoyment of happiness are to be dismissed as of no value. The end of all speculation ought to be, to enable men to judge with certainty what is to be chosen, and what to be avoided, to preserve themselves free from pain, and to secure health of body and tranquillity of mind. True philosophy is so useful to every man, that the young should apply to it without delay, and the old should never be weary of the pursuit; for no man is either too young or too old to correct and improve his mind, and to study the art of happiness. Happy are they who possess by nature a free and vigorous intellect, and who are born in a country where they can prosecute their inquiries without restraint; for it is philosophy alone which raises a man above vain fears and base passions, and gives him the perfect command of himself. As nothing ought to be

* Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. iii.

† Adv. Colot.

‡ Laert. l. x. sect. 24.

§ Acad. Qu. l. iv. c. 33.

|| Laert. sect. 25.

¶ Laert. l. x. sect. 21. Plin. H. N. l. xxxv. c. 2. Athen. l. iv. p. 182. Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 1. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 33. Sen. Ep. 33. Themist. Orat. iv. Euseb. Pr. Ec. l. xiv. c. 5.

** Laert. l. x. sect. 30. 120, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. xi. sect. 169. Senec. Ep. 8. 52. 89. Cic. in Brut. c. 83. Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. i. p. 20.

dearer to a philosopher than truth, he should pursue it by the most direct means, devising no fictions himself, nor suffering himself to be imposed upon by the fictions of others—neither poets, orators, nor logicians—making no other use of the rules of rhetoric or grammar, than to enable him to speak or write with accuracy and perspicuity, and always preferring a plain and simple to an ornamented style. Whilst some doubt of every thing, and others profess to acknowledge every thing, a wise man will embrace such tenets, and only such, as are built upon experience, or upon certain and indisputable axioms. Philosophy consists of two parts;—physics, which respect the contemplation of nature; and ethics, which are employed in the regulation of manners. Of these the latter is the most important; the knowledge of nature being only necessary as a means of promoting the happiness of life. Philosophers have added a third part—dialectics; but this is to be rejected as only productive of thorny disputes, idle quibbles, and fruitless cavilling.* In order to facilitate the pursuit of knowledge, a few plain maxims and rules may be useful.

TRUTH is of two kinds; that which respects real existence, and that which consists in a perfect agreement between the conception of the mind and the nature of things. It is in the nature of things true, that any individual is what he is, and no other. A judgment or enunciation is true, when it agrees with the thing concerning which the judgment is made or declared. In order to judge rightly concerning truth, it is necessary to make use of some criterion, or instrument of judging. This criterion will be different, according to the nature of the object which the mind contemplates. In judging of natural objects external to man, the senses first present the object to the mind, which perceives it by means of the faculty of sensation. Besides this operation of the mind, by which it becomes sensible of things present, and a mental image or phantasy is produced, the mind is also capable of reasoning concerning the object which it perceives, and comparing it with a certain preconception or general idea, which has been formed by frequent similar impressions upon the senses. In judging of moral objects which interest the affections, the only criterion is the affection or passion itself, by which we are driven towards, or drawn from any object—as pleasure and pain. There are then three instruments of judging—sense, preconception, and passion.†

The maxims, or canons, which may be laid down concerning sense are these four:—first, that the senses can never be deceived, and consequently, that every perception of an image or appearance is true; that is, the perception or simple apprehension, and its efficient cause, the species or image flowing from the object, really agree.‡ Secondly, opinion or judgment is consequent upon perception, and admits either of truth or falsehood. Perceptions or sensations are the effect of real external *phenomena*; but when the mind judges concerning these appearances, the opinion may be either right or wrong. If a tower appears to be small and round, the image which produces this perception of smallness and roundness is really such; but when the mind reasons upon this appearance, to determine whether the tower from which this image proceeded be in itself small or round, it may either conclude according to truth or be deceived.§ Thirdly, every opinion is to be admitted as true, which is attested, or not contradicted, by the evidence of the senses, after a careful and deliberate examination of

* Lucretius, l. i. v. 63, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 14.

† Laert. l. x. sect. 31. 121, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vii. sect. 203. Plut. de Plat. Ph. l. iv. c. 8. ‡ Laert. ib. sect. 32. 126. Sext. Emp. ib. l. vii. sect. 126. 211.

§ Laert. sect. 34.

every circumstance which can be supposed to affect the question. Opinions may be received as true, either upon the direct report of the senses thus examined, as that the person coming towards me is Plato, or by clear inference from something admitted on the testimony of the senses, as that because bodies move there is a *vacuum*, without which it would be impossible for a body to pass out of one place into another. Fourthly, an opinion contradicted, or not attested by the evidence of the senses is false. Thus the opinion of a *plenum* must be false, because it contradicts the evidence of the senses, which attests that there is such a thing as motion.*

Concerning the second instrument of judgment, *πρόληψις*, preconception, four canons may also be laid down.† First, that all preconceptions are derived from the senses, either by immediate impression, as of an individual man; by enlargement or diminution, as of a giant or dwarf; by resemblance, as of an unknown city to one which has been seen; or by composition, as of a Centaur. Secondly, preconception is necessary to enable us to reason, inquire, or judge of any thing. Unless, for example, we have in the mind a general idea of the form or species of a horse, we cannot determine whether the animal which stands by us is a horse. Thirdly, preconceptions or universal notions, are the principles of all reasoning and discourse, and we easily refer to these in comparing one thing with another. If these universal notions, *καθολικὸς νοησεῖς*, be agreeable to nature, and distinctly conceived, artificial reasoning will be unnecessary. Fourthly, truths, not self-evident, are to be deduced from manifest preconceptions, or, where the relation of ideas is obscure, it is to be made evident by the intermediate use of some acknowledged principle.

The third instrument, passion or affection, which comprehends pleasure and pain, admits of these four evident maxims.‡ All pleasure, to which no pain is annexed, is for its own sake to be pursued. Secondly, all pain, to which no pleasure is annexed, is for its own sake to be avoided. Thirdly, that pleasure, which either prevents the enjoyment of a greater pleasure, or produces a greater pain, is to be shunned. Fourthly, that pain, which either removes a greater pain, or procures a greater pleasure, is to be endured.

With respect to the use of words, two canons may suffice.§ First, in speaking, make choice of terms in common use, and employ them in the sense in which they are commonly understood. Secondly, in hearing or reading, attend carefully to the signification which the speaker or writer affixes to his terms. These simple precepts, diligently followed, would prevent much obscurity and confusion, and put an end to many disputes.

By the help of these rules for investigating truth Epicurus undertook to conduct his followers into the secrets of nature, and to lay open to them the origin of things;—with how little consistency and success will appear in the sequel.

The PHYSICAL DOCTRINE of Epicurus was as follows:—||

Nothing can ever spring from nothing, nor can any thing ever return to nothing.¶ The universe always existed, and will always remain; for there is nothing into which it can be changed. There is nothing in nature, nor can any thing be conceived, besides body and space. Body is that which possesses the properties of bulk, figure, resistance and gravity: it is this

* Laert.

† Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. ii. c. 11. sect. 107. l. viii. sect. 316. Laert. l. x. sect. 32, 33. 108.

‡ Laert. sect. 118. 129. Sext. Emp. ib. sect. 316.

§ Laert. sect. 13. 37.

|| Laert. l. x. sect. 35, 36. 38.

¶ Epist. ad Herod. ap. Laert. l. c.

alone which can touch or be touched. Space, or *vacuum*, destitute of the properties of body, incapable of action or passion, is the region which is or may be occupied by body, and which affords it an opportunity of moving freely. That there are bodies in the universe is attested by the senses. That there is also space is evident; since otherwise body would have no place in which to move or exist; and of their existence and motion we have the certain proof of perception. Besides these no third nature can be conceived; for such a nature must either have bulk and solidity, or want them; that is, it must either be body or space: this does not, however, preclude the existence of qualities, which have no subsistence but in the body to which they belong.*

The universe, consisting of body and space, is infinite, for it has no limits. Bodies are infinite in multitude; space is infinite in magnitude. The terms above or beneath, high or low, cannot be properly applied to infinite space. The universe is to be conceived as immovable, since beyond it there is no place into which it can move; and as eternal and immutable, since it is neither liable to increase nor decrease, to production nor decay. Nevertheless, the parts of the universe are in motion, and are subject to change.†

All bodies consist of parts, of which they are composed, and into which they may be resolved; and these parts are either themselves simple principles, or may be resolved into such. These first principles, or simple atoms, are divisible by no force, and therefore must be immutable. This may also be inferred from the uniformity of nature, which could not be preserved if its principles were not certain and consistent. The existence of such atoms is evident, since it is impossible that any thing which exists should be reduced to nothing. A finite body cannot consist of parts infinite, either in magnitude or number; divisibility of bodies *in infinitum* is therefore inconceivable. All atoms are of the same nature, or differ in no essential qualities. From their different effects upon the senses, it appears, however, that they differ in magnitude, figure, and weight. Atoms exist in every possible variety of figure—round, oval, conical, cubical, sharp, hooked, &c. But in every shape they are, on account of their solidity, infrangible or incapable of actual division.‡

Gravity must be an essential property of atoms; for since they are perpetually in motion, or making an effort to move, they must be moved by an internal impulse, which may be called gravity. Atoms, by this internal force, are carried forward in a direction which is nearly but not exactly rectilinear; and whilst they pass through free space, this declination from the right line occasions a casual concurrence of corpuscles of different forms. By this percussion atoms will be turned out of their natural course, and various kinds of curvilinear motions will be produced. It will also happen that when one atom is reflected from another, and again repelled by a third, within a short interval, it will acquire a kind of vibratory or tremulous motion. Whence, in compound masses of atoms, the efforts of some of the particles towards motion in different directions being repressed by the efforts of others, a universal agitation must take place.§

The principle of gravity, that internal energy which is the cause of all

* Lucret. l. i. Laert. l. x. sect. 38. Euseb. l. i. c. 8.

† Laert. l. x. sect. 39. 42. Lucret. l. i. v. 335. 420. 435. 455. 490. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 333.

‡ Laert. l. x. sect. 38. 42. 44. 54, 55, 56. 58, 59. Lucret. l. i. v. 268. 333. 486. 548, &c. l. ii. v. 729, &c. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 3, 4.

§ Lucret. l. i. v. 82, &c. l. ii. v. 217. Cic. de Fato, c. 10. 20. De Fin. l. i. c. 6. Laert. l. x. sect. 43, 44. 134. Plut. de Procr. Anim. t. iii. p. 79. De Fac. in Orb. Lun.

motion, whether simple or complex, being essential to the primary corpuscles or atoms, they must have been incessantly and from eternity in actual motion. The velocity of the motion of atoms, where they meet with no obstacle, is such, that they will pass through the greatest imaginable space in the smallest imaginable portion of time. It may also be assumed, that all atoms passing without resistance through the same empty space are equal in velocity, and that though the direction be changed, the velocity is not diminished by collision. Even in compound bodies the atoms still retain their innate energy; so that, though the whole mass may move slowly, or be apparently at rest, its parts are still moved by repercussions too rapid to be perceived by the senses.*

Atoms are the elements from which all things are compounded, and into which they are ultimately resolved. Not only are they the materials out of which bodies are made; but that energy, or principle of motion, which essentially belongs to them, is the sole agent in the operations of nature. Every compound body possesses the energy of all the atoms of which it is composed, but variously modified according to the respective figures and relative situations of its component parts. The rugged angular atoms, for example, being more easily entangled, move less freely than those which are of a smooth and round form; whence some combinations of atoms have more activity than others, such as fire and the vital principle; but all bodies, consisting of atoms which have in themselves a principle of motion, have a certain self-moving power, modified according to the variety of the motion, or tendency to motion, in its component parts. Thus action originates in atoms, and proceeds from these to bodies.†

All the changes which take place in the figure, and other properties of bodies, consist in local motion. If a body from sweet becomes bitter, or from soft becomes hard, it is through some change in the situation and arrangement of its parts, or through some augmentation or diminution of the mass which forms the body. As different words are formed from the different combinations of the same letters, so different qualities are produced by the different arrangement of the same particles. Bodies are more or less rare, in proportion to the magnitude of the vacuities which intercept the solid atoms of which they are composed. Transparency depends partly upon the same cause, and partly upon the position of the vacuities between the particles; for rays of light will pass easily through a dense body, as glass, if its vacuities be placed in a straight line. Hardness and softness, flexibility, ductility, and other qualities, may be explained in a similar manner. The weight of a body is the result of the weight of all its atoms, and since gravity is an essential property of atoms, all bodies must be heavy; and the only reason why some bodies appear to have the contrary property of levity is, that they are driven upwards by the denser mass in which they are placed.‡

From the combinations of the properties of atoms, and the qualities of bodies already enumerated, arise other properties and faculties, which are likewise to be traced up to the principle of motion. Heat, for example, is the influx of certain small, round, soft corpuscles, which insinuate themselves into the pores of bodies in continual succession, till, by their per-

* Lucret. l. ii. v. 94. Laert. sect. 46. 61, 62.

† Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 3. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 20. Lucret. l. i. v. 1020, &c. Plut. adv. Colot. Laert. l. x. sect. 134.

‡ Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. x. sect. 42. 51. 75. Lucr. l. i. v. 575. l. ii. v. 96. 759. l. iv. v. 605. 444. 266. l. ii. 381. l. i. 187. 360. Arist. Phys. l. i. c. 4. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 19. Laert.

petual action, the parts are separated, and at length the body dissolved. The sense of heat is the perception of the separation of those parts which were before continuous. Cold is the influx of certain irregular atoms, whose motion is slower than those which occasion heat, and their effect the reverse of the former. Pleasure and pain, motion and rest, and even time, are accidents of bodies. Production and dissolution are nothing more than a change of the position of atoms, or an increase or diminution of the particles of which bodies are composed.*

The world, or that portion of the universe which includes the whole circumference of the heavens, the heavenly bodies, the earth, and all visible objects, is to be conceived as one whole, on account of the contiguity and relation of its parts: but there is no proof that it is an organised and animated body. Because the world is a finite portion of the universe, it must be terminated, and have some figure; but what this is, it is impossible to discover. The world is not eternal, but began at a certain time to exist; for since every thing in the world is liable to the vicissitudes of production and decay, the world itself must be so too. This may also be inferred from the short date of history, and the late invention of arts.†

The formation of the world may be conceived to have happened thus:—a finite number of that infinite multitude of atoms, which, with infinite space, constitutes the universe, falling fortuitously into the region of the world, were in consequence of their innate motion collected into one rude and indigested mass. In this chaos the heaviest and largest atoms, or collections of atoms first subsided, whilst the smaller, and those which from their form would move most freely, were driven upwards. These latter, after many reverberations, rose into the outer region of the world, and formed the heavens. Those atoms, which were by their size and figure suited to form fiery bodies, collected themselves into stars. Those which were not capable of rising so high in the sphere of the world, being disturbed by the fiery particles, formed themselves into air. At length from those which subsided was produced the earth. By the action of air, agitated by heat from the heavenly bodies upon the mixed mass of the earth, its smoother and lighter particles were separated from the rest, and water was produced, which flowed, by its nature, into the lowest places. In the first combination of atoms, which formed the chaos, various seeds arose, which, being preserved and nourished by moisture and heat, afterwards sprung forth in organised bodies of different kinds. Of the animal productions of the earth, some may be conceived to have been produced imperfect, and therefore incapable of life, but others would come forth more perfect. These, after the earth was exhausted of its seminal virtues, would respectively continue their species.‡

The world is preserved by the same mechanical causes by which it was framed; and from the same causes it will at last be dissolved. The incessant motion of atoms, which produced the world, is continually operating towards its dissolution, for nothing is solid and indissoluble but atoms. Whence it may be concluded, that the time will come when nothing will remain but separate atoms and infinite space. Atoms being

* Lucret. l. ii. v. 381. l. iv. v. 527. l. vi. v. 225. l. iii. v. 860. Laert. l. x. sect. 52. Plut. adv. Col. t. iii. p. 411. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. iii. c. 17. sect. 137. adv. Math. l. x. sect. 183. 227.

† Laert. l. x. sect. 54. 76. 88. Lucret. l. i. v. 1020. l. v. 166, &c. 319, &c. Cic. de Nat. D. l. i. c. 8, 9, 10. l. ii. c. 17. Lactant. l. vii. c. 5. Plut. Plac. Ph. l. i. c. 4.

‡ Laert. l. x. sect. 76. 88. Lucret. l. iv. v. 304, &c. 420, &c. 450, &c. 474, &c. l. v. 166, &c. 319, &c. 799, &c. l. i. 1020. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 4. Cic. de N. D. l. i. c. 8, 9. l. ii. c. 17. Lactant. l. vii. c. 5.

infinite, and capable of moving through infinite space, the number of worlds may be infinite.*

The earth, which was formed of heavy particles, subsiding to the lowest place, is situated in the middle of the world. Not that there is any point within the earth which is the centre of gravity, for all heavy bodies fall in nearly parallel lines, there being, as in the universe so in this world, one region above, from which they fall, and another region below, towards which they fall. The doctrine that there are upon the earth antipodes is therefore false. The earth is in form a circular plane: it is preserved from falling towards the lower region by the air, with which it is congenial, and upon which therefore it does not press, their mutual action destroying the effect of gravity.†

Earthquakes are caused by the agitation of internal winds and water, or by the decay and sudden fall of columns, by which portions of the earth's surface are supported: or the internal winds may be converted into fires, which may cause sudden and violent eruptions, as in Mount Etna.‡ All rivers flow into the sea, and mingle with a vast ocean, which surrounds the whole habitable world. The waters passing out of the sea into the crevices of the earth undergo a filtration, by means of which the particles of salt which they had received from the bed of the sea are separated. The overflowing of the Nile may be caused, either by winds from the north, or by rain or snow from the regions of Ethiopia. Water in wells is cold in summer and warm in winter, because in summer the earth being rarefied exhales the particles of heat, and becoming colder, communicates its coldness to the water, and the reverse in winter. Ice is produced when the round particles of water which cause heat are protruded by the condensing power of the external cold, and other particles, which from their form are more easily entangled, are from the same cause brought nearer together, and at length united.§

Fossils and plants are produced by the necessary impulse of nature; that is, by the motion of atoms, causing continual transposition, accretion, or diminution, in individual bodies. They have no vital principle, and therefore can only be said analogically to live or die. The loadstone or magnet attracts iron, because the particles which are continually flowing from it, as from all other bodies, have such a peculiar fitness, in form, to those which flow from iron, that upon collision they easily unite; so that some passing towards the mass of iron, and others towards the magnet, and striking upon their surfaces, they are respectively entangled with the particles of the body upon which they strike, and in rebounding carry back the body along with it. The mutual attraction of amber and light bodies may be explained in the same manner.||

Animals having been once formed, at the beginning of the world, by the casual conjunction of similar atoms, the production of animal bodies is still continued in a consistent and determinate order; Nature by degrees acquiring an uniformity in her operations, which appears artificial. The parts of animals were not originally framed for the uses to which they are now applied; but, having been accidentally produced, they were afterwards

* Laert. l. x. sect. 77, &c. Lucret. l. i. v. 1102, &c. l. ii. v. 1092, &c. 1144, &c. 1021, &c. l. v. v. 252. 381, &c. Cic. de N. D. l. i. c. 8. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 4. l. i. c. 5. in Brut. t. v. p. 711. Cic. de Divin. l. ii. c. 63.

† Lucret. l. i. v. 1051, &c. l. v. v. 538, &c. l. ii. v. 652, &c.

‡ Lucret. l. vi. v. 533. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vi. c. 20. Laert. l. x. sect. 105.

§ Lucret. l. vi. v. 613, &c. 635, &c. 714, &c.

|| Lucret. l. vi. v. 538, &c. Laert. l. x. sect. 95, 96. Plut. de Pl. Ph. l. v. c. 25.

accidentally employed. The eye, for example, was not made for seeing, nor the ear for hearing; but the soul, being formed within the body at the same time with these organs, and connected with them, could not avoid making use of them in their respective functions.*

The soul is a subtle corporeal substance, composed of the finest atoms; for if it were not corporeal, it could neither touch nor be touched, and consequently could neither act nor suffer. By the extreme tenuity of its particles it is able to penetrate the whole body, and to adhere to all its parts. Notwithstanding the subtlety of its texture, it is composed of four distinct parts;—fire, which causes animal heat; an ethereal principle, which is moist vapour; air; and a fourth principle, which is the cause of sensation. This sentient principle differs essentially from the three former, but is, like the rest, corporeal, because it is capable both of acting and being acted upon by bodies.† These four parts are so perfectly combined as to form one subtle substance, which whilst it remains in the body is the cause of all its faculties, motions, and passions, and which cannot be separated from it without producing the entire dissolution of the animal system. The soul is only capable of exercising its faculties of sensation by means of the bodily organs; and although, whilst they are united, the body partakes of the sensations of the soul, upon their separation it becomes wholly insensible; whence it appears that sensation is the result of their union. That sensation is thus produced from the combination of elementary parts in themselves insensible, is to be ascribed to the peculiar magnitude, figure, motion, and arrangement of those parts; that is, sensation is to be considered, not as a primary property of atoms, but as the effect of a peculiar combination and contexture of certain atoms disposed by their nature to produce it.‡

Different sensations are the casual effects of the different organs which the soul in its union with the body is capable of employing, and of the different properties and qualities of external objects. These become sensible by means of certain species, or images, which are perpetually passing, like thin films, from bodies, in form similar to the surfaces of the bodies themselves, and striking upon organs fitted to receive them. Thus the species, or images, of visible bodies consist in certain small particles, of a peculiar magnitude, figure, and motion, which having passed in a certain situation from a body, penetrates the organ of sight, and affects it in a peculiar manner. Thus also, hearing is the effect of an efflux of certain particles from the body which is the cause of the sound, so formed and arranged as when they strike upon the ear to become audible. The sensations produced by means of the other senses admit of a similar explanation. The species, or images, which produce these effects are inconceivably small, and therefore do not, in passing away, perceptibly diminish the body; and, from the innate tendency to motion in the atoms of which they are composed, they fly with inconceivable velocity from the object to the organ of sensation.§

The Mind, or Intellect, that nameless part of the soul in which consists the power of thinking, judging, and determining, is formed of particles most subtle in their nature, and capable of the most rapid motion. In

* Lucret. l. iv. v. 816, &c. Lactant. l. iii. c. 17. de Opif. c. 7. Galen de Usu Part. l. i. c. 21.

† Lucret. l. ii. v. 129. 162, &c. l. iii. v. 233, &c. Plut. de Plac. Ph. l. iv. c. 3. adv. Colot. Laert. l. x. sect. 63, 64.

‡ Lucret. l. ii. v. 285. v. 972, &c. l. iii. v. 290. 324. Laert. sect. 64, 65.

§ Lucret. l. ii. v. 422. 434. l. iv. v. 245, &c. 645, &c. 677, &c. Laert. l. x. sect. 49. 52. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 19. adv. Colot. t. iii. p. 410. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 14. sect. 94.

whatever part of the body the intellect resides, it exists as a portion of the soul, with which it is so conjoined as to form one nature with it; at the same time it retains its own distinct character—the power of thinking. The intellect has this peculiar property, that when the soul or sentient principle feels pleasure or pain, the intellect or mind always partakes of it; but the intellect may be affected with passions which are not diffused through the whole soul. The seat of this most excellent part of the soul seems to be in the middle of the breast, or the heart, which we perceive to be the region of those affections which are excited by cogitation. Thought is produced by subtle images, which find their way through the body, and, when they arrive at the intellect, move it to think.*

The affections and passions of the soul may be reduced to two—pleasure and pain; the former natural and agreeable, the latter unnatural and troublesome. Whilst all the parts of the soul remain in their natural state it experiences nothing but pleasurable tranquillity; but from the various motions which take place either in ourselves, or in the objects around us, the soul is liable either to be dilated by the approach of images suitable to its nature, and therefore pleasant, or to be contracted by contrary impressions. Voluntary motion is the effect of images conveyed to the mind, by which pleasurable or painful conceptions are formed, and subsequent desires or aversions are produced, which become the immediate springs of action.†

Sleep is produced when the parts of the soul which are at other times diffused through the body are repressed or separated by the action of the air, or of food. Dreams are the effect of images casually flying about, which from their extreme tenuity penetrate the body and strike upon the mind, exciting an imaginary perception of those things of which they are images. Death is the privation of sensation, in consequence of the separation of the soul from the body. When a man dies, the soul is dispersed into the corpuscles or atoms of which it was composed, and therefore can no longer be capable of thought or perception. It is with the soul as with the eye, which, when it is separated from the organised machine to which it belonged, is no longer capable of seeing.‡

The knowledge of things which belong to the regions above the earth, whether aerial or celestial, is to be pursued for no other purpose than to free the mind from imaginary fears, and settle it in a state of tranquillity. This end may be accomplished in different ways; because these *phenomena* admit of different explanations, all however depending upon the simple principles upon which the terrestrial *phenomena* have been explained.§

In the heavens, or ethereal regions, the sun, moon, and stars appear to be fiery bodies; or they may be smooth mirrors, from which bright fiery particles flowing through the ethereal region are reflected to the earth; or they may be deep vessels, containing fires; or they may be circular plates, heated like mortar, or stones in a furnace. The apparent motion of the heavenly bodies may arise from the revolution of the whole heaven in which they are fixed, like nails in a solid body; or by the revolution of the bodies themselves through the heaven as a fluid and permeable medium. The cause

* Lucret. l. iii. v. 94. 104. 180. 187, &c. l. iii. v. 400. 422, &c. l. iv. 728. Plut. de Pl. Ph. l. iv. c. 8. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 6.

† Lucret. l. v. 289, &c. l. iv. 856. 879. Laert. l. x. sect. 34. 127. 139.

‡ Lucret. l. iv. 758. 914. 959, &c. l. iii. v. 507. 844. 991. Laert. sect. 65. Ps. Orig. Philosophum, c. 22.

§ Laert. l. x. sect. 85. 113. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 13. 20. Stob. Ecl. Phys. p. 53. 55, 56. Cic. de N. D. l. i. c. 10. l. ii. c. 17.

of the motion of heavenly bodies may either be, an internal necessity in the natures of the bodies themselves, or the external pressure of some ethereal fluid; but to assert any thing positively upon these subjects only becomes those who affect an ostentatious display of knowledge.*

It cannot be contradicted that there are in the universe divine natures; because nature itself has impressed the idea of divinity upon the mind of men: for where is the nation or race of men which has not, without instruction, a natural preconception of the existence of the gods? This opinion is not established by custom, law, or any human institution, but is the effect of an innate principle, producing universal consent; it must therefore be true.† This universal notion has probably arisen from images of the gods, which have casually made their way to the minds of men in sleep, and have afterwards been recollected. But it is inconsistent with our natural notions of the gods, as happy and immortal beings, to suppose that they incumber themselves with the management of the world, or are subject to the cares and passions which must necessarily attend so great a charge. We are therefore to conceive that the gods have no intercourse with mankind, nor any concern with the affairs of the world. Nevertheless, on account of their excellent nature, they are proper objects of reverence and worship.‡ Because the human figure is the most perfect, and the only form that admits of reason and virtue, we must conceive that the gods resemble men in their external shape; but we are not to suppose them to be gross bodies, consisting of flesh and blood, but thin ethereal substances, endued with sensation and intellect, and, from their peculiar nature, incapable of decay. The place of their residence is unknown to mortals; but we may be assured that, wherever it be, it is the mansion of perfect purity, tranquillity, and happiness.§

It will be impossible for an intelligent reader to contemplate the Epicurean System, as it is stated in the preceding summary, without perceiving that it is a feeble and unsuccessful effort to explain the *phenomena* of nature upon mechanical principles. The author of the system deserts, at the outset, his own principle of advancing nothing which cannot be supported by natural appearances; for nothing was ever more perfectly hypothetical than his doctrine of indivisible atoms of various forms and magnitude; nor can any thing be more contrary to the known law of nature, than that atoms impelled only by a single force should deviate from the right line. Indeed, Epicurus discovers, through the whole detail of his philosophy, a degree of ignorance with respect to the *phenomena* of nature which proves him to have been ill qualified for the task of solving the grand problem concerning the origin and formation of the world. But the greatest defect in his system is, that it attempts to account for all the appearances of nature, even those which respect animated and intelligent beings, upon the simple principles of matter and motion, without introducing the agency of a Supreme Intelligence, or admitting any other idea of fate, than that of blind necessity inherent in every atom, by which it moves in a certain direction. Hence he leaves without explanation those appearances of design which are so manifest in every part of nature, and falls into the gross absurdity of sup-

* Laert. sect. 91, &c. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 22. Lucret. l. v. v. 592. 659. 750, &c. l. vi. v. 218. 450. 498, &c.

† Lucret. l. v. v. 1182, &c. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. ix. sect. 25, 26. Cic. de N. D. l. i. c. 17. 30. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 13. De Legib. l. i. c. 8.

‡ Lucret. l. v. v. 1108. 1232, &c. Laert. l. x. sect. 76. 123. 133, 134. Stobæi Serm. 39. p. 137. Cic. de N. D. l. i. c. 17, 18, 19. Lactant. de Ira Dei, c. 10. Plut. Pl. Ph. l. i. c. 6.

§ Cic. l. c. Senec. de Benef. l. iv. c. 19.

posing that the eye was not made for seeing, nor the ear for hearing: and although he professes to admit the existence of gods into his system of nature, and this upon the ground of an innate principle common to all mankind, the idea which he gives of their nature, as similar to that of man, and of their condition, as wholly separate from the world, and enjoying no other felicity than that which arises from inactive tranquillity, falls infinitely short of the true conception of Deity, as the Intelligent Creator and Governor of the world.

It is difficult to determine precisely what was the idea of Epicurus concerning the divine natures which he admitted into his system. Finding it wholly inconsistent with his fundamental principles to suppose the existence of immaterial beings, yet wishing to ascribe to the gods an incorporeal nature, he seems to have had recourse to an abstract notion of a peculiar substance, in the form of man, of such tenuity as to be intangible, indivisible, and indissoluble, and which he supposed to be endued with perception and reason. What this peculiar nature of Epicurus' divinities was, which was not a body, yet was like a body, we own ourselves unable to explain. The truth seems to have been, that Epicurus, reduced to inextricable difficulties by the absurdity of his system, that he might not wholly discard the idea of divinity, had recourse to the common asylum of ignorance, words without meaning.

The doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature differs from that of the Stoics chiefly in these particulars; that while the latter held God to be the soul of the world, diffused through universal nature, the former admitted no Primary Intelligent Nature into his system, but held atoms and space to be the first principles of all things; and that, whilst the Stoics conceived the active and passive principles of nature to be connected by the chain of fate, Epicurus ascribed every appearance in nature to a fortuitous collision and combination of atoms.

The science of Physics was, in the judgment of Epicurus, subordinate to that of Ethics; and his whole doctrine concerning nature was professedly adapted to rescue men from the dominion of troublesome passions, and to lay the foundation of a tranquil and happy life.* His *Moral Philosophy*, which is unquestionably the least exceptionable part of his system, and which, when fairly rescued from the misrepresentations of his adversaries, will be found for the most part consonant to reason and nature, may be reduced to the following *Summary*:—

The end of living, or the ultimate good which is to be sought for its own sake, according to the universal opinion of mankind, is happiness; yet men, for the most part, fail in the pursuit of this end, either because they do not form a right idea of the nature of happiness, or because they do not make use of proper means to attain it. Since it is every man's interest to be happy through the whole of life, it is the wisdom of every one to employ philosophy in the search of felicity without delay; and there cannot be a greater folly than to be always beginning to live.†

The happiness which belongs to man is that state in which he enjoys as many of the good things, and suffers as few of the evils, incident to human nature, as possible, passing his days in a smooth course of permanent tranquillity.‡ A wise man, though deprived of sight or hearing, may experience happiness in the enjoyment of the good things which yet remain; and when suffering torture, or labouring under some painful disease, can

* Epist. ad Menæceus, ap. Laert. l. x. sect. 132.

† Laert. l. x. sect. 118—122. Stob. Serin. 78. p. 281.

‡ Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 10.

mitigate the anguish by patience, and can enjoy in his afflictions the consciousness of his own constancy. But it is impossible that perfect happiness can be possessed without the pleasure which attends freedom from pain, and the enjoyment of the good things of life. Pleasure is in its nature good, as pain is in its nature evil; the one is therefore to be pursued, and the other to be avoided, for its own sake. Pleasure or pain is not only good or evil in itself, but the measure of what is good or evil in every object of desire or aversion; for the ultimate reason why we pursue one thing and avoid another is, because we expect pleasure from the former and apprehend pain from the latter. If we sometimes decline a present pleasure, it is not because we are averse to pleasure itself, but because we conceive that in the present instance it will be necessarily connected with a greater pain. In like manner, if we sometimes voluntarily submit to a present pain, it is because we judge that it is necessarily connected with a greater pleasure. Although all pleasure is essentially good, and all pain essentially evil, it does not necessarily follow, that in every single instance the one ought to be pursued, and the other to be avoided; but reason is to be employed in distinguishing and comparing the nature and degrees of each, that the result may be a wise choice of that which shall appear to be, upon the whole, good. That pleasure is the first good, appears from the inclination which every animal from its birth discovers to pursue pleasure and avoid pain, and is confirmed by the universal experience of mankind, who are incited to action by no other principle than the desire of avoiding pain, or obtaining pleasure.*

There are two kinds of pleasure; one consisting in a state of rest, in which both body and mind are undisturbed by any kind of pain; the other arising from an agreeable agitation of the senses, producing a correspondent emotion in the soul. It is upon the former of these that the enjoyment of life chiefly depends. Happiness may therefore be said to consist in bodily ease and mental tranquillity. When pleasure is asserted to be the end of living, we are not then to understand that violent kind of delight, or joy, which arises from the gratification of the senses and passions, but merely that placid state of mind which results from the absence of every cause of pain or uneasiness. Those pleasures which arise from agitation are not to be pursued as in themselves the end of living, but as means of arriving at that stable tranquillity in which true happiness consists. It is the office of reason to confine the pursuit of pleasure within the limits of nature, in order to the attainment of that happy state in which the body is free from every kind of pain, and the mind from all perturbation. This state must not, however, be conceived to be perfect in proportion as it is inactive and torpid, but in proportion as all the functions of life are quietly and pleasantly performed. A happy life neither resembles a rapid torrent, nor a standing pool, but is like a gentle stream that glides smoothly and silently along.†

This happy state can only be obtained by a prudent care of the body and a steady government of the mind. The diseases of the body are to be prevented by temperance, or cured by medicine, or rendered tolerable by patience. Against diseases of the mind philosophy provides sufficient antidotes. The instruments which it employs for this purpose are the virtues; the root of which, whence all the rest proceed, is Prudence. This virtue comprehends the whole art of living discreetly, justly, and honourably,

* Laert. sect. 118—137. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. ii. c. 7. l. v. c. 33. De Fin. l. i. c. 9, 10.

† Laert. l. x. sect. 136—139. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. iii. c. 17. De Fin. l. i. c. 9. 11. 17.

and is in fact the same thing with wisdom.* It instructs men to free their understandings from the clouds of prejudice; to exercise temperance and fortitude in the government of themselves; and to practise justice towards others. Although pleasure, or happiness, which is the end of living, be superior to virtue, which is only the means, it is every one's interest to practise all the virtues, for in a happy life pleasure can never be separated from virtue.†

A prudent man, in order to secure his tranquillity, will consult his natural disposition in the choice of his plan of life. If, for example, he be persuaded that he should be happier in a state of marriage than in celibacy, he ought to marry; but if he be convinced that matrimony would be an impediment to his happiness, he ought to remain single. In like manner, such persons as are naturally active, enterprising, and ambitious, or such as by the condition of their birth are placed in the way of civil offices, should accommodate themselves to their nature and situation, by engaging in public affairs; while such as are, from natural temper, fond of leisure and retirement, or from experience or observation are convinced that a life of public business would be inconsistent with their happiness, are unquestionably at liberty, except where particular circumstances call them to the service of their country, to pass their lives in obscure repose.‡

Temperance is that discreet regulation of the desires and passions by which we are enabled to enjoy pleasures without suffering any consequent inconvenience. They who maintain such a constant self-command, as never to be enticed by the prospect of present indulgence to do that which will be productive of evil, obtain the truest pleasure by declining pleasure. Since, of desires some are natural and necessary; others natural, but not necessary; and others neither natural nor necessary, but the offspring of false judgment; it must be the office of temperance to gratify the first class, as far as nature requires; to restrain the second within the bounds of moderation; and, as to the third, resolutely to oppose, and if possible entirely repress them. §

Sobriety, as opposed to inebriety and gluttony, is of admirable use in teaching men that nature is satisfied with a little, and enabling them to content themselves with simple and frugal fare. Such a manner of living is conducive to the preservation of health; renders a man alert and active in all the offices of life; affords him an exquisite relish of the occasional varieties of a plentiful board, and prepares him to meet every reverse of fortune without the fear of want. ||

Continenence is a branch of temperance which prevents the diseases, infamy, remorse, and punishment, to which those are exposed who indulge themselves in unlawful amours. Music and poetry, which are often employed as incentives to licentious pleasures, are to be cautiously and sparingly used. ¶

Gentleness, as opposed to an irascible temper, greatly contributes to the tranquillity and happiness of life, by preserving the mind from perturbation, and arming it against the assaults of calumny and malice. A wise man, who puts himself under the government of reason, will be able to receive an injury with calmness, and to treat the person who committed it with lenity; for he will rank injuries among the casual events of life, and will

* Laert. sect. 132. 140. Cic. l. c. c. 14, 15. Tusc. Qu. l. iii. c. 3. Sen. de Benef. l. iv. c. 2. † Laert. sect. 130. 140. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 15. ‡ Laert. sect. 119.

§ Cic. de. Fin. l. i. c. 13. 19. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 33. Laert. sect. 149.

|| Laert. sect. 130, 131. Conf. Sen. Ep. 4.

¶ Laert. sect. 142. 118, 119. 121. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. vi. sect. 19.

prudently reflect that he can no more stop the natural current of human passions, than he can curb the stormy winds.* Refractory servants in a family should be chastised, and disorderly members of a state punished, without wrath.

Moderation in the pursuit of honours or riches is the only security against disappointment and vexation. A wise man therefore will prefer the simplicity of rustic life to the magnificence of courts. Future events a wise man will consider as uncertain, and will therefore neither suffer himself to be elated with confident expectation, nor to be depressed by doubt and despair; for both are equally destructive of tranquillity. It will contribute to the enjoyment of life to consider death as the perfect termination of a happy life, which it becomes us to close like satisfied guests, neither regretting the past, nor anxious for the future.†

Fortitude, the virtue which enables us to endure pain, and to banish fear, is of great use in producing tranquillity. Philosophy instructs us to pay homage to the gods, not through hope or fear, but from veneration of their superior nature.‡ It moreover enables us to conquer the fear of death, by teaching us that it is no proper object of terror; since whilst we are, death is not, and when death arrives, we are not; so that it neither concerns the living nor the dead.§ The only evils to be apprehended are, bodily pain and distress of mind. Bodily pain it becomes a wise man to endure with patience and firmness; because, if it be slight, it may easily be borne; and if it be intense, it cannot last long. Mental distress commonly arises not from nature, but from opinion: a wise man will therefore arm himself against this kind of suffering, by reflecting that the gifts of fortune, the loss of which he may be inclined to deplore, were never his own, but depended upon circumstances which he could not command. If therefore they happen to leave him, he will endeavour as soon as possible to obliterate the remembrance of them, by occupying his mind in pleasant contemplation, and engaging in agreeable avocations.||

Justice respects man as living in society, and is the common bond without which no society can subsist. This virtue, like the rest, derives its value from its tendency to promote the happiness of life. Not only is it never injurious to the man who practises it, but nourishes in his mind calm reflections and pleasant hopes; whereas it is impossible that the mind in which injustice dwells should not be full of disquietude.¶ Since it is impossible that iniquitous actions should promote the enjoyment of life as much as remorse of conscience, legal penalties, and public disgrace, must increase its troubles, every one who follows the dictates of sound reason will practise the virtues of justice, equity, and fidelity.** In society, the necessity of the mutual exercise of justice, in order to the common enjoyment of the gifts of nature, is the ground of those laws by which it is prescribed.†† It is the interest of every individual in a state to conform to the laws of justice; for by injuring no one, and rendering to every man his due, he contributes his part towards the preservation of that society, upon the perpetuity of which his own safety depends. Nor ought any one to think that he is at liberty to violate the rights of his fellow-citizens,

* Laert. l. c. sect. 113. Conf. Sen. Ep. 47.

† Laert. sect. 118—130. 144. 146. Lucret. l. v. v. 1423, &c. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 21.

‡ Cic. ib. c. 14. 20. Laert. sect. 77. 81. 123. Lucret. l. v. v. 1193, &c.

§ Laert. sect. 87. 124—126. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. iii. c. 4. sect. 229. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 30.

¶ Cic. de Fin. l. i.

** Laert. sect. 120.

†† Atque ipsa utilitas justı prope mater et æqui est. HOR.

provided he can do it securely; for he who has committed an unjust action can never be certain that it will not be discovered; and however successfully he may conceal it from others, this will avail him little, since he cannot conceal it from himself. In different communities different laws may be instituted, according to the circumstances of the people who compose them. Whatever is thus prescribed is to be considered as a rule of justice, so long as the society shall judge the observance of it to be for the benefit of the whole. But whenever any rule of conduct is found upon experience not to be conducive to the public good, being no longer useful, it should no longer be prescribed.*

Nearly allied to justice are the virtues of beneficence, compassion, gratitude, piety, and friendship. He who confers benefits upon others procures to himself the satisfaction of seeing the stream of plenty spreading around him from the fountain of his beneficence; at the same time, he enjoys the pleasure of being esteemed by others. The exercise of gratitude, filial affection, and reverence for the gods, is necessary, in order to avoid the hatred and contempt of all men. Friendships are contracted for the sake of mutual benefit; but by degrees they ripen into such disinterested attachment, that they are continued without any prospect of advantage. Between friends there is a kind of league, that each will love the other as himself. A true friend will partake of the wants and sorrows of his friend, as if they were his own; if he be in want, he will relieve him; if he be in prison, he will visit him; if he be sick, he will come to him; nay, situations may occur, in which he would not scruple to die for him. It cannot then be doubted that friendship is one of the most useful means of procuring a secure, tranquil, and happy life.†

The preceding summary of the Epicurean System of Ethics, which is drawn from authentic sources, cannot but appear to the reader a full refutation of the censures which have been passed upon Epicurus by many writers, as the preceptor of luxurious and licentious pleasures. Epicurus, it is true, represents pleasure as the ultimate end of living; but pleasure is, in his system, only another term for happiness. The truth is, the ancient philosophers, in their disputes concerning The End of Living, or, The Greatest Good, differed from each other more in words than in reality. The Stoics maintained that virtue in itself is happiness; Epicurus taught that the motive by which men are induced to practise virtue is the desire of happiness. Both taught that it is impossible to be happy without virtue, and both supposed virtue to consist in a conformity to nature. The real difference then between their moral systems could not be material. If it be urged, that the physical system of Epicurus necessarily led him to refer all pleasures to the body; we answer, that, although Epicurus conceived the human soul to be a compound of atoms, he nevertheless ascribed to it those faculties which other philosophers termed *sipiritual*, and considered man as a being capable of intellectual and moral action. He supposed happiness to consist in mental tranquillity, as well as in a freedom from bodily pain; herein preserving the common and natural distinctions between body and mind. He also conceived so intimate an union to subsist between the mind and the body, that whenever the latter is affected with pleasure or pain, the former necessarily receives the impression. It was therefore of little consequence, as far as concerned his moral system, to which part of human nature he referred the actions of the man; since, on either suppo-

* Laert. sect. 150—152. Lucret. l. v. 1135. 1197.

† Laert. sect. 148. 154. Cic. de Fin. l. i. c. 20.

sition, the actions were the same, and it was alike true that a virtuous course of conduct was necessary to a happy life. Nay, it may be added, that, according to the Epicurean system, which made the sentient principle a part of the soul, all pleasure or pain must, strictly speaking, be said to be seated in the soul, and the body only be considered as the instrument by means of which the soul performs its functions. No objection therefore against the moral system of Epicurus can be fairly deduced from his physical doctrine concerning the soul.

After the death of Epicurus,* the charge of his school devolved by will, as was before observed, upon his friend Hermachus. It was continued in succession by Polystratus, Basilides, Protarchus, and others, concerning whom nothing memorable remains. The sect subsisted, but in a depraved and degraded state, as will appear in the sequel, till the decline of the Roman empire.†

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE PYRRHONIC OR SCEPTICAL SECT.

ANOTHER branch of the Italic school of philosophy yet remains to be noticed, if indeed a sect which professed no tenets could deserve to be ranked among philosophers; the Pyrrhonic, so called from Pyrrho its founder. From the leading character of this sect, which was, that it called in question the truth of every system of opinions adopted by other sects, and held no other settled opinion, but that every thing is uncertain, it has also been called the Sceptical sect.‡ On account of the similarity of the opinions of this sect and those of the Platonic school in the Middle and New Academy, it happened, that many of the real followers of Pyrrho chose to screen themselves from the reproach of universal scepticism by calling themselves Academics; whence the appellation of Pyrrhonists fell into disuse, while the doctrine of Pyrrho had still many advocates.§

PYRRHO§ was a native of Elea. In his youth he practised the art of

* Laert. l. x. sect. 25. Suidas.

† Vidend. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 325. 369. 637. 643. Gassend. de Vita et Moribus Epicuri, Lugd. 1647. Op. t. v. Parker de Deo, Disp. i. s. 12. 14. Bayle. Rondelli Vit. Epic. Amst. 1693. Potter, Arch. Gr. l. i. c. 9. Crophius de Gymnas. Lit. Ath. p. 55. Jons. de Script. l. i. c. 20. l. ii. c. 13. l. iv. p. 513. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. 1. c. 7. sect. 5—10. Reimmann. Hist. Ath. c. 29. Gataker, in Præloq. ad Antonin. Gassend. Comment. in Lib. decim Laertii, et Syntagma Philos. Epic. Thomas, de Exustione Mundi Stoica, Diss. ii. sect. 26. Conringiana, p. 65. Malebranche, Recherche, p. i. l. i. c. 5. sect. 2. Crousaz Logique, t. i. p. 1. s. 1. c. 4. Clerici Ars Crit. p. 2. sect. 1. c. 9. Werenfels de Logom. Erud. c. 4. 6. Charleton, Physiol. Epic. Lond. 1654, fol. Lamy de Princip. Paris, 1680, 12°. Scipio Aquilian. de Plac. Phil. ante Arist. c. 11, 12. Cudworth, c. v. sect. 1. sect. 48. F. Grandis, Diss. Crit. et Phil. 1. Schwartz. Suppl. ad Germ. Hist. Phil. p. 247. Du Hamel, Consens. Vet. et Nov. Phil. c. iv. sect. 6. Burnet, Arch. l. i. c. 13. Feurlin, Diss. de Modo Probandi Deum ex Consensu Gentium. Fabr. Syll. Scrip. de Ver. Ch. Rel. c. iv. vii. viii. Buddæi Theol. Mor. p. 1. c. 2. sect. 5. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 808. 816. 820. Des Coutures sur le Morale d'Epicure, Par. 1685. La Haye, 1686. Stoll. Hist. Phil. Mor. sect. cxi. Struian. Bibl. Phil. Auct. a Kahlho, p. i. p. 17, &c. Hein. Comm. Acad. Berolin, 1744. p. 1.

‡ Laert. l. i. sect. 17. 20. l. ix. sect. 61. 69. Sextus Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 3. 19. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 5. Suidas. § Cic. de Fin. l. ii.

|| Laert. l. ix. sect. 61. Suidas. Pausanias, Eliac. l. ii. Euseb. Pr. l. xiv. c. 18.

painting, but either through disinclination to this art, or because his mind aspired to higher pursuits, he passed over from the school of painting to that of philosophy. He studied and admired the writings of Democritus, and had, as his first preceptor, Bryson the son of Stilpo, a disciple of Clinomachus. After this he became a disciple of Anaxarchus, who was contemporary with Alexander, and he accompanied his master, in the train of Alexander, into India. Here he conversed with the Brachmans and Gymnosophists, imbibing from their doctrine whatever might seem favourable to his natural disposition toward doubting; a disposition which was cherished by his master, who had formerly been a disciple of a sceptical philosopher, Metrodorus of Chios.

Every advance which Pyrrho made in the study of philosophy involving him in fresh uncertainty, he left the schools of the Dogmatists (so those philosophers were called who professed to be possessed of certain knowledge) and established a new school, in which he taught, that every object of human inquiry is involved in uncertainty, so that it is impossible ever to arrive at the knowledge of truth.*

It is related of this philosopher,† that he acted upon his own principles, and carried his scepticism to such a ridiculous extreme, that his friends were obliged to accompany him wherever he went, that he might not be run over by carriages, or fall down precipices. If this was true, it was not without reason that he was ranked among those whose intellects were disturbed by intense study. But, if we pay any attention to the respect with which he is mentioned by ancient writers, or give any credit to the general history of his life, we must conclude these reports to have been calumnies invented by the Dogmatists whom he opposed. He spent a great part of his life in solitude, and always preserved a settled composure of countenance, undisturbed by fear, or joy, or grief. He endured bodily pain with great fortitude; and in the midst of dangers discovered no signs of apprehension. In disputation, he was celebrated for the subtlety of his arguments, and the perspicuity of his language. Epicurus, though no friend to scepticism, was an admirer of Pyrrho, because he recommended, and practised that self-command which produces undisturbed tranquillity, the great end, in the judgment of Epicurus, of all physical and moral science. So highly was Pyrrho esteemed by his countrymen that they honoured him with the office of chief priest, and, out of respect to him, passed a decree by which all philosophers were indulged with immunity from public taxes. He was a great admirer of poets, particularly of Homer, and frequently repeated passages from his poems. Could such a man be so foolishly enslaved by an absurd system, as to need a guide to keep him out of danger? Pyrrho flourished about the hundred and tenth Olympiad,‡ and died about the ninetieth year of his age, probably in the hundred and twenty-third Olympiad.§ After his death the Athenians honoured his memory with a statue, and a monument to him was erected in his own country.||

From this account of the life of Pyrrho it is easy to perceive in what manner he fell into scepticism. It is in a great measure to be ascribed to his early acquaintance with the system of Democritus.¶ Having learned from this philosopher to deny the real existence of all qualities in bodies, except those which are essential to primary atoms, and to refer every thing else to the perceptions of the mind produced by external objects, that is,

* Laert. l. ix. sect. 58—61. † Sect. 62, &c. ‡ B. C. 340. § B. C. 288.

|| Laert. l. ix. sect. 62—68. 102. Athen. l. x. p. 419.

¶ Laert. sect. 67.

to appearance and opinion, he concluded, that all knowledge depended upon the fallacious report of the senses, and consequently, that there can be no such thing as certainty. He was encouraged in this notion by the general spirit of the Eleatic school, in which he was educated, which was unfavourable to science. But nothing contributed more to confirm him in scepticism than the subtleties of the Dialectic schools, in which he was instructed by the son of Stilpo. He saw no method by which he could so effectually overturn the cavils of sophistry, as by having recourse to the doctrine of universal uncertainty. Being strongly inclined, from his natural temper and habits of life, to look upon immovable tranquillity as the great end of all philosophy; observing, that nothing tended so much to disturb this tranquillity as the innumerable dissensions which agitated the schools of the Dogmatists; at the same time inferring, from their endless disputes, the uncertainty of the questions upon which they debated, he determined to seek elsewhere for that peace of mind which he despaired of finding in the dogmatic philosophy. In this manner it happened, in the case of Pyrrho, as it has often happened in other instances, that controversy became the parent of scepticism.

Pyrrho had several disciples, but none whose names are sufficiently celebrated to merit particular notice, except TIMON,* the Phliasian. Timon early visited Megara, to be instructed by Stilpo in dialectics, and afterwards removed to Elea, that he might become a hearer of Pyrrho. He first professed[†] philosophy at Chalcedon, and afterwards at Athens, where he remained till his death. He took so little pains to invite disciples to his school, that it has been said of him,[‡] that, as the Scythians shot flying, Timon gained pupils by running from them. This indifference to the profession which he had assumed was probably owing to his love of ease and indulgence; for he was fond of rural retirement, and was so much addicted to wine, that he held a successful contest with several celebrated champions in drinking.[§] It was this disposition, probably, which tempted him to embrace the indolent doctrine of Scepticism. Timon appears to have viewed the opinions and disputes of the philosophers in the same ludicrous point of light in which Lucian afterwards contemplated them; for, like him, he wrote with sarcastic humour against the whole body. His poem entitled *Silli*, often quoted by the ancients, was a keen satire, full of bitter invective both against men and doctrines. The remaining fragments of this poem have been industriously collected by Henry Stephens, in his *Poesis Philosophica*. This Timon (who is not to be confounded with Timon the Misanthrope) lived to the age of ninety years, and flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.[§]

The public succession of professors in the Pyrrhonic school terminated in Timon. Cicero^{||} speaks of this school as in his time extinct; and he himself, in contending with the Dogmatic philosophers, makes use of Academical rather than Sceptical weapons. This can only be ascribed to the odium which fell upon the Pyrrhonic sect soon after its institution, partly through the jealousy of the Dogmatists, and partly through the natural disinclination of the human mind to be left in total darkness. The doctrines of this school were, however, professed by the disciples of Timon, and privately embraced by many other persons, who chose to screen their scepticism under the authority of the Academy; and, after some interval,

* Laert. l. ix. sect. 68. 109. Suidas. † Laert. sect. 112. ‡ Athen. l. x. p. 438.

§ Laert. Euseb. Pr. l. xiv. c. 18. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 820.

|| De Fin. l. ii. Conf. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32.

the school itself was revived by PTOLEMÆUS, a Cyrenean, and continued at Alexandria by ÆNESIDEMUS, a contemporary with Cicero: the latter wrote a Treatise "On the Principles of the Pyrrhonic Philosophy," the heads of which are preserved by Photius.* From his time it was transmitted, through a series of preceptors little known,† to SEXTUS EMPIRICUS, whose summary of the Sceptical doctrine is our principal authority in this part of our work.

The plan which we have laid down to ourselves would now require that we should exhibit before our readers a connected view of the *Tenets* of the Pyrrhonic sect. But the truth is, that Pyrrho and his followers rather endeavoured to demolish every other philosophical structure, than to erect one of their own.‡ They asserted nothing; but proposed positions merely in the way of enunciation, without attempting to determine on which side, in any disputed question, the truth lay, or even presuming to assert that one proposition was more probable than another. The definition of Scepticism given by Ænesidemus was this: it is the recollection of opinions embraced upon the testimony of the senses, or upon any other evidence, by means of which one dogma is compared with another, and all, upon the comparison, are found to be useless and full of confusion. Seneca, comparing the Megaric and Sceptic philosophers, says; § "The former furnish me with unprofitable science, the latter deprive me of all hope of attaining knowledge. I prefer a man who teaches me trifles to one who teaches me nothing. If the Dialectic philosopher leaves me in the dark, the Sceptic puts out my eyes." The ground of the Sceptical doctrine, if it may deserve the name, and the method of philosophising which the Pyrrhonists pursued, may be clearly understood from the following brief HEADS OF SCEPTICISM, for which we are chiefly indebted to Sextus Empiricus.

It is the office of the Sceptic Philosophy to compare external *phenomena* with mental conceptions, and discover their inconsistency, and the consequent uncertainty of all reasoning from appearances. Its end is, to cure that restlessness which attends the unsuccessful search after truth, and, by means of an universal suspension of judgment, to establish mental tranquillity. Its fundamental principle is, that to every argument, an argument of equal weight may, in all cases, be opposed.||

The Sceptic admits no tenets, not because he discredits the immediate testimony of the senses, but because he refuses his assent to those doubtful points which science undertakes to determine. He does not deny that he can see, hear, or feel; but he maintains, that the inferences which philosophers have drawn from the reports of the senses are doubtful; and that any general conclusion deduced from appearances may be overturned by reasonings equally plausible with those by which it is supported. Scepticism allows the existence of sensible appearances, because the impressions which external objects make upon the power of perception, or the phantasy, produce an irresistible conviction of their reality; but it demurs upon the positions which are advanced concerning the *phenomena* of nature. As far as concerns the offices of common life, the Sceptic acquiesces in appearances, being necessarily impelled to conform to them by his natural appe-

* Cod. 212. p. 280. Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 29. sect. 349. Adv. Phys. l. i. sect. 357. l. ii. sect. 216. Fab. Bib. Gr. vol. ii. p. 818. vol. x. p. 449.

† Laert. sect. 116.

‡ Laert. l. ix. sect. 74. 78.

§ Ep. 88.

|| Sexti Empirici Pyrrhoniæ Hypotyposes, Ed. Lips. 1718, l. i. c. 4. sect. 8, 9. c. v. sect. 12. c. 12. sect. 25. 202. 232. l. iii. sect. 235. Adv. Eth. sect. 111. Pyrrh. c. vi. sect. 12.

tites and passions. Hence he listens to the calls of nature, conforms to established customs, and practises useful arts.*

The manner in which a Sceptic arrives at an undisturbed state of mind is entirely casual. At his entrance upon the study of philosophy, he hopes to be able to distinguish true from false opinions, and thus to obtain tranquillity; but being held in suspense by contrary reasoning, he despairs of arriving at satisfaction, and concludes that no certain judgment can be formed concerning good and evil. Hence he is accidentally taught that there is no reason for eagerly pursuing any apparent good, or avoiding any apparent evil; and his mind of course settles into a state of undisturbed tranquillity. So Apelles, when in painting a horse, he had succeeded so ill in drawing the foam, that, in vexation, he threw the sponge which he used for taking off colours at the picture, and by this accidental action formed the representation which he had so long in vain exerted his utmost skill to produce.†

Ten distinct topics of argument were made use of in the school of the Sceptics, with this precaution, that nothing could be positively asserted concerning either the number, or the force of the arguments which may be urged in support of the doctrine of uncertainty. 1. That on account of the variety which takes place in the organisation of different animal bodies, it is probable that the same external object presents different images to different animals; and man can have no reason for asserting that his perceptions are more conformable to the real nature of things than those of inferior animals. 2. That even among men there is a great diversity both of mind and body, which necessarily occasions a great variety of opinions, every man judging according to his particular apprehension, whilst no one is able to determine the real nature of things. 3. That the different senses give different reports of the same thing; whence bodies may have different properties from those which the senses lead us to suppose. 4. That the same thing appears differently, according to the different dispositions, or circumstances, of the person who perceives it; whence it is impossible for any one man to pronounce that his judgment concerning any object is agreeable to nature. 5. That things assume a different aspect according to their distance, position, or place; and no reason can be assigned why one of these aspects should agree with the real object, rather than the rest. 6. That no object offers itself to the senses, which is not so connected and mixed with others, that it cannot be distinctly separated and examined. 7. That objects of sense appear exceedingly different, when viewed in a compound, and in a decomposed state, and it is impossible to say which appearance most truly expresses their real nature. 8. That every object being always viewed in its relation to others, it is impossible to determine what it is simply in its own nature. 9. That our judgment is liable to uncertainty from the circumstance of frequent or rare occurrence; that which happens every day appearing to us in a very different light from that in which the same thing would appear if it were new. 10. That mankind are continually led into different conceptions concerning the same thing, through the influence of custom, law, fabulous tales, and established opinions. On all these accounts, every human judgment is liable to uncertainty, and we can only say concerning any thing that it seems to be, not what it is what it seems.‡

* Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 6. sect. 12. c. 7. sect. 13. c. 8. sect. 16, 17. c. 11. sect. 22, 23, 24. Laert. l. ix. sect. 68. 105. 108. Euseb. Pr. l. xiv. c. 18.

† Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. l. i. c. 12. sect. 26, 27. c. 13. sect. 31.

‡ Sext. Emp. l. c. l. i. c. 10. sect. 36—163. Laert. l. ix. sect. 79, &c. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 5.

Besides these topics, the later Sceptics made use of some others. They maintained that every proposition requires some prior proposition to support it, *in infinitum*, or supposes some axiom, which cannot be proved, and is therefore taken for granted without demonstration, that is, may be denied; that in argument, the point assumed, and that which is to be proved, may often be alternately used in each other's place, both being equally uncertain; and lastly, that nothing can be understood, by itself, as appears from the endless disputes of philosophers concerning the nature of things; nor by means of something else, whilst itself remains unknown.*

On these and other similar grounds† the Sceptics not only refused their assent to propositions of every kind, but avoided as much as possible every form of speech which expresses certainty. When they use the term *is*, or any equivalent mode of assertion, they confess that the term *seems*, or some other expression of doubt, should be substituted in its stead. Every thing, according to them, being uncertain and incomprehensible, their language in all cases was, "What you assert may be true, or it may not; I suspend my judgment; I determine nothing." They admitted the existence of appearances, but maintained that nothing could be affirmed with certainty concerning the nature of things.‡

Concerning *Logic*, the Sceptics deliberate as follows:—Man can have no certain criterion of truth, because man, the being who judges, is unknown to himself; because he has no faculties by which he can judge, besides those of sense and intellect, of which the former are uncertain and contradictory in their reports, and the latter is doubtful of its own existence and nature, and variable in its operations and conclusions; and because the instrument which he makes use of in judging, namely, the perception produced in his mind by the impression of external objects, or the phantasy, is itself wholly incomprehensible, being a certain affection or state of the rational principle, whose nature is unknown, and which is essentially different from the external object by which it is produced. If the understanding judges from any supposed perception, it judges according to that perception, and not according to the external object; and it is impossible that the understanding should determine whether the perception produced by an external object be like the object itself. A further cause of logical uncertainty is, that, except in cases where the senses are immediately concerned, as when we infer the presence of fire from smoke, we cannot reason from that which is manifest to that which is concealed.§

Syllogisms establish universal from particular propositions by induction, and demonstrate the truth of particular from universal propositions; a kind of circular reasoning which can produce no satisfactory proof. All induction is defective, and may therefore omit particulars which would contradict the propositions intended to be established.||

Definitions cannot assist any one in his search after truth; for if he is unacquainted with the nature of the thing to be defined, he cannot define it, and if he is acquainted with its nature, he accommodates the definition to his previous knowledge; nor are they necessary in instruction, for since he who first acquired the knowledge of any thing gained it without the help of definitions, so he may certainly communicate it without their help. Definitions are also useless, since before they can be applied their accuracy

* Sext. Emp. l. i. c. 15. sect. 164, &c.

† C. 17. sect. 180.

‡ Sext. Emp. l. c. sect. 185, &c. c. 19, 20, 21, 22. Cic. in Lucull. c. 6. 18.

§ Sext. Emp. l. c. l. i. c. 29, &c. l. ii. c. 4. sect. 18, &c. c. 5. sect. 37, &c. c. 6. sect. 48, &c. c. 7. sect. 70, &c. c. 10. sect. 97, &c. c. 11. sect. 104, &c. c. 113, &c. c. 12. sect. 134. c. 13. sect. 149, &c. Laert. l. ix. sect. 91. l. x. sect. 33.

|| Sext. Emp. ib. l. ii. c. 14. sect. 193, &c. 204.

must be maintained, which is an occasion of endless dispute.* Equally useless are divisions into whole and part, or into genus, species, and accident. For example, genus and species are either merely nominal, or realities. If they are nominal only, they partake of the uncertainty of the mind which conceives them; if they are realities, species cannot be comprehended in *genera*, because they would not then have a distinct subsistence; and if they are not so comprehended, the entire nature of genus and species is lost.† The forms of logic for the refutation of sophisms are also useless; for though it be desirable to refute sophistical reasoning, this must be done, not by the artificial arguments of syllogisms, but by acquiring a probable knowledge of the nature of things, and opposing the evidence of the senses and appearances to the quibbles of sophistry.

As the Sceptic admits nothing certain in the instrumental part of philosophy or logic, he conceives that there may be equal room for doubt in all philosophical disquisitions concerning NATURE.

With respect to the DEITY, he asks, since the Dogmatists are not determined whether God be corporeal or incorporeal; whether he be endued with a human form or not; whether he be in place or not; or if he be in place, whether he is in the world or beyond it; what can be certainly known concerning a being of whose form, subsistence, and place, we are ignorant? That an efficient cause exists, may be inferred with probability from the productions and dissolutions which take place in nature; for how can these changes happen without a cause? On the other side it may be urged, that if any cause be admitted, some cause must be assigned for that cause, and so on *in infinitum*. Each opinion may be supported by probable arguments; whence the question must remain doubtful.‡

Material Principles must also, according to the Sceptics, be pronounced incomprehensible, as is sufficiently manifest from the disagreement among philosophers concerning their nature; for this disagreement shows that there are no common axioms on this subject, in which all are agreed, and which need no proof. The idea of body is incomprehensible; for it is said to consist of length, breadth, thickness, and a power of resistance; but these properties considered in themselves are nothing, and can only exist as qualities of body; and yet if these be taken away, the whole idea of body is destroyed. Bodies are said to be composed of primary elements, but this must either be by contact, or by mixture. It cannot be by contact; for either the parts of body in contact must touch, or the whole: the whole cannot touch, for then they would no longer touch, but become coincident; nor can the parts touch, for each part is a whole with respect to its own parts; if therefore any parts of bodies touch, wholes would touch, which is absurd. The formation of bodies by contact is therefore inconceivable; and their formation by mixture is equally so. For mixture must be of the entire substance of the primary elements, else the effect would be contiguity, and not mixture; but a small portion of elementary matter cannot be mixed with a larger substance, without becoming equal in magnitude, which is absurd. We can therefore form no conception of the composition of bodies from primary elements.§

Upon the question concerning motion, the Sceptics not being able to refute the arguments which have been urged against its existence, nor to reject the phenomena by which its existence becomes evident, suspend their judgment. On similar grounds they hesitate concerning the possi-

* Sext. Emp. l. ii. c. 16. sect. 205. 211, 212. † Ib. c. 20. sect. 219, & c. 22. sect. 236.

‡ Ib. l. iii. c. i. sect. 2—11. 17. 24. Adv. Phys. l. i. sect. 33. 49. Pyrrh. l. ii. c. 13.

§ Ib. l. iii. c. 4. sect. 30, & c. c. 5. sect. 38, & c. c. 6. sect. 56, & c.

bility of increase or diminution, transposition or change of any kind; for since a whole, as distinct from all parts, is nothing, adding, taking away, or changing the position of parts, affects nothing. Again, that which is changed must be changed in some time either past, present, or future; but it cannot be changed in any time past or future, for nothing can either act or suffer in a time that does not exist; nor can it be changed in the present time; for the present instant is an indivisible point of duration, in which nothing can be done.* Place, or the part of space occupied by body, must be either of one dimension, or of all the three; if the former, it is not commensurate with the body whose place it is; if the latter, body, which consists of three dimensions, is its own place, and the thing containing is the same with the thing contained: both these suppositions are absurd; yet the *phenomena* seem to prove the existence of place, therefore the Sceptic does not determine this, rather than that, to be true. Time is neither a corporeal nor incorporeal substance; but besides this nothing can be conceived; therefore time seems to be nothing: on the contrary, experience seems to prove its existence; therefore the Sceptic determines nothing concerning it.†

On the subject of *Morals* the Sceptic sect suspended their judgment concerning the ground of the distinction admitted by the Stoics, and other dogmatists, between things in their nature good, evil, or indifferent. The arguments on which they insist are such as these:—The different opinions concerning good sufficiently prove that philosophers are ignorant of its nature. Different men are differently affected by things which are called good, and therefore these things in themselves cannot be good. Desire itself is not good, else we should be contented with it, and not endeavour to obtain its object; nor can the external object of desire be good, because it is external: there appears therefore to be nothing really good, and consequently nothing really evil. Since different men judge and act differently concerning these things, some approving what others condemn, and some avoiding what others pursue, there can be nothing in nature really good, evil, or indifferent. Hence it follows that ethics can have no foundation in nature. The art of living well is not innate to man; for if it were, all men would be virtuous; nor can it be taught, for that which is to be taught, is doubtful; no one is himself sufficiently instructed to become a teacher; nor are there any means of demonstration, or testimony, by which it can be taught; or if this art could be taught, it would only prove the occasion of endless perturbation of mind, arising from the eager desire and pursuit of things supposed to be good. Tranquillity is best obtained by giving up all expectation of arriving at truth, and sitting down in a state of total indifference with respect to opinions.‡

Besides these, which are the chief grounds of Scepticism, as given by the historian and admirer of the sect, Sextus Empiricus, there are others, neither less subtle, nor more satisfactory, than the idle quibbles of the dialectic schools. Indeed nothing is more evident than that the Sceptic sect owed its existence to the disputatious spirit of the dogmatists; and that the followers of Pyrrho were more desirous to put an end to the frivolous contests of others, than to establish even their own doctrine of incredulity. In order to accomplish their end, they made no scruple to turn back upon their adversaries their own weapons, by making use of specious

* Sext. Emp. l. iii. c. 8. sect. 64. c. 9, 10. sect. 82, &c. c. 12. sect. 98, &c. c. 14. sect. 109, &c. c. 15. sect. 115, &c. † Ib. c. 16. sect. 125, &c. c. 17. sect. 136—144.

‡ Ib. l. iii. c. 18. sect. 153, &c. c. 21. sect. 172, &c. c. 23. sect. 179, &c. c. 24. sect. 191. 195. 206. 235. c. 25—31. Conf. Laert. l. ix. sect. 61. 108.

arguments, distinctions merely verbal, and other artifices of sophistry. It would not be difficult to expose the fallacies of those reasonings, if they deserve the name, by which the ancient Sceptics endeavoured to undermine the foundations of truth, and to overturn every scientific, moral, and religious principle. But the nature and extent of our historical undertaking will not permit us to enter into this important field of argument. Referring our readers to those able advocates of truth, which modern times have produced, we must therefore content ourselves for the present with briefly remarking that the Sceptics have advanced nothing upon the important question respecting the existence and providence of a Supreme Being, which may not, with the greatest confidence, be referred to mere verbal quibbling, or to the acknowledged imperfection of the human intellect, which, whilst it embraces, on the clear and certain ground of final causes in nature, the doctrine of the existence of a Deity, must always confess itself unequal to the full comprehension of his nature and operations. It must be added, that whilst the Sceptics classed the question concerning the existence of the Deity among those speculations, upon which they thought it impossible to decide with certainty either in the affirmative or negative, they not only joined in the popular worship of the gods, but confessed that there appeared to be in the human mind a natural instinctive principle of religion; a concession which sufficiently invalidates all their futile reasonings on the side of infidelity.

If the history of the Sceptic sect be compared with that of the Academy, the two sects will be found to be nearly allied. The chief points of difference between them were these:* the Academics laid it down as an axiom that nothing can be known with certainty; the Pyrrhonists perceived the absurdity of this position, and maintained that even this ought not to be positively asserted. The Academics admitted the real existence of good and evil; the Pyrrhonists suspended their judgment upon this point. The Academics, especially the followers of Carneades, allowed different degrees of probability in opinion; but the Sceptics rejected all speculative conclusions, drawn either from the testimony of the senses or from reasoning, and contended that we can have no ground for affirming or denying any proposition, or embracing any one opinion rather than another. Carneades admitted that by the impressions of external objects upon the senses we are necessarily inclined to one opinion more than another; Pyrrho whilst he acknowledges that men are necessarily impelled to action by their feelings, denied that they are capable of forming any judgment. In common life, the Academics followed probability; the Sceptics, law, custom, and the natural impulse of appetite. After all, these two sects differed more in appearance than in reality. Both invaded the strongholds of truth; but the Academics did it covertly and with modesty, whilst the Sceptics assaulted them with open violence, as if they had forsworn all allegiance to reason.

Before we take our leave of this sect it may be of some importance briefly to remark the gradual progress of Scepticism through the several stages of the Greek philosophy. The confession of ignorance and uncertainty, which so frequently fell from the lips of Socrates, amounted to no more than a general acknowledgment of the imbecility of the human understanding. In this modest acknowledgment he was followed by Plato and others. But, as soon as the Greek philosophers began to employ themselves in constructing systems of philosophy, they admitted a tenet which was favourable to incredulity; namely, that nature is perpetually fluctuating, so that no sensible object remains for any single moment per-

* Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hyp. l. i. c. 33. *Ænesid. apud Phot. Cod. 213.*

fectly the same. Pythagoras and Plato, Heraclitus, Democritus and Epicurus, who were among the most celebrated dogmatists, embraced this tenet; but in order to provide some stable foundation for science, the two former devised their world of intelligibles, denominated by Plato, Ideas, and by Pythagoras, Numbers; and the two latter introduced the doctrine of immutable Atoms. These doctrines, which were rather hypothetical than demonstrable, still left sufficient room for doubt and uncertainty. After this the Eleatic and Megaric sects, who admitted into their schools the most childish quibbles and absurd cavilling, and the Sophists, who professedly undertook either side of any question, and disputed solely for conquest, without regarding truth, afforded no small advantage to the rising cause of Scepticism. Pyrrho and others, who were more inclined to doubt than to dogmatise, when they saw by what frivolous arguments opinions were, in these schools, supported or confuted, were led to conclude that the whole philosophy of the dogmatists rested upon the same precarious ground. Hearing the leaders of different sects traducing each others' systems as false, puerile, absurd, and hostile to the truth, and remarking, particularly, the violent contentions which arose among the followers of Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus, it was not without some appearance of reason that they looked upon the whole mass of dogmatic philosophy as an ill constructed edifice, raised upon the sand, which must soon fall to the ground. Where the prejudice which these circumstances would create in favour of Scepticism was aided by a natural feebleness of judgment, and instability of temper, it was no wonder if it produced universal uncertainty. That these were the natural infirmities of those who distinguished themselves as leaders in the Sceptic sect, is sufficiently seen in the weak reasonings, and puerile trifles, which are piled up in the memoirs of this sect, so industriously collected by Sextus Empiricus. And whatever may have been urged to the contrary by modern advocates for Scepticism, it cannot be reasonably doubted that the true causes of the continuance of this sect, through every age, have been, that indolence which is inimical to every mental exertion; that kind of intellectual imbecility which, in various degrees, incapacitates men for discerning the true nature and condition of things; or, lastly, that propensity towards subtle refinement, which hinders the most vigorous mind in estimating different degrees of probability, and accurately distinguishing truth from error.*

We have now completed the FIRST PERIOD of the History of Philosophy, Barbaric and Grecian. The latter we have followed from its infancy, through every stage of its growth, till it was transferred to Rome; and, as far as the numerous difficulties and obscurities which, after every effort to clear them away, still hang over the subject, would permit, we have delineated the peculiar features of the several sects, and given a summary of their respective systems. It only remains that we conclude this part of

* Vidend. Huet de la Foiblesse, &c. Jons. Scr. H. Ph. l. ii. c. 3, 4. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 674. 818. Bayle. Sexti Disp. Anti-Scept. ap. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. xii. p. 617. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 6. Fabr. Syl. Scr. de Ver. c. 23. sect. 4. Heunisch. Diss. de Phil. Scept. Arnheim. de Sect. Pyrrh. Misc. Lips. t. v. Obs. cxi. p. 240. Le Vayer, Op. t. v. p. 213. Bierling. de Pyrrh. c. i. sect. 3. Stollii Hist. Mor. p. 198. Gassend. de Vit. Epic. l. v. c. 3. Voss. de Sect. p. 110. Pasch. Introd. in Rem. Lit. Mor. Vet. p. 717. Crousaz, Log. p. iii. c. 9. sect. 12. Budd. de Scepticismo Morali, sect. 2. Ann. Hist. Ph. p. 210. sect. 23. p. 238. Ploucquet, de Epoch. Pyrrh. Tub. 1758.

our work with remarking, in a few words, the fate of the Grecian philosophy in countries foreign to Greece, where it was disseminated and professed, excepting among the Romans, among whom the success it experienced through a long course of years is so interesting as to require a particular discussion.

The Grecian philosophy was at first confined, as we have seen, within the limits of Greece, and the neighbouring regions, except the Italic school, instituted by Pythagoras in *Magna Græcia*. Several eminent philosophers, it is true, travelled into Egypt; but it was chiefly in the infancy of philosophy, and rather for the purpose of acquiring, than of communicating knowledge. But after Egypt, and almost all Asia, was brought under the Grecian yoke by the conquests of Alexander, the Grecian philosophy passed, as might naturally be expected, from the conquerors to the nations whom they had subdued. Alexander himself, who had been early initiated into philosophical studies, and inspired with respect for philosophers by his master Aristotle, enlarged the boundaries of philosophy,* by carrying with him, wherever he went, a train of philosophers, (among whom was Callisthenes and Anaxarchus,) whom he treated with great respect, and employed in conciliating the affections of the people to their conqueror. Notwithstanding the reverence which the orientalists unquestionably entertained for their ancient doctrines, there can be little doubt that, when Alexander, in order to preserve, by the arts of peace, that extensive empire which he had obtained by the force of arms, endeavoured to incorporate the customs of the Greeks with those of the Persian, Indian, and other eastern nations, the opinions as well as the manners of this feeble and obsequious race would, in a great measure, be accommodated to those of their conquerors. This influence of the Grecian upon the oriental philosophy continued long after the time of Alexander, and was one principal occasion of the confusion of opinions which we shall find in the subsequent history of the Alexandrian and Christian schools.

It was in Alexandria chiefly that the Grecian philosophy was ingrafted upon the stock of ancient oriental wisdom. The Egyptian method of teaching by allegory was peculiarly favourable to such a union. We have already seen that the philosophy and religion of the Egyptians early underwent a material change of this kind, when Cambyzes, in conquering this country, introduced the doctrine and theology of the Persians. Under the government of the Greeks, there were similar innovations; the priests of Egypt endeavouring, as well as they were able, to form a coalition between the ancient religion of their country and the doctrine and philosophy of their conquerors.

Alexander, when he built the city of Alexandria, with a determination to make it the seat of his empire, and peopled it with emigrants from various countries, opened a new seat of philosophy, which emulated the fame of Athens itself. A general indulgence was granted to the promiscuous crowd assembled in this rising city, whether Egyptians, Grecians, Jews, or others, to profess their respective systems of philosophy and religion without molestation. The consequence was, that Egypt was soon filled with religious and philosophical sectaries of every kind; and particularly, that almost every Grecian sect found an advocate and professor in Alexandria.†

The family of the Ptolemies, who after Alexander obtained the govern-

* Plutarch. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 346. t. v. p. 450. Ammon. in Vit. Arist.

† Plut. l. c. Justin. l. 38. c. 9. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 16. Arrian, l. iii. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8. Strabo, l. xvii. Amm. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 6. Joseph. contr. Ap. l. ii. De Bell. J. l. ii. c. 36.

ment of Egypt, from motives of policy encouraged this new establishment. Ptolemy Lagus, who had obtained the crown of Egypt by usurpation, was particularly careful to secure the interest of the Greeks in his favour; and, with this view, invited people from every part of Greece to settle in Egypt, and removed the schools of Athens to Alexandria. This enlightened prince spared no expense to raise the literary, as well as the civil, military, and commercial credit of his country. In order to provide in Alexandria a permanent residence for learning and philosophy, he laid the foundation of a library, which after his time became exceedingly famous; granted philosophers of every class immunity from public offices; and encouraged science and literature by royal munificence. Demetrius Phalereus, who was eminent in every kind of learning, especially in philosophy, assisted the liberal designs of the prince by his judicious advice and active services. Ptolemy Philadelphus adopted, with great ardour, the liberal views of his predecessor, and afforded still further aid to philosophy, by enriching the Alexandrian library with a vast collection of books in every branch of learning, and by instituting a college of learned men, who, that they might have leisure to prosecute their studies, were maintained at the public expense.*

Under the patronage, first, of the Egyptian princes, and afterwards of the Roman emperors, Alexandria long continued to enjoy great celebrity as the seat of learning, and to send forth eminent philosophers of every sect to distant countries. It remained a school of learning, as well as a commercial emporium, till it was taken, and plundered of its literary treasures, by the Saracens.

Philosophy, during this period, suffered a grievous corruption, from the attempt which was made by philosophers of different sects and countries, Grecian, Egyptian, and Oriental, who were assembled in Alexandria, to frame, from their different tenets, one general system of opinions. The respect which had long been universally paid to the schools of Greece, and the honours with which they were now adorned by the Egyptian princes, induced other wise men, and even the Egyptian priests and philosophers themselves, to submit to this innovation. Hence arose an heterogeneous mass of opinions, of which we shall afterwards take more particular notice under the name of the Eclectic philosophy; and which we shall find to have been the foundation of endless confusion, error, and absurdity, not only in the Alexandrian school, but among Jews and Christians; producing among the former that spurious kind of philosophy, which they called their Cabala, and among the latter innumerable corruptions of the Christian faith.

* Diod. Sic. l. xviii. Pausan. in Att. Phot. Cod. 92. Ælian, l. iii. c. 17. Clem. Alex. Stro. l. i. p. 341. Philostr. Vit. Soph. l. i. c. 22. Laert. l. viii. c. 46. Aul. Gell. l. iv. c. 2.

BOOK III.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

IN relating the history of Philosophy during THE FIRST PERIOD, we have traced its rise and progress, in every age and country in which it has appeared, from the earliest times to the era of the establishment of the schools of Alexandria. THE SECOND PERIOD, on which we are now entering, will comprehend the whole series of philosophical history, from the era just mentioned to the revival of letters; and will exhibit the forms under which philosophy successively appeared among the Romans; among the eastern nations, particularly the Jews and Saracens; and among the Christians.

The history of philosophy among the Romans, in the infancy of their state, has been already briefly considered, under the general head of Barbaric philosophy; and we have little to add to what has been related respecting this epocha; for, from the building of Rome, through the whole period of the regal government, and many years after the consular power was established, the Romans discovered little inclination to cultivate any other kind of knowledge than that which was barely necessary for the ordinary purposes of life, and for their military operations. The rise of philosophy in Rome may be dated from the time of the embassy, which was sent from the Athenians to the Romans, deprecating a fine of five hundred talents, which had been inflicted upon them for laying waste Oropii, a town of Sicyonia. The exact time of this embassy, which has been already mentioned, is unknown, but it is probable that it happened about the 156th Olympiad, or towards the close of the sixth century from the building of Rome, that is, 156 years before Christ.*

The immediate effect of the display which these philosophical missionaries† made of their wisdom and eloquence was to excite in the Roman youth of all ranks an ardent thirst after knowledge. Lælius, Furius and Scipio, young men of the first distinction and highest expectations, discovered an earnest desire to enlist themselves under the banners of philosophy; and much was to be hoped for from their future patronage, when they should occupy important offices in the state. But CATO the Censor, whose inflexible virtue gave him an oracular authority among his countrymen, disapproved this sudden innovation in public manners, and philosophy was sternly dismissed.‡ Not that Cato was himself illiterate, or wholly untinged with philosophy; for he wrote a celebrated treatise upon agriculture. When he was a young man, in the service of Fabius Maximus, at the taking of Tarentum, he is said to have conversed with Nearchus, one of the disciples of Pythagoras;§ and, at an advanced age, whilst he

* Cic. Ac. Qu. l. iv. c. 45. Plut. in Caton. Maj. Cic. de Senectute, c. 5. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. iv. c. 2.

† Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus: see p. 143. ‡ Plut. l. c. § Ib.

was pretor in Sardinia he was instructed in the Greek language by Ennius.* But he was apprehensive that the introduction of philosophical studies into Rome would effeminate the spirit of its young men, and enfeeble those hardy virtues which were the foundation of their national glory.

By this visit of the Grecian philosophers a spirit of inquiry was, however, raised among the Roman youth, which the injudicious caution of Cato could not suppress. The struggle between philosophy and voluntary ignorance was, indeed, for some time maintained; for we read that, in the consulship of Strabo and Valerius, a decree of the Senate passed, probably in consequence of repeated visits from Grecian philosophers, requiring the pretor Pomponius to take care that no philosophers were resident in Rome.† Some years afterwards, the censors, as if resolved at once to shut the door against philosophy and eloquence, issued a similar edict against rhetoricians, in terms to this effect: "Whereas we have been informed that certain men, who call themselves Latin rhetoricians, have instituted a new kind of learning, and opened schools, in which young men trifle away their time day after day; we, judging, this innovation to be inconsistent with the purpose for which our ancestors established schools, contrary to ancient custom, and injurious to our youth, do hereby warn both those who keep these schools, and those who frequent them, that they are herein acting contrary to our pleasure."‡ And this edict was afterwards revived in the year of Rome 662,§ under the consulate of Pulcher and Perpenna. But at length philosophy, under the protection of those great commanders who had conquered Greece prevailed, and Rome opened her gates to all who professed to be teachers of wisdom and eloquence.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS was one of the first among the Roman youths of patrician rank who, in the midst of military glory, found leisure to listen to the precepts of philosophy. Whatever time he could spare from military operations he devoted to study: his companions were Polybius, Panætius, and other men of letters;|| and he was intimately conversant with the best Greek writers, particularly Xenophon. Panætius was perfectly qualified to assist his illustrious pupil in acquiring a general knowledge of philosophy; for, although himself a Stoic, he held the writings of Plato in high estimation, and was thoroughly acquainted with the systems of other philosophers. And the exalted character of Scipio leaves no room to doubt that he imbibed from his preceptors the wisdom, without suffering himself to be tinctured with the extravagancies of stoicism. LÆLIUS and FURIUS were also great admirers of Greek learning.¶ The former, whilst he was young, attended the lectures of Diogenes the Stoic, and afterwards those of Panætius. The circumstance chiefly worthy of admiration in these great men is, that, although they did not join themselves to the band of philosophers, but sought for glory in the offices of civil or military life, they made use of the lessons of philosophy in acquiring the most exalted merit; so that, as Cicero relates,** by the happy union of natural dispositions the most excellent and noble with habits formed by diligent culti-

* Cic. Cato Maj. c. 1. 8. Lucullus, c. 2. Quintil. l. xii. c. 11. Aurel. Vict. de Vir. Illusr. c. 47.

† Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Suet. de Rhet. c. 1. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxix. c. 1. Conf. Bayle, P. Cato. ‡ Aul. Gell. et Suet. l. c. § B. C. 91.

|| Velleius Patercul. l. i. c. 13. 17, 18. Cic. de Fin. l. iv. c. 9. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 38. l. ii. Orat. pro Muræna. ¶ De Orat. l. ii. De Fin. l. ii.

** Orat. pro Archia.

vation, these three illustrious men attained a degree of perfection in moderation, sobriety, and every other virtue, scarcely to be paralleled.

Animated by such examples, many other persons of eminence in Rome attached themselves to the study of philosophy, particularly among those who were devoted to the profession of the law. **QUINTIUS TUBERO**,* a nephew of Scipio Africanus, who was at this time one of the most celebrated masters of civil law, was also conversant with philosophical learning, and professed himself a follower of the Stoic sect. The moral doctrine of this sect was peculiarly suitable to his natural temper, and to the habits of temperance and moderation which he had learned from his father, one of those excellent Romans, who, in the highest offices of the state, retained the simplicity of rustic manners. Confirmed in these habits by the precepts of Panætius, when Tubero was called upon, as pretor, to give a public entertainment in honour of his uncle,† he provided only wooden couches covered with goat skins, earthen vessels, and a frugal repast. The people, who expected a splendid feast, were dissatisfied, and dismissed him from his office: but the action reflected no discredit either upon the lawyer or the philosopher; for it was, as Seneca remarks,‡ an instructive lesson of moderation to the Romans, who, when they saw the sacred tables of Jupiter served with earthen vessels, would learn that men ought to be contented with such things as the gods themselves did not disdain to use. Panætius dedicated to his pupil a treatise upon patience, and advised him to commit to memory the discourses of the Academic Crates concerning grief;§ whence it appears that Tubero studied the Stoic philosophy chiefly with a view to the conduct of life.

LUCULLUS was at this time an active patron of philosophy. Whilst he was questor in Macedonia, and afterwards, when he had the conduct of the Mithridatic war, he had frequent opportunities of conversing with Grecian philosophers, and acquired such a relish for philosophical studies, that, as Cicero relates, he devoted to them all the leisure he could command.|| His constant companion was Antiochus the Ascalonite, who was universally esteemed a man of genius and learning. This philosopher, though a pupil of Philo, who, after Carneades, supported the doctrine of the Middle Academy, was a zealous advocate for the system of the Old Academy, and was often called upon by Lucullus, who himself favoured that system, to argue, in the private disputations which were carried on at his house, against the patrons of the Middle Academy, among whom was Cicero. This is the reason why Cicero, in the fourth book of his *Academic Questions*, assigns to Lucullus the office of defending the Old Academy.

In order to promote a general taste for learning and philosophy, Lucullus made a large collection of valuable books, and erected a library, with galleries and schools adjoining, to which he invited learned men of all descriptions, and which, particularly, afforded a welcome retreat to those Greeks who at this time sought in Rome an asylum from the tumults of war.¶ This place became the daily resort of men of letters, where every one enjoyed the benefit of reading or conversation, as best suited his taste. Lucullus himself frequently appeared among his friends, (for by this noble act of public munificence he had made all the lovers of science and literature

* Pro Muræna. Tacit. Ann. l. xvi. Aul. Gell. l. xv.

† Senec. Ep. 95. Val. Max. l. vii. c. 5. l. iv. c. 4. Cic. pro Mur. ‡ Ep. 96. 99.

§ Cic. de Off. l. iii. Fragm. Tuber. Fabric. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 828.

|| Acad. Quæst. l. iv. c. 4. Plut. Lucull.

¶ Plut. l. c. et Vit. Ciceronis. Cic. in Lucull. Ac. Qu. l. iv. Epist. ad Fam. ix. Ep. 8. l. xiii. Ep. 1.

his friends,) and conversed with them in a manner which showed him to be not only a patron of philosophers, but himself a philosopher. Others were stimulated, by this example, to afford countenance and protection, in similar ways, to learning of every kind; so that this period may be considered as the first age of philosophy in Rome.

The Greek philosophy having been thus transplanted to Rome, the exotic plant flourished with vigour in its new soil. Partly through the instructions of those Grecian philosophers who resided in Rome, and partly by means of the practice, which was now commonly adopted, of sending young men from Rome to the ancient schools of wisdom for education, science and learning made a rapid progress, and almost every sect of philosophy found followers and patrons among the higher orders of the Roman citizens. If, however, we apply the term philosopher to those who speculated in Rome, it must be in a sense somewhat different from that in which we have hitherto used it with respect to the Greeks. Among them we have seen, that a philosopher was one who professionally employed his time in studying and teaching philosophy; and several of these, about the time of which we are now treating, became resident, in this capacity, at Rome. But among the Romans themselves there were scarcely any who were philosophers by profession. They who are spoken of under this denomination were, for the most part, men of high rank, invested with civil or military offices, and occupied in public affairs. They studied philosophy, as they cultivated other liberal arts, rather as a means of acquiring ability, and obtaining distinction in their civil capacities, or as an elegant amusement in their intervals of leisure, than as in itself an ultimate object of attention.

This circumstance will serve to account for a fact, which, at first view, may seem surprising, that, notwithstanding the high spirit of the Roman people, they chose rather to pay homage to a conquered nation, by adopting the dogmas of their sects, than to attempt from their own stores to form for themselves a new system of philosophy. They did not want ability for undertakings of this nature, but they wanted leisure. They wished to enjoy the reputation and the benefit of wisdom, and therefore studied philosophy under such masters as accident cast in their way, or their particular profession and turn of mind led them to prefer. Thus the Stoic philosophy was, on account of the utility of its moral doctrine, peculiarly adapted to the character and office of lawyers and magistrates; the Pythagoric and Platonic suited the taste of the gloomy and contemplative; and the Epicurean was welcome to those selfish spirits, who were disposed to prefer ignoble sloth to public virtue. Every one found, in the doctrine of some one of the Grecian sects tenets which suited his own disposition and situation; and therefore no one thought it necessary to attempt farther discoveries or improvements in philosophy. Perhaps, too, it may be added, that the Romans looked up to the schools of Greece with a degree of respect which would not suffer them to undertake any thing new in a walk in which so many eminent men had exerted their talents. Despairing of doing more than had been already done by the illustrious founders of the several sects of philosophy, they thought it sufficient to make choice of some one of these as their guide. Hence Greece, which had submitted to the arms, in her turn subdued the understandings of the Romans; and, contrary to that which in these cases commonly happens, the conquerors adopted the opinions and manners of the conquered.

The ancient ITALIC, or PYTHAGOREAN school, does not appear to have extended beyond that part of Italy formerly called *Magna Græcia*. And

though afterwards the fame of this singular sect, and of the marvellous actions, and mysterious doctrines of its founder, reached the Romans,* and excited some degree of superstitious veneration among an ignorant people, it does not appear that Pythagoras had any followers in Rome before the seventh century from the building of the city, unless the poet Ennius be reckoned such, concerning whom Persius intimates, that he adopted the Pythagorean doctrine of *metempsychosis*, and supposed the soul of Homer to have passed, after several migrations, into *his* body.

Cor jubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse
Mæonides Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo. † (a)

PUBLIUS NIGIDIUS, surnamed FIGULUS, who was a contemporary and friend of Cicero, was a professed advocate for the doctrine of Pythagoras. Cicero ‡ speaks of him as an accurate and penetrating inquirer into nature, and ascribes to him the revival of that philosophy which formerly, for several ages, flourished in the Pythagorean schools, both in Italy and Sicily. He was a considerable proficient in mathematical and astronomical learning, and, after the example of his master, applied his knowledge of nature to the purposes of imposture. § He held frequent disputations with Cicero and his friends on philosophical questions. In civil affairs, he attached himself to the party of Pompey; and, upon Cæsar's accession to the supreme power, he was banished from Rome. || After his time the Pythagorean doctrine was much neglected, few persons being now able to decipher, with accuracy, the obscure dogmas of this mysterious sect. ¶

The philosophy of the OLD ACADEMY, as it was revived and corrected by Antiochus, found many advocates at Rome. Among these, besides Lucullus, was the illustrious defender of Roman liberty, MARCUS BRUTUS. Plutarch says of him,** that there was no Greek philosopher on whom he did not attend, nor any sect with whose tenets he was not conversant; but that he, for the most part, embraced the doctrine of Plato, and followed the Old, rather than the New or Middle Academy; and, on this account, was a great admirer of Antiochus the Ascalonite, and admitted his brother Aristō into his confidence. Cicero relates the same, and adds, †† that "Brutus, excelling in every kind of merit, so successfully transplanted the Greek philosophy into the Latin tongue, as to render it almost unnecessary to have recourse to the original in order to gain a competent knowledge of the subject." Notwithstanding his civil and military engagements, he wrote treatises, on *Virtue*, on *Patience*, and on the *Offices of Life*; which, though in point of style concise even to abruptness, contained an excellent summary of ethics, framed partly from the doctrines of Plato, and partly from those of the stoical school; ‡‡ for Brutus, after his master Antiochus, was disposed to favour the union of these two sects.

* Liv. l. i. c. 8. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxxiv. c. 6.

† Sat. vi. v. 10.

(a) ——— In Ennius' deathless strains—
Strains, in the mould of sober reason cast,
When all his transmigrating dreams were past.

BREWSTER.

‡ De Universitate, c. 1.

§ Apul. Apol. Aul. Gell. l. x. c. 11. l. xi. c. 11. l. vi. 14. Dio. l. xlv. p. 306. Suet. in Aug. c. 94. Lucan. Phars. l. i. v. 639, &c. Macrob. Sat. l. vi. c. 8. l. ii. c. 12.

|| Dio et Suet. l. c. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 11. Plut. in Ciceron. Cic. l. c. et Fam. Ep. l. iv. ep. 31. Enseb. Chron. 183, 184.

** In Brut. t. v. p. 688, &c. †† In Bruto, c. ult. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 3.

‡‡ Plut. l. c. Cic. Ep. Fam. l. ix. ep. 15. Ad Attic. l. xii. ep. 46. Dialog. de Caus. corr. eloq. Tusc. Qu. l. v. c. 1. De Fin. l. i. c. 3. Sen. Cons. ad Helv. c. 9.

It reflects immortal honour upon the memory of Brutus that he was a philosopher in actions as well as in words. His gentle manners, his noble mind, his entire self-command, and his inflexible integrity, rendered him beloved by his friends, and admired by the multitude, and would not suffer even his enemies to hate, or despise him. If it be thought that he tarnished the lustre of his merit by lifting up his hand against Cæsar, it should be remembered, that in the soul of a Roman, whilst Roman virtue remained, every private passion was lost in the love of his country. The ardour of his patriotic spirit would not suffer him to survive that public liberty which he could no longer preserve; and, after the example of his uncle Cato, he fell by his own hand: an action which, though nothing can justify, such a situation may be allowed in some measure to excuse.*

Another ornament of the Old Academy was M. TERENTIUS VARRO, who was born at Rome in the 638th† year of the city. Cicero, in a letter in which he recommends him as questor to Brutus,‡ assures the commander that he would find him perfectly qualified for the post, and particularly insists upon his good sense, his indifference to pleasure, and his patient perseverance in business. To these virtues he added uncommon abilities, and large stores of knowledge, which qualified him for the highest offices of the state. He attached himself to the party of Pompey, and in the time of the triumvirate was proscribed with Cicero; and, though he escaped with his life, he suffered the loss of his library, and of his own writings; a loss which would be severely felt by one who had devoted a great part of his life to letters. § Returning, at length, to Rome, he spent his last years in literary leisure. He died in the 727th year of the city. His prose writings were exceedingly numerous, and treated of various topics in antiquities, chronology, geography, natural and civil history, philosophy and criticism. He was, besides, a poet of some distinction, and wrote in almost every kind of verse. His piece *De re Rustica*, "On Agriculture," and a few fragments, are all that is extant of his works. ||

To Varro we may add M. PRISO, whom Cicero introduces as maintaining at large the opinion of the Old Academy concerning moral ends; not, however, without a mixture of the Peripatetic doctrine, which he had learned at Athens from Staseas, a Peripatetic preceptor. ¶

THE MIDDLE ACADEMY, no less than the Old, had its patrons at Rome. A small degree of attention to the state of philosophy at this time will be sufficient to discover the cause. The systems of the dogmatic philosophers lay open to so many objections, and in many particulars rested upon so precarious a foundation, as to afford great encouragement to scepticism. Many wise men, when they observed the contradictory opinions which were advanced by different sects, and the plausible arguments by which opposite doctrines were supported, were inclined to look upon truth as a treasure, which lies too deep to be fathomed by the line of the human understanding, and contented themselves with such probable conclusions as were sufficient for the practical purposes of life. The Middle Academy, therefore, which was founded upon a conviction of the imbecility of human reason, without running, with the Pyrrhonists, into the extravagance of an

* Plut. l. c. p. 706. Florus, l. iv. c. 7. Dio, lib. 47.

† B. C. 115.

‡ Ep. Fam. l. xiii. ep. 10.

§ Aul. Gell. l. iii. c. 10. Plin. N. Hist. l. xxix. c. 4. Sen. ad Helv. c. 8. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. v. p. 158. Aug. de Civ. D. l. iv. c. 1. l. vi. c. 2. l. xii. c. 4. l. xix. c. 1. Quint. Inst. l. x. c. 1. Lact. l. i. c. 6.

|| Cic. Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 2, 3. Quint. l. i. c. 4. Fabric. Bib. Lat. t. i. l. i. c. 7. p. 76.

¶ Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 1.

entire suspension of opinion, became a favourite sect among the Romans. It was peculiarly suited to the character of a public pleader, as it left the field of disputation perfectly free, and would inure him to the practice of collecting arguments from all quarters, on opposite sides of every doubtful question. Hence it was that Cicero, under the instruction of Philo, addicted himself to this sect, and without difficulty persuaded others to follow his example. This illustrious Roman, who eclipsed all his contemporaries in eloquence, has also acquired no small share of reputation as a philosopher.* It will therefore be necessary that we enter into the particulars of his life, so far as may enable us to form a judgment concerning his real merit in this capacity.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO was born at Arpinum, in the 647th† year of the city.‡ During his childhood he distinguished himself in literary contests with his companions, and studied under several masters, among whom he particularly mentions Plotius, a Greek preceptor, Phædrus, an Epicurean philosopher, and Archias, the poet. He made several juvenile attempts in poetry; but, if we may judge from the few fragments of his verses which remain, with no great degree of success. After he had finished his puerile studies, he applied his mature judgment to philosophy under Philo of Larissa; a philosopher who was held in the highest esteem among the Romans, both for his learning and manners. From the same preceptor he also received instruction in rhetoric; for, from the first, Cicero made philosophy subservient to eloquence.§

In the eighteenth year of his age Cicero studied law under the direction of Mucius Scævola, an eminent augur, to whom he was introduced by his father, when he put on the manly dress, with this advice, never to lose an opportunity of conversing with that wise and excellent man.|| After a short interval, in which he engaged in military expeditions, first under Sylla, then under Pompey, he returned with great impatience to his studies.¶ At this time he put himself under the constant tuition of Diodotus, a Stoic, chiefly for the sake of exercising himself in dialectics, which the Stoics considered as a restricted kind of eloquence, but not without an assiduous attention to many other branches of study, in which this learned philosopher was well qualified to instruct him. About the age of twenty years he translated into the Latin tongue Xenophon's *Œconomics*, and several books of Plato. A specimen of his version of the *Timæus* of Plato is preserved in his works.**

Having thus prepared himself for his profession by indefatigable study, Cicero made his first appearance in public at twenty-six years of age, and pleaded in defence of Roscius against the accusation of Sylla. Soon afterwards, under the plea of recruiting his strength, which he had impaired by the violence of his oratorical exertions, but perhaps chiefly through fear of Sylla, whom he had opposed, he withdrew to Athens. Here he attended on Antiochus the Ascalonite; but not approving his doctrine, which differed from that of the Middle Academy, he became a hearer of Posidonius the

* Conf. I act. l. i. c. 15. iii. 14. Quint. l. x. c. 1. Macrobian. in Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 17. 27. Plut. in Cicer. t. vi. p. 55. Erasm. ep. l. xxvii. ep. l. i. ii. ep. 26. Horn. Hist. Phil. l. iv. c. 5. Morhoff. Polyh. t. i. l. iv. c. 11. sect. 7. Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. ii. p. 165.

† B. C. 106.

‡ Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 28. Cic. in Brut. et Ep. ad Fam. l. vii. 5. l. xiii. 41.

§ Plut. in Cic. Sueton. de Clar. Rhet. c. 2. Cic. Orat. pro Archia, c. 1. De Orat. l. iii. c. 28. Tusc. Qu. l. ii. c. 2. Voss. de Poet. Lat. p. 16. Fabr. B. Lat. t. i. p. 129.

|| Cic. de Amic. c. 1. Plut. l. c.

¶ Ib. et Cic. Philipp. xii. 11.

** In Brut. c. 90. Ep. ad Fam. l. xiii. ep. 16. et in Lucullo. De Off. l. ii. c. 24. Quint. l. i. c. 2. l. iii. c. 1. Hieron. Præf. in Euseb. Chron.

Rhodian. By frequenting the schools of these and other preceptors, he acquired such a love of philosophy, that after his return to Rome, amidst the business of the forum and the senate, he always found leisure for the speculations of the schools. Upon his second appearance in public, he met with some discouragement from a prevalent opinion that he was better qualified for the study of philosophy than for the business of active life. But his superior powers of eloquence soon subdued every prejudice against him, and raised him to the highest distinction among his fellow-citizens. In the successive offices of questor, edile, and pretor, he acquitted himself with great reputation. In the consulate he obtained immortal honour by his bold and successful opposition to the machinations of Catiline and his party, and received the glorious title of the Father of his Country.*

The popularity which Cicero had acquired during his consulship exposed him to the envy of his rivals. Soon afterwards, his unsuccessful attempt to bring Clodius to public justice brought upon him the resentment of that daring and seditious profligate; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the senate to protect him, the affair terminated in his banishment from Rome.† Leaving Italy, he passed over into Greece, and visited his friend Plancius at Thessalonica, who afforded him a hospitable asylum. All good men lamented his disgrace, and many Grecian cities vied with each other in offering him tokens of respect. But nothing could alleviate the dejection which he suffered, whilst he lay under a sentence of banishment from the country which had been the seat of all his former honours. He remained inconsolable, till, after an interval of sixteen months, the Clodian party was suppressed by Pompey, and, by the unanimous voice of the senate and people, he was recalled.‡

In Cicero's subsequent questorship in Cilicia his conduct was highly meritorious; for he exercised his authority with exemplary mildness and integrity, and, in the midst of war, cultivated the arts of peace. On his return, he called at Rhodes, and made a short stay at Athens, where he had the satisfaction of revisiting the places in which his youthful feet had wandered in search of wisdom, and of conversing with many of his former preceptors and friends.§

When the flames of civil dissension between Pompey and Cæsar began to burst forth, Cicero used his utmost influence with each party to bring them to terms of accommodation.|| Finding every attempt of this kind unsuccessful, he long remained in anxious deliberation, whether he should follow Pompey in a glorious and honourable, but ruined cause; or should consult his own safety, and that of his friends, by following the rising fortunes of Cæsar. Had the latter motive preponderated, he would have listened to the counsel of Cæsar, who advised him, if on account of his advancing years he were averse to military life, to retire into some remote part of Greece, and pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity. But he could not persuade himself to desert the ancient constitution of his country, which he had hitherto honestly defended, and therefore determined to join the party of Pompey. Afterwards, however, when he found that Pompey slighted his friendship, he repented of his resolution; and, after the memorable battle of Pharsalia, instead of accepting the charge of the armament which lay at Dyrrachium, as Cato advised, he met Cæsar on his return from Asia, and accepted his friendship.¶

* Orat. pro Roscio. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 28. Quint. l. xii. c. 6. Plut. l. c. Cic. in Brut. c. 91. Orat. pro Planc. in Pis. pro Sext. in Catil. † Dio, l. xxxviii. Velleius P. l. ii.

‡ Plut. l. c. Cic. Orat. pro domo sua. § Plut. l. c.

|| Ep. Fam. l. vi. ep. 6. l. vii. ep. 3. l. xiii. ep. 11.

¶ Plut. l. c.

From this time Cicero, no longer able to serve his country in the manner he wished, retired from public affairs, resolving to devote himself wholly to the study of philosophy. He employed the unwelcome leisure, which the ruin of the republic afforded him, in reading or writing; and he found more satisfaction in conversing with the dead in his valuable library at Tusculum, than in visiting Rome to pay homage to Cæsar. His tranquillity was, however, soon interrupted by domestic vexations and afflictions. From causes which are not fully explained, he divorced his wife Terentia; and his daughter Tullia, who was married to Lentulus, died in childbed.*

Soon after the death of Cæsar, although it does not appear that Cicero had any concern in the conspiracy, he fell a sacrifice to the resentment of Antony, who could not forget the severe Philippics which the orator had delivered against him. When the triumvirate was formed, and it was reciprocally agreed that some of the enemies of each party should be given up, Antony demanded the head of Cicero. Accordingly, after much contention, and on the part of Octavius a delay of three days, Cicero was registered among the hundred and thirty senators who were doomed to destruction by this sanguinary proscription. Apprised by his friends of the danger, he fled from place to place for safety; always thinking, as was natural in such a situation, any other place more secure than the present. His last retreat was to a small farm which he had at Caieta. The house was surrounded by the appointed executioners of the bloody commission. After an unsuccessful attempt of his attendants to save him by conveying him away on a litter towards the sea, Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, in whose behalf Cicero had formerly pleaded when he was accused of parricide, came up to the litter, and struck off his head, while some of the soldiers, who were standing by, cut off his hands. These mangled remains of this great man were conveyed to Antony, who, in triumphant revenge, placed them upon the *rostra* of that pulpit from which the orations against him had been delivered; not however without exciting much indignation in the populace, who bitterly lamented the tragical end of this father of his country. His death happened in the 710th† year of the city, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age.‡

From the whole history of the life of Cicero it appears that, though exceedingly ambitious of glory, he wanted strength of mind sufficient to sustain him in its pursuit. Perpetually fluctuating between hope and fear, he was unable to support with equanimity the convulsions of a disordered state and the commotions of a civil war; and therefore was always attempting to reconcile the contending parties, when he ought to have been maintaining, by vigorous measures, the cause which he approved. He was, in his natural temper, so averse to contention, that his spirits were depressed, more than became a wise man, by private injuries and domestic vexations. On many public occasions he discovered a surprising degree of timidity. When, under the immediate apprehension of danger from popular tumult, he undertook the defence of Milo, his panic was so great, that he was seized with a universal tremor, and was scarcely able to speak; so that his client, notwithstanding his innocence, was sentenced to exile.§ His chief delight was in the society and conversation of learned men; and many elegant specimens remain of his ability in relating, or framing philosophical confe-

* Plut. l. c. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 1. De Off. l. ii. c. 1, 2. Ep. Fam. l. xiii. ep. 77. l. ii. ep. 5. l. i. ep. 7. l. vi. ep. 19. l. ix. ep. 11. Val. Max. l. viii. c. 13.

† B. C. 43.

‡ Plut. l. c. Vid. Liv. apud Senec. App. Dion. Vell. Patere. &c. Mart. l. iii. ep. 66.

§ Dio, l. xlvi. Plut. l. c.

rences. But in his private intercourse with his friends, as well as in the forum and the senate, he discovered a degree of vanity scarcely to be reconciled with true greatness of mind. From these circumstances, compared with the general character of his writings, it seems reasonable to conclude that Cicero's chief excellencies were fertility of imagination and readiness of invention; and that his talents were better adapted to the splendid offices of eloquence, than to the accurate and profound investigations of philosophy.

What kind and degree of service Cicero rendered to philosophy will in some measure appear from a distinct enumeration of his philosophical writings. On the subject of the philosophy of nature, his principal works are, the fragment of his translation of Plato's *Timæus*, entitled *De Universalitate*, "On the Universe;" and his treatise *De Natura Deorum*, "On the Nature of the Gods," in which the opinions of the Epicureans and Stoics concerning the divine nature are distinctly stated and examined. To the same class may be referred the books "On Divination and Fate," which are imperfect, and "The Dream of Scipio" (commented upon by Macrobius), which is founded upon the Platonic doctrines concerning the soul of the world, and the state of human souls after death. On moral philosophy Cicero treats in several distinct works. In his treatise *De Finibus*, "On Moral Ends," which is a history of the doctrine of the Grecian philosophers concerning the ultimate ends of life, he states the different opinions of the several sects upon this subject, enumerates the leading arguments by which they were supported, and points out the difficulties which press upon each opinion. In his *Quæstiones Tusculanæ*, "Tusculan Questions," he treats of the contempt of death; patience under bodily pain; the remedies of grief, anxiety and other painful perturbations of mind; and the sufficiency of virtue to a happy life. In the dialogues entitled *Cato* and *Lælius* he discourses concerning the consolations of old age, and concerning the duties and pleasures of friendship. His explanation of "Six Stoical Paradoxes" seems rather to have been written as a rhetorical exercise, than as a serious disquisition in philosophy. His treatise *De Officiis*, "On Moral Offices," addressed to his son Marcus, contains an excellent summary of practical ethics, written chiefly upon Stoical principles, but not without some mixture of the Peripatetic. The grounds of jurisprudence are explained in his book *De Legibus*, "On Laws," which is not entire. Cicero nowhere so clearly discovers his own opinions as in his *Quæstiones Academicæ*, "Academic Questions," of which only two books are extant, the second inscribed with the name of Lucullus. In this work he raises up the whole edifice of Grecian doctrine, that, after the manner of the Academic sect, and particularly of Carneades, he may demolish it. As a storehouse of materials for a history of the Grecian sects, this piece is of great value. It is much to be regretted that, among the philosophical works of Cicero we do not now find his *Hortensius*, or "Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy," which Augustine confesses operated upon his mind as a powerful *stimulus* to the pursuit of wisdom. His "Economics" and "Republic" are also lost.

Upon the most cursory inspection of Cicero's philosophical writings, it must appear that he rather related the opinions of others, than advanced any new doctrine from his own conceptions. It may, however, be of some importance to inquire, more particularly, how a man, who devoted so much of his leisure to study, philosophised, and what tenets he espoused.

Although, for reasons already explained, Cicero attached himself chiefly to the Academic sect, he did not neglect to inform himself of the doctrines

of other sects, and discovered much learning and ingenuity in refuting their dogmas. In the sects which he rejected, he could easily distinguish those parts of their doctrine which were most valuable; and he had the good sense and candour to profit by wisdom wherever he found it. He was an admirer of the doctrine of the Stoics concerning natural equity and civil law; and adopted their ideas concerning morals, as he himself informs his son,* not with the servility of an interpreter, but with that freedom which left him the full exercise of his own judgment. That he held Plato in high respect, especially for his philosophy of nature, appears from his own words,† and from the labour which he bestowed upon the *Timæus*. As he conceived the Peripatetic philosophy to differ but little, on the subject of ethics, from the Socratic and Platonic doctrine, he paid it some respect in his moral writings,‡ although in other places it fell under his censure. The sect to which he was most averse, notwithstanding that one of his earliest preceptors, and several of his intimate friends, belonged to this school, was the Epicurean;§ and the contempt in which he held the doctrine of this sect led him to listen with too much credulity to the calumnies with which the character of its founder was loaded.

Upon the whole, there can be no doubt that Cicero belonged to that class of Academics, who, after Carneades, whilst they confessed the imbecility of the human understanding, admitted opinions on the ground of probability. "I do not," says Cicero,|| "rank myself among those who suffer their minds to wander in error, without any guide to direct their course. For of what use is the human intellect, or rather, of what value is human life, if all principles, not only of reasoning, but of action be taken away? If I cannot, with many philosophers, say that some things are certain and others uncertain, I willingly allow that some things are probable, others improbable." It may be easily perceived, from the general cast of Cicero's writings, that the Academic sect was best suited to his natural disposition. Through all his philosophical works he paints in lively colours, and with all the graces of fine writing, the opinions of philosophers; and relates, in the diffuse manner of an orator, the arguments on each side of the question in dispute: but we seldom find him diligently examining the exact weight of evidence in the scale of reason, carefully deducing accurate conclusions from certain principles, or exhibiting a series of arguments in a close and systematic arrangement. On the contrary, we frequently hear him declaiming eloquently instead of reasoning conclusively, and meet with unequivocal proofs that he was better qualified to dispute on either side with the Academics, than to decide upon the question with the Dogmatists. In fine, Cicero appears rather to have been a warm admirer, and an elegant memorialist of philosophy, than himself to have merited a place in the first order of philosophers.¶

The reader will easily perceive from what has been advanced that, notwithstanding the great number of philosophical writings which Cicero has left, it would be in vain to attempt a delineation of his philosophical doctrines; for, following the Academic method of philosophising, he instituted no system of his own, but either employed himself in opposing the tenets of other sects, or, where he chose to dogmatise, selected from different sects such opinions as, he apprehended, could be most plausibly supported, or would most easily admit of rhetorical decoration. In *Physics*, if we except

* De Off. l. i. c. 2.

† Tusc. Qu. l. i. c. 21.

‡ De Off. l. i. c. 3.

§ De Orat. l. iii.

|| De Off. l. ii. c. 2. Tusc. Qu. l. ii. c. 2. l. iv. c. 4.

¶ Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. ii. c. 27. Heuman. Act. Phil. p. 459.

his translation of the *Timæus* of Plato, and what he has written in the Platonic manner in "The Dream of Scipio," Cicero has advanced nothing in his writings which is not purely academical, and adapted to overturn the systems of the Dogmatists. In ethics, however, especially upon subjects of practical morality, he made Panætius and other Stoics his chief guides, and after them adopted a preceptive tone, and a systematic arrangement. But it is wholly unnecessary to enter into detail of his moral doctrine, which is of the same colour with that of the Stoic School, except where it takes a slight tincture from the Peripatetic. With respect to theology, there is little reason to doubt that Cicero, whilst he suspended his judgment concerning the subtle questions which had agitated the Grecian schools, adhered to the fundamental principles of religion on the ground of probability, as naturally dictated by reason, and therefore commonly embraced by mankind.*

The STOIC as well as the Academic School was patronised by many eminent men in the Roman republic. The most distinguished lawyers were, as we have seen, inclined towards this sect, on account of the fitness of its moral doctrine to the purposes of civil policy. Q. LUCILIUS BALBUS became so eminent a master of the Stoic philosophy, that Cicero, in his dialogue "On the Nature of the Gods," † appoints him to the office of defending the Stoical theology. Several of the most zealous and able supporters of the tottering republic derived no small part of their strength from the principles of Stoicism. But the man, who above all the rest claims our notice, as a Stoic in character as well as opinion, is the younger Cato.

CATO of UTICA, so called from the last memorable scene of his life, was a descendant of Cato the Censor, whose rigid virtue, as we have seen, opposed the first admission of Grecian learning into Rome. From his childhood he discovered in his countenance and language, and even in his sports, an inflexible spirit. He had such a natural gravity of aspect, that his features were scarcely ever relaxed into a smile. He was seldom angry, but when provoked, was not without difficulty appeased. In acquiring learning, he was slow of perception, but his memory faithfully retained whatever it received. Being in early life elected to the office of a *flamen* of Apollo, he made choice of Antipater, a Tyrian, of the Stoic sect, as his preceptor in morals and jurisprudence, that in his sacred character he might exhibit an example of the most rigid virtue. His language, both in private and public, was a true image of his mind, free from all affectation of novelty or elegance; plain, concise, and somewhat harsh; but enlivened with strokes of genius, which could not be heard without pleasure. He inured himself to endure, without injury, the extremes of heat and cold. To express his contempt of effeminate and luxurious manners, he refused to wear the purple robe which belonged to his rank, and often appeared in public without his tunic, and with his feet uncovered: and this he did, not for the sake of attracting admiration, but to teach his fellow-citizens that a wise man ought to be ashamed of nothing which is not in itself shameful.‡

In the civil war, Cato carried his virtues with him into military life, and exhibited before his fellow commanders an example of unusual moderation, sobriety, and magnanimity. Whilst he was in Macedonia, in the capacity of military tribune, it happened that his brother Cæpio, whom he had

* Lib. iii. De Nat. D.

† L. i. c. 4.

‡ Plut. in Cat. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 1. Cic. Orat. pro Muræna, c. 29. Ep. Fam. xv. 5.

always loved, perished in shipwreck. Cato, upon this occasion, forgot his Stoical principles, and so far yielded to the impulse of nature, as to embrace, with many tears and lamentations, the dead body which had been cast upon the shore, and to bury it with splendid sepulchral honours. So difficult is it, by any artificial discipline of philosophy, to subdue the feelings of nature.* During his residence in Greece, Cato having heard of an eminent Stoic, Athenodorus Cordyliones, who had rejected the proffered friendship of several princes, and was now passing his old age in retirement at Pergamus, resolved if possible to make him his friend; and, as he had no hopes of succeeding by message, undertook for this sole purpose a voyage into Asia. Upon the interview, Athenodorus found in Cato a soul so congenial with his own, that he was easily prevailed upon to accompany him into Greece, and, after the term of Cato's military service was expired, to reside with him, as his companion and friend, at Rome. Cato boasted of this acquisition more than of all his military exploits. After his return, he devoted his time either to the society of Athenodorus, and his other philosophical friends, or to the service of his fellow-citizens in the forum.†

When Cato had, by diligent study, qualified himself for the duties of magistracy, he accepted of the office of questor. He corrected the abuses of this important trust, which negligence or dishonesty had introduced, and by his upright and steady administration of justice merited the highest applause. In every other capacity he manifested the same inviolable regard to truth and integrity. Whilst he was engaged in the business of the senate, he was indefatigable in the discharge of his senatorial duty; and even when he was among his philosophical friends at his farm in Lucania he never interrupted his attention to the welfare of the state. It was during a recess of this kind that he discovered the danger which threatened the republic from the machinations of Metellus; and, with a truly patriotic spirit, he instantly determined that private enjoyment should give way to public duty. That he might be in a capacity to oppose with effect the designs of Metellus, he offered himself candidate for the office of Tribune of the people; and being chosen, executed the office (notwithstanding the illiberal jests which Cicero, inconsistently enough with his general professions and character, on this occasion cast upon his Stoical virtue) with a degree of probity, candour and independence, which fully established the public opinion of his superior merit.‡

At a period when the Roman affairs were in the utmost confusion, and powerful factions were repeatedly formed against the state, Cato withstood the assaults which were made upon liberty by Marcellus, Pompey, Cæsar, and others, with such a firm and resolute adherence to the principles of public virtue, that no apprehension of danger to himself or his family could ever induce him to listen to any proposal, which implied a treacherous desertion of his country. Whilst some were supporting the interest of Cæsar, and others that of Pompey, Cato, himself a host, withstood them both, and convinced them that there was another interest still existing, that of the state. When he saw that the necessity of the times required it, in order that, of two impending evils, the least might be chosen, he persuaded the senate to create Pompey sole consul, that, if possible, he might crush the growing power of Cæsar, which threatened destruction to the freedom of the republic. It was with this design alone

* Plut. in Cat.

† Plut. ib.

‡ Plut. ib. Cic. Præf. parad. Epist. Fam. xv. 5. Orat. pro Muræna, c. 29.

that, upon Cæsar's approach towards Rome, he declared himself on the side of Pompey, and that he afterwards became a companion of his flight, and at the head of an army supported his cause. The same public spirit afterwards prompted him to endeavour to save his country from the last extremities of civil war by proposing a reconciliation between the contending powers. And when Pompey treated the proposal with neglect, and seemed to distrust the adviser, Cato, still true to the cause of freedom, at the battle of Dyrrachium roused the languid spirit of the soldiers by an animated address; but afterwards when, in the course of the engagement, he saw his countrymen butchering one another, he bitterly lamented the fatal effects of ambition.*

After the battle of Pharsalia, which at once cut off the hopes of Pompey, Cato, with a small band of select friends, and fifteen cohorts, of which Pompey had given him the command, still attempted to support the expiring cause of liberty. His determination was to follow Pompey into Egypt, and there share his fate: but when he arrived upon the African coast, he was met by Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who informed him of his father's death. Cato, upon hearing these tidings, marched the small force which was under his command into Libya, to meet Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, and Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government in Africa, and who were paying their court to Juba. Though strongly importuned, he refused to take the command of the African forces from those officers, to whom it had been legally appointed; but, at the request of Scipio, and of the inhabitants, he took the charge of Utica.†

The defeat of Scipio and Juba, in the battle of Thapsus, contracted the remaining strength of the Roman republic within the walls of this small city. Here Cato, as his last effort in the service of his country, convened his little senate to deliberate upon measures for the public good. Their consultations proved ineffectual; and Cato despaired of being longer able to serve his country. He therefore advised his friends to provide for their safety by flight, but, for his own part, resolved not to survive the liberties of Rome. At the close of an evening, in which he had conversed with more than usual spirit on topics of philosophy, he retired with great cheerfulness into his chamber, where, after reading a portion of Plato's *Phædo*, he ordered his sword to be brought. His attendants delayed; and his son and friends importuned him to desist from his purpose. The stern philosopher dismissed them from his apartment, and again took up the book. After a short interval, he executed his purpose by stabbing himself below the breast. By those who have been better instructed, this action will, doubtless, be deemed criminal, and will be imputed to rashness, or to weakness. But it should be remembered that the situation of Cato, in concurrence with his Stoical principles, strongly impelled him to this fatal deed; and that whatever censure he may deserve on this account, he supported, through his whole life, a character of inflexible integrity, and uncorrupted public spirit. Whilst he lived, he held up before his fellow-citizens a pattern of manly virtue; and when he died, he taught the conquerors of the world that the noble mind can never be subdued.‡

—— Cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.§ (a)

* Plut. in Cat. Vell. Flor. Dio, &c. Sen. Ep. 95. 14.

† Plut.

‡ Plut. l. c. Conf. Florus, l. iv. c. 2. Senec. Ep. 20. 24. 26. De Providentia, c. 2. Arr. Epict. l. i. Diss. 9. 24.

§ Hor. Carm. l. ii. Od. i. v. 24. Conf. Lucan. l. ii. v. 385. l. ix. 581, &c.

(a) —— I see the world subdued,
All but the mighty soul of Cato.

THE PERIPATETIC PHILOSOPHY found its way into Rome, in the time of Sylla, with the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus. That tyrant, during the siege of Athens, had shown his contempt of the Muses, by sacrilegiously invading their ancient seats, the groves of Academus, and the Lyceum, in order to furnish himself with materials for carrying on the assault: and when the city fell into his hands, among other articles of plunder, he became possessed of the library of Apellicon, who, as we have before related, had purchased the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus from their illiterate descendants, in whose hands they had long lain concealed. This rich prize was brought to Rome, and soon engaged the attention of those who knew the value of Greek learning. Tyrannio, an eminent grammarian and critic, whom Lucullus had brought as a captive from Pontus, and whose learning and genius soon procured him liberty and raised him to distinction, obtained permission to peruse, and, wherever he chose, transcribe the manuscripts. His first care was to bring to light the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus. When Andronicus Rhodius, who was not ignorant of the fame of these philosophers, was informed of Tyrannio's good fortune, he was exceedingly desirous of possessing the writings of these philosophers, and engaged Tyrannio to give him an exact copy of the originals. Finding upon perusal that they were in many places imperfect, through the decay of the materials upon which they were written, he supplied the deficiencies by conjecture, and at the same time attempted to illustrate obscure passages by notes. In this corrected, or rather adulterated state, these works of Aristotle and Theophrastus were dispersed among the Romans.*

The obscurity of the writings of Aristotle greatly obstructed the progress of the Peripatetic philosophy. Cicero, in the preface to his *Topics*, written after the death of Cæsar, relates,† that Trebatius, a celebrated lawyer, meeting with Aristotle's treatise on *Topics* in Cicero's library, attempted to read it, but was obliged to call in the assistance of a skilful rhetorician; and, after all, complained to Cicero that he was unable to understand the work. Cicero replied, "I am not at all surprised that your rhetorician could not explain to you the writings of this philosopher, who is understood by very few even of the philosophers themselves." But, notwithstanding these difficulties, the doctrine of Aristotle was not without its admirers and patrons in Rome. Cato, though entirely devoted to the Stoic philosophy, had among his philosophical friends Demetrius, a Peripatetic, and conversed with him a little before his death.‡ Crassus paid some attention to the Aristotelian philosophy, and employed Alexander Antiochenus, of this school, as his preceptor.§ Piso, whom Cicero represents as well read in philosophy, had with him many years a Peripatetic of some note, named Staseas.|| The father of Roman eloquence himself, notwithstanding his predilection for the Academic sect, gave sufficient proof that he had some respect for the Peripatetic philosophy, by undertaking to explain the *Topics* of Aristotle; by mixing several things from his school with the Stoical doctrine of morals, in his *Offices*, and, above all, by committing the charge of his son's education at Athens to Cratippus, the Peripatetic, whom he pronounces to be, in his judgment, not only the first of all the Peripatetics, but the most excellent philosopher of his age.¶

* Plut. in Sylla et Lucullo. Hesych. et Suidas in Tyran. Porphy. Vit. Plotin. c. 26. † Ad Trebatium. ‡ Plut. in Cat. § Id. in Crasso.

|| Cic. de Fin. l. v. c. 1. De Orat. l. i. c. 22.

¶ De Univ. c. 1. De Off. l. iii. c. 2. l. i. c. 1. Ep. Fam. l. xvi. Ep. 21. Plut. in Cic.

Brutus, when he passed with his army into Greece, during his stay at Athens attended upon Theomnestus the Academic, and Cratippus the Peripatetic, and conversed with them upon philosophy.* And Pompey, after his defeat at Pharsalia, meeting with Cratippus at Mitylene, discoursed with him concerning divine providence.†

The EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY, in consequence of the violent opposition which it had met with in Greece from the Stoics, and the irregularities which had been practised by some of its followers, entered Rome under a heavy load of obloquy. This was greatly increased by the vehemence with which Cicero inveighed against this sect, and by the easy credit which he gave to the calumnies industriously circulated against its founder.‡ Nevertheless, there were many persons of high distinction in Rome to whom the character of Epicurus appeared less censurable, and who were of opinion that true philosophy was to be found in his garden. Among these were Torquatus, Velleius, Trebatius, Piso, Albutius, Pansa, and Atticus;§ men of respectable characters in Rome, several of whom lived in habits of intimacy with Cicero. || Atticus, particularly, was his bosom friend, to whom he wrote many confidential letters, afterwards collected in sixteen books, and preserved among his works. Fond of literary leisure, Atticus withdrew from the disturbances of the state of Athens, where he was highly respected by the citizens of every rank. Here he studied the doctrines of Epicurus, under Phædrus and Zeno the Sidonian. That he entirely devoted himself to this school, appears from many passages in the writings of Cicero, and from the particulars of his life given by Cornelius Nepos. C. Cassius, too, according to Plutarch, ¶ is to be added to the list of Epicureans. Several Greek philosophers of this sect enjoyed the patronage of illustrious Romans, among whom may be particularly mentioned Patro, whom Cicero recommended to the protection of Memmius.**

Some admirers of Epicurus attempted to introduce his philosophy into Rome in the Latin tongue. Amafanus, Catus Insuber, and others, borrowing their notions of pleasure, not from the founder of the school, but from some of his degenerate followers, under the notion of Epicurean doctrine wrote precepts of luxury. Quintilian†† speaks of Catus as an amusing trifler: Horace thus ridicules him: ‡‡

Unde et quo Catus? non est mihi tempus aventi
Ponere signa novis preceptis, qualia vincant
Pythagoram, Anytique reum, doctumque Platona. (a)

The true doctrine of Epicurus was not fully stated by any Roman writer till Lucretius, with much accuracy of conception and clearness of method, as well as with great strength and elegance of diction, unfolded the Epicurean system in his poem *De Rerum Natura*; "On the Nature of Things." That T. CARUS LUCRETIUS was a Roman is certain, but it is doubtful

* Plut. in Bruto.

† Id. in Pomp.

‡ Cic. de Fin. l. ii. Tusc. Qu. l. i. 3. Fam. Ep. xiii. 1. Orat. in Pisonem, c. 28.

§ Gassend. de Vit. Epic. l. i. c. 6.

|| Ac. Qu. l. iv.

¶ Plut. in Brut. t. v. p. 690. 711. Cic. Phil. ii.

** Fam. Ep. xiii. c. 1.

†† Inst. l. i. c. 1.

‡‡ Sat. l. ii. sect. 4.

(a) Whence comes my Catus? whither in such haste?
I have no time in idle prate to waste:
I must away, to treasure in my mind
A set of precepts novel and refin'd;
Such as Pythagoras could never reach,
Nor Socrates, nor scienced Plato teach.

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whether he was of the ancient and noble family of the Lucretii. He was born, according to Eusebius, in the year of Rome six hundred and fifty-nine.* Of his parentage and education little is known; but it is probable that he was sent to Athens, and there studied philosophy under Zeno the Sidonian, and Phædrus. Towards the close of his life he was often insane; and it was during his lucid intervals that he wrote his celebrated poem. It is addressed to his friend and patron Memmius: it was revised by Cicero, and is still extant. Lucretius died by his own hand, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and in the seven hundred and third year of Rome.†

The PYRRHONIC or SCEPTIC sect was not followed among the Romans; not because the method of philosophising adopted by this sect had no admirers, but because it was superseded by the Academic philosophy, which pursued the same track, but with greater caution and sobriety. The heights of extravagance, to which the Sceptics had by this time advanced, both in theory and practice, had brought such a general odium upon the sect, that although Ænesidemus attempted to revive Pyrrhonism at Alexandria, and inscribed his works to Lucius Tubero, an illustrious Roman, it does not appear that Rome gave any public countenance to the Sceptic philosophy.‡

CHAPTER II.

OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

SECTION I.—OF THE GENERAL STATE OF PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE EMPERORS.

IN the midst of the commotions and changes which took place in the Roman state, at the period when it lost its liberty, and became subject to the arbitrary controul of a monarch; whilst almost every thing else assumed a new aspect, philosophy still retained its station, and appeared with increasing lustre. This is perhaps chiefly to be ascribed to the cultivated taste and elegant manners of the Augustan age. Many persons of the

* B. C. 94.

† Euseb. Chron. Vid. Lambin. Gifan. Bayl. de Vit. Lucr. Voss. de Poet. Lat. p. 15. B. C. 50.

‡ Cic. de Fin. l. ii. Vidend. Heumann. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 63. Gaudent. de Phil. apud Rom. initio, &c. Pis. 1643. Cellarii, Diss. de Stud. Rom. Budd. de Stud. Lib. ap. Rom. Falster. Qu. Rom. Schilter. Manud. Phil. Mor. ad Jurisprud. Everard. Otto de Stoica Juriscons. Ph. Horn. Hist. Phil. l. iv. c. 4, 5. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. i. c. 7. 16. P. Blount, Cens. Auth. p. 60. Cozzand. de Magisterio Antiq. Phil. l. iii. p. 231. Huet de la Foiblesse, &c. l. i. c. 14. sect. 25. Scaligeriana Prim. p. 146. Ciceronis Vita a Mylæo, Bullingero, A. de Scarparia, Const. Felice, C. Preysio, Corrado. P. Ramo, Lambino, Brantio, Herbesto, Chytræo, Vallamberto, Cappello, Sagittario, Masenio, Middleton. Kircher in Latio. c. ii. Reimman. Syst. Ant. Lit. p. 496. Perizonius de Erud. et Indust. Cic. Franeq. 1682. Morhoff. Polyh. Lit. t. iii. l. i. c. 17. t. i. l. iv. c. 11. sect. 17. Jasonis de Nores Instit. in Cic. Phil. Pat. 1597. Lips. 1721. Buscheri Ethic. Cic. Parker's Apology, Lond. 1702. Wopken's Lektion. Tull. Amst. 1730. Voss. de Poet. Lat. p. 15. Suidas. Bayle.

first distinction in Rome, with Augustus himself, were patrons of literature and science. During the reign of this prince, so generally prevalent was the study of philosophy, that almost every statesman, lawyer, and man of letters, was conversant with the writings of philosophers, and discovered a bias towards some ancient system. And this taste continued through several succeeding ages, even under those emperors who were more addicted to pleasure than to wisdom; till, in process of time, the distinction of sects was confounded in that monstrous production of monkish ignorance, the Scholastic philosophy.

The sentiments and language of almost all the Roman Poets were tinctured with the philosophy of some Grecian sect.

VIRGIL, whose immortal works remain a perfect model of poetic harmony and elegance, was in his youth instructed by Syro in the doctrine of Epicurus; and the spirit of this doctrine appears in several parts of his writings. It is true, that after the usual practice of poets, and other writers of this period, he introduces allusions to the dogmas of different sects, where he judged that they might serve to illustrate and adorn his subject. Thus, in the fourth Georgic, he derives the origin of things, after the Stoics, from a divine principle pervading the whole mass of matter:*

His quidam signis atque hæc exempla secuti,
Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et haustus
Ætherios dixere: deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri
Omnia: nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
Sideris in numerum atque alto succedere cælo. (a)

In another place† the poet introduces Anchises philosophising upon the same principles:

Principio cælum, ac terras, camposque liquentes
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet, &c. (b)

Virgil's whole doctrine concerning a future state, divested of its mythological clothing, proceeds, indeed, upon the Stoic, rather than the Platonic or Pythagoric system. It must not however be hence inferred that he was himself a Stoic. In the passages just quoted he relates the opinions of others, and expressly introduces the former as such: *HIS QUIDAM signis*.

* V. 220.

- (a) Led by such wonders, sages have opin'd
That bees have portions of a heav'nly mind;
That God pervades, and like one common soul,
Fills, feeds, and animates the world's great whole;
That flocks, herds, beasts, and men from him receive
Their vital breath, in him all move and live;
That souls discerpt from him shall never die,
But back resolved to God and heaven shall fly,
And live for ever in the starry sky.

J. WARTON.

† Æn. vi. v. 724.

- (b) Know first a spirit with an active flame
Pervades and animates the mighty frame,
Runs through the watery worlds, the fields of air,
The pond'rous earth, the depths of heav'n, and there
Glow's in the sun and moon, and burns in every star:
Thus mingling with the mass, the general soul
Lives in the parts, and agitates the whole.

PITT.

But in other parts of his works he makes use of the doctrine and language of the Epicurean school: for example:—*

Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque, animæque marisve fuissent
Et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis. (a)

And again:—†

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari! (b)

The predilection of Virgil for the Epicurean system may be also inferred from his intimate acquaintance with the poem of Lucretius, to which, in the course of his works he is frequently indebted. It must not be omitted that Virgil, in the fifty-second year of his age, set out for Greece, with the design of putting the finishing hand to his *Æneid*, and then devoting the remainder of his days to the study of philosophy; but that, being seized with illness upon his journey, he returned to Brundisium, and died. He was buried, according to his request, at Naples. ‡

HORACE through all his writings breathes the Epicurean spirit, and sometimes appears to confess his partiality to this school. § But we are not to suppose that he entertained a very serious attachment to any system of philosophy. He was rather disposed to ridicule the folly of all the sects, than to become a strenuous advocate for any one of them. He had indeed, when young, studied philosophy in the Academy at Athens: ||

Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ;
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum. (c)

But he expressly asserts his independence, and disclaims subjection to the authority of any master: ¶

Quid verum atque decens curo, et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum;
Condo, et compono, quæ mox depromere possim:
Ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter;
Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,
Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.
Nunc agilis fio, et mersor civilibus undis;
Virtutis veræ custos rigidusque fatelles,
Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta relabor. (d)

* Ecl. vi. v. 31, &c.

(a) He sung, at universal nature's birth,
How seeds of water, fire, and air, and earth,
Fell thro' the void; whence order rose, and all
The beauties of this congregated ball.

J. WARTON.

† Georg. ii. v. 490, &c.

(b) Happy the man, whose vigorous soul can pierce
Through the formation of this universe!
Who nobly dares despise, with soul sedate,
The din of Acheron, and vulgar fears, and fate.

1B.

‡ Donatus de Vit. Virgil. ed. H. Steph. p. 6. § Ep. 1. Ep. 4. Carm. 1. ii. od. 34.
|| Ep. 1. ii. Ep. 2. v. 43.

(c) Athens, kind nurse of science, led my youth
From error's maze to the straight path of truth;
In search of wisdom taught my feet to rove
Thro' the learn'd shades of Academus' grove.

¶ Ep. 1. i. Ep. 1. v. 11, &c.

(d) What right, what true, what fit we justly call,*
This shall be all my care; for this is all:

The works of OVID abound with passages, which prove him to have been well acquainted with the Greek philosophy, and particularly with the ancient theogonies. In his *Metamorphoses* he introduces the doctrines of the Pythagorean school concerning the transmigration of the soul, and the vicissitudes of nature.* But no certain judgment can be formed concerning his philosophical opinions from tenets which are introduced merely to embellish a work of imagination.

MANILIUS, in his astronomical poem, dedicated to Augustus, strenuously opposes the doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature, and maintains with the Stoics, that God is the soul of the world, pervading and animating all things:†

Quis credat tantas operum sine numine moles
Ex minimis cæoque creatum fœdere mundum? &c. (a)

LUCAN, in his *Pharsalia*, discovers a strong affection for the Stoic school, in which he was educated by Cornutus, an eminent preceptor, afterwards to be noticed. He expresses, in forcible and beautiful language, several of the fundamental tenets of the sect: for example‡

——— Sic cum compage soluta
Sæcula tot mundi suprema cœgerit hora,
Antiquum repetent iterum chaos omnia, mistis
Sidera sideribus concurrent: ignea pontum
Astra petent, tellus extendere littora nolet,
Excutietque fretum; fratri contraria Phœbo
Ibit et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem
Indignata, diem poscet sibi: totaque discors
Machina divulsi turbabit fœdera mundi. (b)

The Stoic virtues Lucan thus represents in the character of Cato:

——— Hi mores, hæc duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, servare modum, sineinque tenere

To lay this harvest up, and hoard with haste
What every day will want, e'en to the last.

But ask not to what teacher I apply;
Sworn to no master, of no sect am I:
Still as the tempest drives I shape my way;
Now active plunge into the world's wide sea;
Now virtue's precepts rigidly defend,
Nor to the world—the world to me shall bend.
Now down a stream more yielding smoothly glide,
And the gay Aristippus make my guide.

* L. xv. v. 150, &c.

† L. i. v. 492. Conf. l. ii. v. 61.

(a) Who, that beholds the pond'rous orbs on high,
Will say, that atoms, floating in the void,
Without a guide could form this wondrous world? &c.

‡ L. i. v. 74, &c.

(b) So shall one hour, at last, this globe controul,
Break up the vast machine, dissolve the whole:
Then Chaos hoar shall seize his former right,
And reign with anarchy and endless night:
The starry lamps shall combat in the sky,
And lost and blended in each other, die:
Quench'd in the deep, the heav'nly fires shall fall,
And ocean cast abroad o'erspread the ball:
The moon no more her well known course shall run,
But rise from western waves and meet the sun:
Ungoverned shall she quit her ancient way,
Herself ambitious to supply the day:
Confusion wild shall all around be hurl'd,
And discord and disorder tear the world.

Naturamque sequi, patriæque impendere vitam:
 Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
 Huic epulæ, vicisse famem: magnique penates,
 Submovisse hyemem tecto: pretiosaque vestis
 Hirtam membra super, Romani more Quiritis,
 Induxisse togam: Veneris huic maximus usus,
 Progenies: urbi pater est, urbique maritus:
 Justitiæ cultor, rigidi servator honesti;
 In commune bonus: nullosque Catonis in actus
 Subrepsit, partemque tulit sibi nata voluptas. * (a) PERSIUS.

PERSIUS, who was also instructed by Cornutus, was a zealous advocate for the Stoical doctrine of morals. Of this his third satire affords a striking example; where, in the person of a Stoic philosopher, he reproves the Roman youth for idleness and effeminacy, and recommends to them the study of philosophy as the best guide to virtue and happiness.

Discitei, o miseri et causas cognoscite rerum
 Quid sumus, et quidnam victuri gignimur, ordo
 Quis datus, aut metæ quam mollis flexus, et unde,
 Quis modus argento, quid fas optare, quid asper
 Utile nummus habet, patriæ carisque propinquis
 Quantum elargire deceat; quem te Deus esse
 Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re. † (b)

The tragic poet SENECA every where discovers what sect of philosophers he espoused: in his dramatic writings Stoic philosophy treads the stage in buskins.

What has been said concerning the philosophical character of the Roman

* L. ii. v. 380, &c.

(a) These were the stricter manners of the man,
 And this the stubborn course in which they ran:
 The golden mean unchanging to pursue,
 Constant to keep the purposed end in view;
 Religiously to follow nature's laws,
 And die with pleasure in his country's cause,
 To think he was not for himself design'd,
 But born to be of use to all mankind.
 To him 'twas feasting, hunger to repress,
 And home-spun garments were his costly dress:
 No marble pillars rear'd his roof on high,
 'Twas warm, and kept him from the winter sky:
 He sought no end of marriage but increase,
 Nor wish'd a pleasure, but his country's peace:
 That occupied the tenderest cares of life,
 His country was his children and his wife.
 From justice' righteous lore he never swerved,
 But rigidly his honesty preserved.
 On universal good his thoughts were bent,
 Nor knew what gain, or self-affection meant;
 And while his benefits the public share,
 Cato was always last in Cato's care.

ROWE.

† Sat. iii. v. 66, &c.

(b) Attend then, wretched youth, in time attend,
 To ev'ry natural cause, and moral end.
 Look into man with philosophic eye;
 Consider what we are, consider why:
 The race of life contemplate; how to start,
 And how to turn the goal with nicest art.
 Learn, to what limits wealth should be confined,
 Learn to what uses 't was by heaven assigned.
 Reflect, what pray'rs with reason we may frame;
 What debts our friends, our parents, country, claim.
 Know, we are posted here by power divine;
 And think, what post that power has destined thine. BREWSTER.

poets may also be asserted of the historians. The writings of LIVY, SALUST, TACITUS, and others, are not without proofs that they had profited by the study of philosophy.* STRABO, in his excellent geographical work, casts much light upon the subject of philosophy, and discovers himself to have been well read in the history and tenets of the Grecian sects. He classes himself among the Stoics, and follows their dogmas.†

We might add to the list of those Romans who studied philosophy, and were patrons of philosophers, the names of many persons of rank; such as MÆCENAS, whose liberal attention to learned men of all descriptions has immortalised his name;—CANIUS JULUS,‡ who met the death inflicted upon him by Caligula with Stoic firmness, expressing his satisfaction that he was so soon to make the experiment which would determine whether the soul was immortal;—THRASÆAS PÆTUS, a Roman senator, who in his life emulated the virtues of Cato, and in whose death Nero, says Tacitus, hoped to cut off Virtue herself; § — together with many others, not inferior in merit, who flourished at this period. But we must hasten to consider more distinctly the state of the several sects of philosophers under the Emperors. ||

SECTION II.—OF THE PHILOSOPHERS WHO REVIVED THE PYTHAGORIC SECT.

AFTER the society of the Pythagoreans in *Magna Græcia* was broken up, the sect was never revived as a distinct body, subject to the institutions of its founder. Even at Athens, where so many regular schools of philosophy flourished, this was never attempted. We are not therefore to expect that, in the time of the Roman Emperors, when, as Seneca complains, ¶ “no one attended to philosophy, or any liberal study, except to fill up the tedious intervals of public amusements, or to occupy the heavy hours of a rainy day,” the Pythagoric sect should appear with all the formalities of an established school. But we shall find, during this period, philosophers who embraced the doctrines of Pythagoras as far as they were then known, or who attempted to introduce a mode of living in some degree similar to that of the ancient Pythagoreans. There were also many who boasted that they possessed the true Pythagorean wisdom, but who in fact perverted and corrupted it, by blending with it the doctrines of Plato and other philosophers. These latter, who were distinguished by the name of Eclectics, will be treated of in a distinct section. Of the former, the philosophers, whose celebrity entitles them to particular notice, are Anaxilaus, Sextus, Sotion, Moderatus, Apollonius Tyanæus, Secundus, and Nicomachus.

ANAXILAUS of Larissa, who lived in the time of Augustus, professed himself a follower of Pythagoras,** but chiefly that he might obtain the greater credit to the pretensions which he made to an intimate acquaintance with the mysteries of nature. Pliny†† relates several curious arts, by which he raised the wonder and terror of the ignorant multitude, among which was that of giving a livid and ghastly hue to the countenance by

* Senec. Ep. 100. Lips. Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. l. i. Diss. 17.

† Vid. Geogr. l. i. ii. xiv. xvi.

‡ Sen. de Tranq. c. 14.

§ Tac. An. l. xv. c. 20. l. xvi. c. 21. Plin. l. viii. ep. 22.

|| Vidend. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 815. Bib. Lat. l. i. c. 4. t. ii. p. 381. 364. Gaudentius. c. 124. Cudworth, c. v. sect. 4. 29. c. iv. sect. 14. 20. Stoll. Hist. Mor. Gent. sect. 195. 208.

¶ Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32.

** Euseb. Chron.

†† N. Hist. l. xix. c. l. l. xxviii. c. 11. l. xxxv. c. 15. Iræn. l. i. c. 7. Epiphau. Hær. 34.

means of sulphureous flame. It is probable that he practised his deceptions under the notion of supernatural operations; for he was banished from Italy, by the order of Augustus, for the crime of magic.*

QUINTUS SEXTUS, as long as the republic existed was a zealous supporter of the liberties of Rome; but when he saw the tyranny and cruelty of the triumvirate, he despaired of being longer able to serve his country, and determined to devote the remainder of his days to philosophy. Naturally of a gloomy temper, which was increased by the calamities of the times, Sextus made an attempt to subject his countrymen to a rigorous kind of discipline, hitherto unknown among them. The particulars of this attempt, which proved abortive, are not preserved; but it is more probable that he endeavoured to revive the rigours of the Pythagoric school, than that, contrary to the universal practice of the Romans, he undertook, as Seneca has been understood to assert, the institution of a sect entirely new.† On account of the noble spirit of intrepid virtue which his writings expressed, Seneca ranked him among the Stoics: but this seems rather designed as a rhetorical encomium upon his character, than as an accurate relation of his philosophical principles. From the circumstance of his making choice of Sotion, a Pythagorean, for his preceptor; from his abstaining from animal food, and following the Pythagorean rule of reviewing his actions at the close of every day; but especially from the nature of the institution which he planned, it appears highly probable that Sextus was a follower of Pythagoras.‡ But whatever may be thought of his sect, the manner in which Seneca speaks of his writings leaves little room to doubt that he was an excellent practical moralist. “You will find,” says he, § “in his writings, a degree of vigour and spirit seldom to be met with in any other philosopher. Other moralists prescribe, argue, cavil; but they inspire the reader with no ardour, because they themselves possess none. But when you read Sextus, you say, he is alive, animated, bold, and even rises above humanity. He sends me away full of hardy confidence. Whatever be my disposition when I take up his writings, I confess to you I never lay them down without being ready to invite calamity, and to exclaim, Let Fortune do her worst, I am prepared: give me some great occasion for the exercise of my patience, and the display of my virtue. Sextus hath this excellence, that he shows you the value of a happy life, and forbids you to despair of attaining it. You see the prize placed on high, but not inaccessible to him who ardently pursues it: Virtue presents herself in person before you, at once to excite your admiration, and inspire you with hope.” Writings, upon which such an encomium could with any degree of propriety be passed, must have been a valuable treasure. But we have to regret that we cannot form a judgment of their merit; for it is very uncertain whether the piece, published under the title of *Sententiæ Sexti Pythagorei*, “Sentences of Sextus the Pythagorean,” be the genuine work of this moralist.||

Under the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius flourished SOTION ALEXANDRINUS,¶ the preceptor of Seneca, who says of him, that he inspired him with a great respect for the institutions of Pythagoras, and especially for the custom of abstaining from animal food. Hence it seems not un-

* Euseb. l. c.

† Sen. ep. 98. 59. Plin. l. xviii. c. 28. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32. Plutarch, de Sent. Virt. Prof. t. i. p. 186.

‡ Euseb. Chron. n. 2010. Lips. ad Sen. ep. 59. Schæffer de Phil. Ital. c. ult. Gale, Pref. ad Sententias Sexti, apud Opusc. myth.

§ Sen. ep. 6. Vid. ep. 73. 108. De Ira, l. iii. c. 36.

|| Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 732. Galei. Opuscula, p. 645. ed. Amst. Sextii Enchir. a Sibenro. Lips. 1725. 4to. ¶ Euseb. Chron.

reasonable to class Sotion among the Pythagoreans, although his moral doctrine, as represented by Seneca,* is tinctured with Stoicism. This may be the more easily admitted, as Zeno himself had raised a great part of his system upon Pythagoric principles. Passages said to have been written by Sotion are preserved in Stobæus,† and in Antoninus and Maximus,‡ but their authenticity is doubtful.

MODERATUS, who lived in the time of Nero, must also be ranked among the followers of Pythagoras.§ He deserves mention, chiefly because he collected, from various ancient records, the remains of the Pythagoric doctrine, and illustrated it in several distinct treatises, particularly in eleven books "On the Tenets of the Pythagorean Sect." His works were much read and admired by Origen, Jamblicus, Porphyry, and others of the Alexandrian school.

APOLLONIUS TYANEUS was another follower of the Pythagoric doctrine and discipline. The principal circumstances of his life, as far as credit can be given to his fabulous biographer, Philostratus, are as follows: ||

Apollonius, of an ancient and wealthy family in Tyana, a city of Cappadocia, was born about the commencement of the Christian era. At fourteen years of age his father took him to Tarsus, to be instructed by Euthydemus, a rhetorician; but he soon became dissatisfied with the luxury and indolence of the citizens, and obtained permission from his father to remove, with his preceptor, to Ægas, a neighbouring town, where was a temple of Esculapius. Here he conversed with Platonists, Stoics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans, and became acquainted with their doctrines. But finding the Pythagorean tenets and discipline more consonant to his own views and temper, than those of any other sect, he made choice of Euxenus for his preceptor in philosophy; a man who indeed lodged his master's precepts in his memory, but paid little regard to them in practice. Apollonius, however, was not to be diverted from the strictness of the Pythagorean discipline even by the example of his preceptor. He refrained from animal food, and lived entirely upon fruits and herbs. He wore no article of clothing made of the skins of animals. He went bare-footed, and suffered his hair to grow to its full length. He spent his time chiefly in the temple of Esculapius among the priests, by whom he was greatly admired.

After having acquired reputation at Ægas, Apollonius determined to qualify himself for the office of a preceptor in philosophy by passing through the Pythagorean discipline of silence. Accordingly, he remained five years without once exercising the faculty of speech. During this time he chiefly resided in Pamphylia and Cilicia. When his term of silence expired, he visited Antioch, Ephesus, and other cities, declining the society of the rude and illiterate, and conversing chiefly with the priests. At sunrise he performed certain religious rites, which he disclosed only to those who had passed through the discipline of silence. He spent the morning in instructing his disciples, whom he encouraged to ask whatever questions they pleased. At noon he held a public assembly for popular discourse. His style was neither turgid nor abstruse, but truly Attic. Avoiding all prolixity, and every ironical mode of speech, he issued forth his dogmas with oracular authority, saying, on every occasion, This I know, or, Such is my judgment; herein imitating the manner of Pythagoras. Being asked why, instead of dogmatically asserting his tenets, he did not still

* Ep. 108. Lips. in Ep. 49. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 412.

† Serm. 98.

‡ Serm. 99.

§ Plut. Symp. l. viii. qu. 7. Porph. Vit. Pyth. n. 48.

|| Vid. Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. passim. Prideaux's Life of Apollonius.

continue to inquire; his answer was: "I have sought for truth, when I was young; it becomes me now no longer to seek, but to teach what I have found." Apollonius, that he might still more perfectly resemble Pythagoras, determined to travel through distant nations. He proposed his design to his disciples, who were seven in number, but they refused to accompany him. He therefore entered upon his expedition, attended only by two servants. At Ninus he took as his associate Damis, an inhabitant of that city, to whom he boasted that he was skilled in all languages, though he had never learned them, and that he even understood the language of beasts and birds. The ignorant Assyrian worshipped him as a god; and, resigning himself implicitly to his direction, accompanied him wherever he went.

At Babylon, Apollonius conversed with the Magi, receiving from them much instruction, and communicating to them many things in return; but to these conferences Damis was not admitted. In his visit to India, he was admitted to an interview with the king, Phraortes, and was introduced by him to Iarchus, the eldest of the Indian gymnosophists. Returning to Babylon, he passed from that city into Ionia, where he visited Ephesus, and several other places, teaching the doctrine, and recommending the discipline, of Pythagoras. On his way to Greece he conversed with the priests of Orpheus at his temple in Lesbos. Arriving at Athens at the time when the sacred mysteries were performing, Apollonius offered himself for initiation; but the priest refused him, saying, that it was not lawful to initiate an enchanter. He discoursed with the Athenians concerning sacrifices, and exhorted them to adopt a more frugal manner of living.

After passing through some other Grecian cities, and the island of Crete, Apollonius went into Italy, with the design of visiting Rome. Just before this time Nero, probably either because he had been deceived by the pretensions of the magicians, or was apprehensive of some danger from their arts, gave orders that all those who practised magic should be banished from the city.* The friends of Apollonius apprised him of the hazard which was likely, at this juncture, to attend the purposed visit to Rome; and the alarm was so great, that, out of thirty-four persons who were his stated companions, only eight chose to accompany him thither. He nevertheless persevered in his resolution, and under the protection of the sacred habit obtained admission into the city. The next day he was conducted to the Consul Telesinus, who was inclined to favour philosophers of every class, and obtained from him permission to visit the temples, and converse with the priests.

From Rome Apollonius travelled westward to Spain. Here he made an unsuccessful attempt to incite the procurator of the province of Bætica to a conspiracy against Nero. After the death of that tyrant he returned to Italy, on his way to Greece; whence he proceeded to Egypt, where Vespasian was making use of every expedient to establish his power. That prince easily perceived that nothing would give him greater credit with the Egyptian populace than to have his cause espoused by one who was esteemed a favoured minister of the gods, and therefore did not fail to show him every kind of attention and respect. The philosopher, in return, adapted his measures to the views of the new emperor, and used all his influence among the people in support of Vespasian's authority.†

* The credit of this fact rests wholly upon the authority of Philostratus.

† Conf. Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 82.

Upon the accession of Domitian, Apollonius was no sooner informed of the tyrannical proceedings of that emperor, and particularly of his proscription of philosophers,* than he assisted in raising a sedition against him, and in favour of Nerva, among the Egyptians; so that Domitian thought it necessary to issue an order that he should be seized, and brought to Rome. Apollonius, being informed of the order, set out immediately, of his own accord, for that city. Upon his arrival he was brought to trial; but his judge,† the pretor Ælian, who had formerly known him in Egypt, was desirous to favour him, and so conducted the process that it terminated in his acquittal.

Apollonius now passed over into Greece, and visited the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, the cave of Trophonius in Arcadia, and other celebrated seats of religion. Wherever he went he gained new followers. At length he settled at Ephesus, and there formed a school in some degree similar to the ancient Pythagorean college; but with this material difference, that in the school of Apollonius the door of wisdom was open to all, and every one was permitted to speak and inquire freely.

Concerning the fate of Apollonius, after he settled at Ephesus, nothing certain is related. The time, the place, and the manner of his death are unknown. It is probable that he lived to an extreme old age, and died in the reign of Nerva. Damis, who attached himself to this philosopher at Babylon, accompanied him in his subsequent travels, and after his death became his memorialist. Philostratus has loaded his account of the life of this extraordinary man with so many marvellous tales, that it is exceedingly difficult to determine what degree of credit is due to his narrative. He relates, for example, that while the mother of Apollonius was pregnant, the Egyptian divinity Proteus appeared to her, and told her that the child she should bring forth was a god; that his birth was attended with a celestial light; that in the Esculapean temple at Ægas he predicted future events; that at the tomb of Achilles he had a conference with the ghost of that hero; and that, whilst he was publicly discoursing at Ephesus, he suddenly paused, as if struck with a panic, and then cried out, Slay the tyrant, at the very instant when Domitian was cut off at Rome.† If to these tales we add the accounts which Philostratus gives of the efficacy of the mere presence of Apollonius, without the utterance of a single word, in quelling popular tumults; of the chains of Prometheus, which Apollonius saw upon Mount Caucasus; of speaking trees, of pigmies, phœnixes, satyrs, and dragons, which he met with in his eastern tour; and of other things equally wonderful; it will be impossible to hesitate in ascribing the marvellous parts, at least, of Philostratus's narrative to his ingenuity, or his credulity.

Different opinions have been entertained concerning the character of Apollonius. Some have supposed the whole series of extraordinary events related concerning him to have been the mere invention of Philostratus and others, for the purpose of obstructing the progress of Christianity, and providing a temporary prop for the falling edifice of paganism. Others, remarking that Apollonius had acquired a high degree of celebrity long before the time of his biographer, refer the origin of these tales to the philosopher himself; but with respect to the manner in which this is to be done they are not agreed. Some apprehend that he was intimately acquainted with nature, and deeply skilled in medicinal arts; and that he

* Sueton. in Domit. c. 10. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. Euseb. Chron. n. 2104. Plin. Paneg. c. 47.

† Conf. Suet. Domit. c. 23. Dio, 67.

applied his knowledge and skill to the purposes of imposture, that he might pass among a credulous multitude for something more than human : while others imagine that he accomplished his fraudulent designs by means of a real intercourse with evil spirits. The truth probably is, that Apollonius was one of those impostors who profess to practise magical arts, and perform other wonders, for the sake of acquiring fame, influence, and profit, among the vulgar. In this light, even according to his own biographer, he was regarded by his contemporaries, particularly by the priests of the Eleusinian and Trophonian mysteries, and by Euphrates, an Alexandrian philosopher. Lucian,* who lived in the time of Trajan and Apuleius,† who flourished under Antoninus Pius, rank him among the most celebrated magicians. Origen, who had seen a life of Apollonius, now lost, which was written by Maragenes, prior to that of Philostratus, writes thus:‡—"Concerning magic, we shall only say, that whoever is desirous of knowing whether philosophers are to be imposed upon by this art, let him read the memoirs of Apollonius, written by Maragenes, who, though a philosopher, and not a Christian, says, that philosophers of no mean repute were deceived by the magical arts of Apollonius, and visited him as a person capable of predicting future events." Eusebius, in his answer to Hierocles,§ who wrote a treatise, in which he drew a comparison between Jesus Christ and Apollonius Tyaneus, speaks of the latter as a man who was eminently skilled in every kind of human wisdom, but who affected powers beyond the reach of philosophy, and assumed the Pythagorean manner of living as a mask for his impostures. The narrative of his life, by Philostratus, though doubtless abounding with fictions, serves at least to confirm this opinion.||

How successfully Apollonius practised the arts of imposture sufficiently appears from the events which followed. That dominion over the minds of men, which he found means to establish during his life, remained and increased after his death, so that he long continued to be ranked among the divinities. The inhabitants of Tyana, proud of the honour of calling him their fellow-citizen, dedicated a temple to his name; and the same privileges were granted to them as had usually been conferred upon those cities where temples were raised, and sacred rites performed, in honour of the emperors. Aurelian, out of respect to his memory, showed the Tyaneans peculiar favour.¶ Adrian took great pains to collect his writings, and preserve them in his library:** Caracalla dedicated a temple to him, as to a divinity among men:†† and Alexander Severus, in his domestic temple, kept the image of Apollonius, with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Christ, and paid them divine honours. The common people, in the mean time, ranked Apollonius in the number of deified men, and made use of his name in incantations: and even among the philosophers of the Eclectic sect he was regarded as a being of a superior order, who partook of a middle nature between gods and men.‡‡

Of the writings ascribed to Apollonius, none remain, except his "Apology to Domitian," and his "Epistles." The former is, perhaps, in substance genuine, but is strongly marked with the sophistic manner of Philostratus. The latter abound with philosophical ideas and sentiments,

* Pseudomant. t. ii. p. 529. † Apolog. p. 248.

‡ Contra Celsum, l. vi. p. 311. ed. Hoesch.

§ C. 4, 5. p. 432. ed. Olear. Conf. Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. de Magia.

|| Conf. Olearum in Philost. ed. Lips. 1709. fol. ¶ Vopiscus in Aureliano, c. 24.

** Phil. l. viii. c. 20. †† Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 878. Lamprid. in Al. Sev. c. 29.

‡‡ Euseb. Præp. l. iv. c. 13. p. 150. Mosheim. Diss. de Apoll. ap. Observat. Hist. Crit.

and are written in a laconic style, which is a presumption in favour of their authenticity.*

The doctrine of these epistles is for the most part Pythagoric. Apollonius appears, however, not to have adhered to the genuine system of Pythagoras concerning the nature and origin of things, according to which God and matter are primary, independent principles; but to have adopted the notion of the Heraclitean school, that the primary essence of all things is one, endued with certain properties by which it assumes various forms; and that all the varieties of nature are modifications of this universal essence, which is the first cause of all things, or God. Hence Apollonius taught that all things arise in nature according to one necessary and immutable law, and that a wise man, being acquainted with the order of nature, can predict future events.† In this manner it was that Apollonius connected superstition with impiety, and made both subservient to imposture.

Concerning other philosophers of this period who followed the Pythagorean doctrine little remains to be related. The only names which require distinct notice are Secundus the Athenian, and Nicomachus. SECUNDUS‡ (whom Suidas, with his usual negligence, confounds with Plinius Secundus) is said in one respect to have carried the Pythagorean discipline further than it was ever carried by any other philosopher; preserving, from the time when he commenced Pythagorean, to the end of his life, perpetual silence. He is chiefly celebrated on account of his *Sententiæ*,§ or Answers to questions proposed to him by the Emperor Adrian, the authenticity of which, however, there is some reason to question. They are published in Gale's *Opuscula Mythologica*. NICOMACHUS,|| a native of Gerasa, in Cœlo-Syria, was the author of two mathematical works, *Introductio in Arithmetica*, "An Introduction to Arithmetic," and *Enchiridion Harmonicum*, "A Manual of Harmony," in which the principles of those sciences are explained upon Pythagoric principles. The exact time in which these philosophers flourished is uncertain; but there is no doubt that it was between the reigns of Augustus and Antoninus.

SECTION III.—OF THE STATE OF THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Academic sect, which, towards the close of the Roman republic, had so many illustrious patrons, under the emperors fell into general neglect; partly through the contempt with which it was treated by the Dogmatists, and partly through the reviving credit of the Sceptic sect, in which the peculiar tenets of the Middle Academy were embraced. At the same time, however, the true doctrine of Plato, which had formerly obtained such high esteem among philosophers, and which had lately been restored at

* Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 61.

† Epist. Apoll. Stob. Sermon. 39. 82. 90. 98. 117. 120. 133. 224. 278.

‡ Suid. in Sec.

§ Ed. Rom. 1638. Lugd. Bat. 1639. 12°. Fabr. B. Gr. v. xiii. p. 565.

|| Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. vi. c. 19. Phot. Cod. 187. Fab. l. c. Suid.

Vidend. Schæffer de Phil. Ital. c. ult. Gale, Præf. ad Sent. Sexti. Gaudentius de Phil. Rom. c. 66. 73. Siberus in Sext. Lips. 1725. Voss. de Sectis, c. 21. sect. 8. Jons. Scrip. Hist. l. iii. c. i. 5. Suidas. Bayle. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 14, 15. Pearson. Proleg. in Hierocl. Mosheim. Diss. de Existimatione Apoll. Prideaux's Life of Apollonius. Tillamont. Vit. Apol. Arpe de Talisman, p. 25. Naude Apologie, p. 238. Huet. Dem. Ev. p. ix. c. 147. sect. 4. Nichol's Conf. with Deist. p. iii. p. 203. Voss. de Math. p. 37. 94.

Athens by Antiochus, resumed its honours. Among the GENUINE FOLLOWERS OF PLATO we find, at this period, several illustrious names.

Under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius flourished THRASYLLUS,* a Mendasian. Though, according to Porphyry, he was an eminent Platonist, he so far conformed to the practice of the Pythagoreans, as to become an adept in the art of astrology. He long imposed upon the credulity of Tiberius, and enjoyed his confidence, but at last fell a sacrifice to his jealousy.†

Not long after the time of Thrasyllus lived THEON of Smyrna. Ptolemy the astronomer, who flourished under Antoninus Pius, refers to his astronomical observations. His mathematical treatises, which were written on purpose to elucidate the writings of Plato, sufficiently prove that he is to be classed in the Platonic school. At the same time, his discourses, which treat of geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy, and the harmony of the universe, may serve to cast some light upon the Pythagorean system.‡

ALCINOUS, whose age is uncertain, but is commonly placed about the beginning of the second century, wrote an Introduction to Plato, containing a summary of his doctrine, which shows him to have been well read in his philosophy. It is translated into Latin by Ficinus; and an English version of the work is given in "Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers."§

FAVORINUS, a native of Arles, lived in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian. The latter esteemed him highly for his learning and eloquence, and frequently disputed with him, after his usual manner, upon subjects of literature and philosophy. To many other learned men, who were inclined to do justice to their own talents, this unequal contest proved injurious, and to some even fatal: but Favorinus, who perceived that it was the emperor's foible not to endure a defeat in disputation, upon every occasion of this nature prudently ceded to the purple the triumph of conquest. One of his friends, reproaching him for having so tamely given up the point in a debate with the emperor, concerning the authority of a certain word, (for the emperor was a great philologist,) Favorinus replied, "Would you have me contest a point with the master of fifty legions?" Favorinus was instructed in the precepts of philosophy by that illustrious ornament of the Stoical school, Epictetus; but his writings, and manner of living, proved him unworthy of so excellent a master. None of his works are extant.||

Under the reign of Antoninus Pius flourished CALVISIUS TAURUS,¶ of Beryta, who is mentioned as a Platonist of some note. Among his pupils was Aulus Gellius, a man of various learning, who has preserved several specimens of his preceptor's method of philosophising. He examined all sects, but preferred the Platonic: in which he had at least the merit of avoiding the infection of that spirit of confusion, which at this period seized almost the whole body of the philosophers, especially those of the Platonic school. In a work, which he wrote concerning the differences in opinion among the Platonists, Aristotelians, and Stoics, he strenuously opposed the attempts of the Alexandrian philosophers and others, to combine the tenets of these sects into one system. He wrote several pieces, chiefly to illustrate the Platonic philosophy. He lived at Athens, and taught, not in the schools, but at his table. A. Gellius, who was frequently one of his guests,

* Schol. Juv. Sat. vi. v. 576. Porphyry. Vit. Plot. c. x. n. 9.

† Suet. in Tib. Tac. Annal. l. vi. c. 20.

‡ Suidas. Ptol. Math. Synt. l. ix. c. 9. l. x. c. 1. Theon. ed. Par. 1644.

§ Fabric. Bibl. v. iv. p. 40. Conf. v. ii. p. 42. Alcin. ed. Par. 1573. Oxon. 1667.

|| Spartian. in Hadrian. c. 15. Dio, l. 69. Philostr. Vit. Soph. l. i. c. 8. sect. 1. Suidas. Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 5.

¶ Suidas. Euseb. Chron. 148. Syncellus, p. 351.

and whose *Noctes Atticæ* "Attic Evenings" are, doubtless, much indebted to these philosophical entertainments, gives the following account of the manner in which they were conducted: * "Taurus, the philosopher, commonly invited a select number of his friends to a frugal supper, consisting of lentils, and a gourd, cut into small pieces upon an earthen dish; and during the repast philosophical conversation, upon various topics, was introduced. His constant disciples, whom he called his family, were expected to contribute their share towards the small expense which attended these simple repasts, in which interesting conversation supplied the place of luxurious provision. Every one came furnished with some new subject of inquiry, which he was allowed in his turn to propose, and which, during a limited time, was debated. The subjects of discussion, in these conversations, were not of the more serious and important kind, but such elegant questions as might afford an agreeable exercise of the faculties in the moments of convivial enjoyment; and these Taurus afterwards frequently illustrated more at large with sound erudition."

The same period produced LUCIUS APULEIUS,† of Medaura, a city in Africa, on the borders of Numidia and Getulia, subject to Rome. From some particulars which occur in his writings, it is probable that he lived under the Antonines. With considerable ability he united indefatigable industry, whence he became acquainted with almost the whole circle of sciences and literature. His own account of himself is, that he not only tasted of the cup of literature under grammarians and rhetoricians at Carthage, but at Athens drank freely of the sacred fountain of poesy, the clear stream of geometry, the sweet waters of music, the rough current of dialectics, and the nectarious but unfathomable deep of philosophy; and, in short, that, with more good will indeed than genius, he paid equal homage to every muse.‡ Upon his removal to Rome, he studied the Latin tongue with so much success, that he became an eminent pleader in the Roman courts. He expended a large patrimony in his travels, which he undertook chiefly for the sake of gaining information concerning the religious rites and customs of different countries.§ In order to repair his fortune, he married a rich widow of Oea in Africa.|| A rumour was upon this circulated that he had employed magical incantations to obtain her love. It was to refute this report that he wrote his *Apology*, a work replete with learning. Although it may be easily believed that this was a false accusation, Apuleius was commonly ranked among the professors of magic, and was probably no mean proficient in those arts of imposture, which he had learned from priests of different countries. This opinion is confirmed by his Milesian fable, or the *Metamorphosis* of Lucius into an Ass, commonly known under the title of "The Golden Ass." Apuleius chiefly owes his celebrity to this fanciful work, in which the story of Cupid and Psyche is a curious philosophical romance. In philosophy, his principal piece is *De Dogmate Platonis*, "A summary View of the Doctrine of Plato;" which may be read with great advantage, together with the *Introductions* to the Platonic system, written by Alcinous and Albinus. Apuleius also wrote an interpretation of Aristotle's treatise *De Mundo*; "An *Apology* for Socrates;" and a work entitled *Florida*, which, though rather rhetorical than philosophical, serves in many particulars to illustrate the history of philosophy.¶

* Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 13. Conf. l. i. c. 26. l. ii. c. 2. l. vi. c. 13. l. xii. c. 5. l. xvii. c. 8. l. xviii. c. 2. † Apul. Apol. p. 203. ed. Pet. Scriv.

‡ Apul. Flor. c. 18. p. 366. Apol. p. 190. 370. Metamorph. l. i. c. 5.

§ Apol. p. 203. Met. l. iii. p. 47. l. xi. p. 177. 183. || Apol. Met. l. ii. p. 18.

¶ Apol. p. 204, 205. 216. Florid. p. 362. Fabric. Bibl. Lat. t. i. p. 516. 518.

Another Platonist, who flourished under M. Aurelius Antoninus, was ATTICUS; chiefly memorable for the laudable pains he took to ascertain the exact points of difference between the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle. Several fragments of his works are preserved by Eusebius, in which he argues against Aristotle concerning the ultimate end of man, providence, the origin of things, the immortality of the soul, and other topics. Plotinus, in the Eclectic school, held the writings of Atticus in high estimation, and recommended them as exceedingly useful in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the Platonic system. Atticus pronounced it impossible for those who had imbibed the Peripatetic notions to elevate their minds to a capacity of understanding and relishing the sublime conceptions of Plato.*

NUMENIUS, of Apamea in Syria, was a writer of the same class with Atticus. Eusebius ranks him among the Platonists; and Origen and Plotinus mention him with respect: but none of his works are extant, except some fragments preserved by Eusebius.†

MAXIMUS TYRIUS, though chiefly distinguished by his eloquence, has obtained some degree of celebrity as a philosopher. According to Suidas he lived under Commodus; according to Eusebius and Syncellus, under Antoninus Pius. The accounts of these chronologers may be reconciled, by supposing that Maximus flourished under Antoninus, and reached the time of Commodus. Although he was frequently at Rome, he probably spent the greater part of his time in Greece. Several writers suppose him to have been the preceptor, of whom the emperor Marcus Antoninus speaks under the name of Maximus; but it is more probable that this was some other philosopher of the Stoical sect. That Maximus Tyrius possessed the most captivating powers of eloquence, sufficiently appears from his elegant Dissertations: they are for the most part written upon Platonic principles, but sometimes lean towards scepticism.‡

To these ornaments of the Platonic school in Rome must be added two other celebrated writers, who, though they studied philosophy, are commonly ranked among the Platonists, Plutarch and Galen.

That PLUTARCH§ ought to be admitted among the philosophers of his time, no one will doubt who is conversant with his writings. He was a native of Chæronea in Bœotia,|| but was far from partaking of the proverbial dulness of his country. The time of his birth is not exactly known; it is certain, however, that he flourished from the time of Nero to that of Adrian.¶ His preceptor was Ammonius, a learned philosopher, sometimes confounded with Ammonius Sacca, the father of the Eclectic sect, who lived a century later.**

As soon as Plutarch had completed his juvenile studies he was engaged in civil affairs. He was first appointed, by a public decree, legate to the proconsul, and afterwards undertook the office of archon or pretor. The emperor Trajan, a friend to learned men, patronised him, and conferred

* Syncell. p. 353. Euseb. Chron. sub. Aurel. A. 179. Præp. l. xv. c. 4, &c. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 54.

† Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 17. Euseb. Præp. l. xi. c. 9. l. xiii. c. 5. l. xiv. c. 5. Orig. contr. Cels. l. iv. p. 204. l. v. p. 276. Conf. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 342. Theodoret. Therap. l. ii.

‡ Max. Tyr. Diss. xi. Suidas. Euseb. Chron. M. Ant. de Seipso. l. i. sect. 15. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 33. Stollii Hist. Ph. Mor. sect. 254. p. 572. edit. Heins. Lugd. Bat. 1614, 8vo. Davis, Cantab. 1703.

§ Suid. Vit. ap. Oper. ed. Rualdi, Par. 1624. D. Celer. Par. 1617.

|| De Curios. t. ii. p. 237.

¶ Photius, Cod. 145. p. 642. Plut. de Delph. Inscr. t. i. p. 555. Apophthegm. Traj. t. i. p. 322. Syncellus, p. 349.

** Junius ad Eunap. Voss. de Sect. c. 21. sect. 6.

upon him the consular dignity. Under Adrian he was appointed procurator of Greece.*

Civil occupations did not, however, prevent Plutarch from devoting a great part of his time to literary and philosophical studies. He both taught philosophy, and was a voluminous writer. A catalogue of his works, drawn up by his son Lamprius,† is still extant, from which it appears that more of his pieces have been lost than have been preserved. Those of his writings which remain are a valuable treasure of ancient learning, serving to illustrate not only the Grecian and Roman affairs, but the history of philosophy. They abound with proofs of indefatigable industry and profound erudition; and, notwithstanding the harshness of the writer's style, they will always be read with pleasure, on account of the great variety of valuable and amusing information which they contain. But it is in this view chiefly that Plutarch is to be admired. In extent and variety of learning he had few equals; but he does not appear to have excelled as much in depth and solidity of judgment. Where he expresses his own conceptions and opinions, he often supports them by feeble and slender arguments; where he reports and attempts to elucidate the opinions of others, he frequently falls into mistakes, or is chargeable with misrepresentation. In proof of this assertion, we may particularly mention what he had advanced concerning Plato's notion of the soul of the world, and concerning the Epicurean philosophy. To this we must add, that Plutarch is often inaccurate in method, and sometimes betrays a degree of credulity unworthy of a philosopher. On moral topics he is most successful. His didactic pieces not only abound with amusing anecdotes, but are enriched with many just and useful observations.

Plutarch appears to have derived his philosophical tenets from various sources. Aristotle was his chief guide in ethics: his doctrine of the soul he borrowed from the Egyptians, or more probably the Pythagoreans: in metaphysics, he principally followed Plato and the Old Academy. We sometimes find him asserting with the Dogmatists, and sometimes doubting with the Pyrrhonists; but he always wages open war with the Epicureans and the Stoics. The truth seems to be, that Plutarch had not digested for himself any accurate system of opinions, and was rather a memorialist and interpreter of philosophers, than himself an eminent philosopher. He died about the fourth or fifth year of the reign of Adrian; that is, about the year 119 or 120.‡

GALEN, § whom, with Plutarch, we have ranked among the Platonic philosophers, was born in the year one hundred and thirty-one at Pergamus in Asia. In his childhood he was well instructed by his father, and other preceptors, in useful and ornamental learning. He studied philosophy, first under Caius a Platonist, and afterwards under Albinus; whilst, at the same time, he prosecuted the study of medicine under various masters. After travelling to Corinth, Alexandria, and other places, for improvement in medical and philosophical knowledge, he began to practise surgery about the twenty-eighth year of his age. The countenance which was at this time given to learned men by Marcus Antoninus induced Galen to take up his residence at Rome. Here he obtained great reputation in his profession, and enjoyed the favour of the emperor, and the friendship of many illustrious Romans. He remained at Rome, excepting

* *Præcept. de ger. Rep. t. ii. 457. Sympos. l. vi. 2. 8. t. iii. p. 239. Suidas.*

† *Vit. Demosth. t. iii. p. 21. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iii. p. 333. Plut. Op. Ed. Franc. 1620. Par. 1524.*

‡ *Num. Seni ger. Rep. t. ii. p. 448.*

§ *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. ult. Suidas. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 509.*

a few interruptions, till his death, which happened about the year two hundred. Galen wrote many books, not only upon medical but philosophical subjects. Among the latter are a treatise, "On the best Doctrine," against Favorinus; "A Dissertation on the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato;" "A Commentary on the Timæus of Plato," and several pieces "On Dialectics." This writer* has been frequently censured for impiety; but his Demonstration of Divine Wisdom, from the structure of the human body, in his treatise *De Usu Partium corporis humani*, "On the Uses of the Parts of the Human Body," is a sufficient refutation of this calumny.*

SECTION IV.—OF THE ECLECTIC SECT.

UPON the foundation of the Platonic philosophy, with an abundance of heterogeneous materials, collected from every other sect, was erected an irregular, cumbrous, and useless edifice, called the ECLECTIC SCHOOL. The founders of this sect formed the flattering design of selecting, from the doctrines of all former philosophers, such opinions as seemed to approach nearest the truth, and combining them into one system. But in executing this plan, they did nothing better than pile up a shapeless and incoherent mass, *rudis indigestaque moles*, not unlike that chaos, which they admitted as an essential article in their doctrine of nature. In some particulars, indeed, they attempted to adorn and enrich the system with fancies of their own; but with what little success will sufficiently appear in the sequel.

The Eclectic sect took its rise at Alexandria in Egypt; a country which, in more remote periods, had admitted foreign dogmas and superstitions, particularly after the invasion of the Persians. Egypt having in consequence of the conquests of Alexander become a part of the Grecian empire, the Egyptian priests accommodated themselves, not only to the laws and manners, but even to the speculative tenets of their conquerors. That they might not appear inferior to the Greeks in learning, they affected to admire and adopt their philosophy. The Pythagoric and Platonic systems, especially, gained an easy admission into the Egyptian schools, on account of the respect which they paid to religion, and the opportunites which they afforded of reconciling vulgar superstitions and vernacular traditions with systematic science.

The confusion of opinions, which arose from this cause, was doubtless increased by the promiscuous concourse of strangers, who, at this period flocked from all quarters to Alexandria, bringing with them, from their respective countries, their different tenets in philosophy and religion. And the evil was aggravated by the return of a body of Alexandrian philosophers, who, under the troublesome and oppressive reign of Ptolemy Physcon, had been dispersed through Asia.† and who had there learned a new species of Oriental philosophy, chiefly derived from the Persian

* Vit. ap. Op. Bas. 1562. Vit. ap. Arker. de Affectuum Cognitione, Rudolstadt, 1715. Cleric. Hist. Med. Labbei, Elog. Chron. in Gal. Par. 1660. Vidend. Jons. de Scrip. H. Ph. l. iii. c. 3. 7. 9, 10. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. iv. c. 10. 16. Meurs ad Nicom. p. 166. Schmid. Diss. de Hipparchone, Theon. Sect. ii. p. 14. Voss. de Sc. Math. c. 33. sect. 13. Gaudent. de Phil. Rom. c. 93. Petav. Rat. Temp. l. v. c. 9. Bayle. Blount, Cens. Auth. p. 143. 170. Warb. Div. Leg. Mos. t. ii. p. 117. Mosheim. Hist. Chr. ante Constant. Sec. iii. sect. 21.

† Athen. l. iv. p. 184. Conf. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9.

Zoroaster, which they found it not difficult to incorporate with the doctrines of Plato and Pythagoras.

The present state of the several Grecian sects was in no small degree favourable to the coalescing plan of the Eclectic philosophy. The Dogmatists had now so long engaged in undecided contests, as sufficiently to betray their weakness to their common adversaries, the Academics and Sceptics. Scepticism, on the other side, was seen to contradict the common sense and experience of mankind, and to threaten the world with universal uncertainty and confusion. In these circumstances, nothing could be more natural than the design of separating from each former system its purest and best supported tenets, and forming them into a new institute of philosophy, in which truth might be seen under a fairer and more perfect form than she had hitherto been able to assume.

The Christian religion, too, which had now found its way to Alexandria, became incidentally the occasion of encouraging and promoting this coalition of opinions: for when the Heathen philosophers perceived that this new establishment, supported by the splendour of its miracles, and the purity of its doctrines, was daily gaining credit even in the schools of Alexandria; and saw that, like the rising sun, it was likely soon to eclipse every inferior light; despairing of being able either to refute its claims by argument, or to stem its progress by authority, they determined to oppose it by every effort of ingenuity and artifice. In order to support the declining credit of their own schools, they incorporated Christian ideas and principles into their new system. Several fathers of the Christian church themselves, such as Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and the author of the work called the Shepherd of Hermas, by studying philosophy in the Alexandrian school, injudiciously favoured the views of their opponents, and from their sacred magazine contributed their share towards that confused mass of opinions, Egyptian, Oriental, Pythagoric, Platonic, and Christian, which, about the close of the second century, rose up into the ECLECTIC SYSTEM.

The Eclectic sect is not commonly known among ancient writers under any distinct name; for this obvious reason, that its most celebrated supporters chose rather to pass themselves upon the world as Platonists, than to assume a new title; but, that the sect really existed as such, no one, who attends to the facts by which its rise and progress are marked, can entertain a doubt.*

The first projector of this plan appears to have been POTAMO a Platonist. The practice of philosophising eclectically was indeed known long before his time. It had been formerly adopted, as we have seen, by several of the leaders of the Greek sects, particularly Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle; it had been not uncommon among the Alexandrian philosophers from the commencement of their schools; and it was followed, in the period of which we are now treating, by Plutarch, Pliny, Galen, and others. But Potamo appears to have been the first who attempted to institute a new sect upon this principle. Diogenes Laertius relates,† “that not long before he wrote his Lives of the Philosophers, an Eclectic sect, *ἐκλεκτικὴ τις αἵρεσις*, had been introduced by Potamo of Alexandria, who selected tenets from every former sect.” He then proceeds to quote a few particulars of his system from his Eclectic institutes, respecting the principles of reasoning, and certain general topics of philosophical inquiry; from which nothing further can be learned, than that Potamo endeavoured

* Vid. Olearii Diss. de Sect. Eclect. ap. Stanley's Lives of Phil. et Mosheim. Diss. Hist. Eccl. p. 85.

† Proœm. sub fin.

to reconcile the precepts of Plato with those of other masters. As nothing remains concerning this philosopher besides the brief account just referred to in Laertius, an obscure passage in Suidas,* and another, still more obscure, in Porphyry,† it is probable that his attempt to institute a school upon the Eclectic plan proved unsuccessful. The time when Potamo flourished is uncertain. Suidas places him under Augustus; but it is more probable, from the account of Laertius, that he began his undertaking about the close of the second century.

The complete constitution of the Eclectic sect must be referred to AMMONIUS, surnamed, from the kind of life which he followed, SACCA. If Plotinus attended both upon his lectures and those of Potamo, as Porphyry intimates, Ammonius flourished about the beginning of the third century. He was born of Christian parents, and was early instructed in the catechetical schools established at Alexandria. Here, under the Christian preceptors, Athenagoras, Pantæus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, by whom this school was successively conducted, and who themselves united Gentile philosophy with Christian doctrine, he acquired a strong propensity towards philosophical studies, and became exceedingly desirous of reconciling the different opinions which at that time subsisted among philosophers.‡

Porphyry relates,§ that Ammonius passed over to the legal establishment, that is, apostatised to the Pagan religion. Eusebius,|| and Jerom,¶ on the contrary, assert that Ammonius continued in the Christian faith to the end of his life. But it is probable that these Christian fathers refer to another Ammonius, who, in the third century, wrote a Harmony of the Gospels, or to some other person of this name; for they refer to the sacred books of Ammonius; whereas Ammonius^s Sacca, as his pupil Longinus attests, wrote nothing.** It is not easy to account for the particulars related of this philosopher, but upon the supposition of his having renounced the Christian faith. It seems improbable that a Christian would have accepted the chair in a Pagan school, or would have been followed by disciples who waged perpetual war against Christianity. That he was well acquainted with the Christian doctrine, and endeavoured to incorporate it into his system, will, however, be readily admitted.

According to Hierocles, Ammonius was induced to execute the plan of a distinct Eclectic school, by a desire of putting an end to those contentions which had so long distracted the philosophical world. "Animosities," says Hierocles,†† "having hitherto existed among the Platonists, Aristotelians, and other philosophers, which were at this time carried to such a height, that they did not scruple to corrupt the writings of their leaders, in order to furnish themselves with weapons of defence; Ammonius, a man divinely instructed, abandoning the controversies which had so long disgraced philosophy, and clearing away the superfluities of each system, demonstrated that, in certain great and necessary points, the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle were perfectly harmonious, and thus delivered to his disciples an institution of philosophy free from dispute." How far the system, which Ammonius and his followers framed, deserved the praise which Hierocles bestows upon it, will afterwards appear.

* Suidas in *Alpeois*, t. i. p. 656. et in Potam. t. iii. p. 161.

† Vit. Plot. c. ix. p. 108. Bibl. Gr. Fabr. vol. iv. p. 108. Olear. Diss. de Ph. Eclec. sect. 2.

‡ Suidas in Ammon. t. i. p. 143. in Plot. t. iii. p. 133. Bayle.

§ Apud Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. vi. c. 19.

|| L. c. p. 221.

¶ De S. E. c. lv. p. 132. Bib. Eccl. Fabr.

** Compare Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 160. 172. Balt. Defense de S. Peres, l. i. c. 3. Lardner's Credibility, Part ii. c. 36.

†† De Fato ap. Phot. Cod. 214. 151.

Ammonius had many eminent followers and hearers, both Pagan and Christian; who all, doubtless, promised themselves much illumination from a preceptor, who undertook to collect into a focus all the rays of ancient wisdom. He taught his select disciples certain sublime doctrines, and mystical practices, and was called, *θεοδιδάκτος*, the heaven-taught philosopher. These mysteries were communicated to them under a solemn injunction of secrecy. Porphyry relates,* that Plotinus, with the rest of the disciples of Ammonius, promised not to divulge certain dogmas which they learned in his school, but to lodge them safely in their purged minds. This circumstance accounts for the fact, already mentioned on the authority of Longinus, that he left nothing in writing. Ammonius probably died about the year two hundred and forty-three.†

Among those disciples of Ammonius, who were admitted to the knowledge of his mysteries were, Herennius, Origenes, Longinus, and Plotinus.

HERENNIUS and ORIGENES‡ are memorable for nothing except their infidelity to their master, in violating their promise by divulging the secrets of his school. This Origenes must not be confounded with Origen, the celebrated teacher of the Christian church in Alexandria; for the former was a Pagan, and seems to have written only two small treatises, which are now lost; whereas the latter rose to great distinction among the Christian fathers, and was the author of many valuable works.

DIONYSIUS LONGINUS,§ a native of Emesa in Syria, was instructed by Cornelius Fronto, a nephew of Plutarch, in rhetoric, and afterwards became his heir. Whilst he was young he visited several celebrated seats of the muses, particularly Athens, Alexandria and Rome, and attended upon the most eminent masters in language, eloquence, and philosophy. He was a great admirer of Plato,|| and honoured his memory with an annual festival.¶ He chiefly followed the Eclectic system of Ammonius. So extensive and profound was his erudition, that he was called the living library.** It is much to be regretted that none of the writings of this celebrated scholar are extant, except one piece, which will be an eternal monument of his genius and taste, “A Treatise on the Sublime.” Longinus was preceptor in the Greek language to Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, and, having been admitted to her counsels, shared her fortunes. That princess being conquered and taken prisoner by the emperor Aurelian, in the year two hundred and seventy-three, Longinus, her minister was, by the emperor’s command, put to death.†† Longinus had seen the Jewish scriptures; he quotes a passage from the writings of Moses, as an example of the Sublime; “And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.”‡‡

The school of Ammonius was continued, and the Eclectic system completed, by the most celebrated of his disciples, Plotinus, the chief of the Alexandrian Platonists, from whom the school afterwards took its name. For our knowledge of the history and opinions of this philosopher we depend almost entirely upon the authority of Porphyry, who must, indeed,

* L. c. c. 3.

† Jons. de Scr. Hist. Ph. l. iii. c. 3. p. 282.

‡ Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 120. Porph. l. c. c. 2.

§ Suidas. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. xx. c. xiv.

|| Euseb. Præp. l. x. c. 3.

¶ The common reading in Eusebius is *Πλωτίνεια*, but we think, with Fabricius, (a) that the passage should be read *Πλατῶνεια*, for it is not probable that Longinus, who was contemporary with Plotinus, and wrote against him, should observe a festival in honour of his memory. Longinus survived Plotinus only a few years.

** Eunapii Vit. Sophist. p. 14.

†† Vopiscus in Aurel. c. 30.

‡‡ Gen. i. 3.

(a) Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 436.

have been well acquainted with the particulars of his life, having enjoyed an intimate friendship with him for many years; but whose partiality for his sect, and propensity to fiction, will not suffer us to allow him implicit credit.* The probable truth with respect to this philosopher is as follows:

PLOTINUS was born at Lycopolis in Egypt, in the year two hundred and five. Concerning his parents, family, and early education, nothing is known. About the age of twenty years he began to apply to the study of philosophy. After attending lectures in the different schools with which Alexandria at this time abounded, he attached himself to Ammonius, and continued to prosecute his philosophical studies under this master eleven years; probably because he found in Ammonius a disposition towards superstition and fanaticism similar to his own. Upon the death of his preceptor, having in his school frequently heard the Oriental philosophy commended, and expecting to find in it that kind of doctrine concerning divine natures which he was most desirous of studying, he determined to travel into Persia and India to learn wisdom of the Magi and Gymnosophists. In this design he was probably encouraged by the success of Apollonius Tyaneus, whose magic arts, said to have been derived from these sources, had obtained him universal fame. It happened opportunely that the emperor Gordian was, at this time, undertaking an expedition against the Parthians. Plotinus seized the occasion, and, in the year two-hundred and forty-three, joined the emperor's army. The affairs of Gordian proving unfortunate, and the emperor himself being killed, the philosopher fled, not without hazard to Antioch; and afterwards came to Rome, where the purple was now possessed by Philip.

For some time Plotinus was prevented from laying open the stores of wisdom which he had collected, by the oath of secrecy which he had taken in the school of Ammonius: but, after his fellow-disciples, Herennius and Origines, had disclosed the mysteries of their master, he thought himself no longer bound by his promise, and became a public preceptor in philosophy, upon Eclectic principles. During a period of ten years, he confined himself entirely to oral discourse, always conversing freely with his disciples, who were very numerous, and encouraging them to start difficulties, and propose questions, upon every subject. At last he found it necessary, for his own convenience and that of his pupils, to commit the substance of his lectures to writing. Many volumes of metaphysics, dialectics, and ethics, thus produced with haste and inaccuracy in the midst of various engagements, were suffered to pass into the hands of his pupils without being transcribed. This may in part account for the great obscurity and confusion which are still found in these writings, after all the pains that Porphyry took to correct them. These books, which are fifty-four in number, are distributed under six classes, called *Enneads*. Proclus wrote commentaries upon them, and Dexippus defended them against the *Peripatetics*.†

Although the novelty of the plan of instruction which Plotinus followed brought him many hearers, through the obscurity and subtlety of his doctrine he had but few disciples. Nothing could exceed the assiduity with which he taught those who were willing to become his followers, or the ardour with which he himself applied to philosophical speculations. It was his frequent practice to prepare himself for his sublime contemplations by watching and fasting. In such high reputation was Plotinus for wisdom,

* Conf. Porph. Vit. Plotin. ap. Fab. Eunap. p. 1. Suidas in Porph. t. iii. p. 133.

† Fabricius, v. iv. p. 154.

that many private quarrels were referred to his arbitration, and parents, upon their death-beds, often sent for him to intrust him with the charge of their children. He resided twenty-six years at Rome, where he enjoyed the friendship of many persons of high rank, and particularly of the emperor Galienus. The use which Plotinus made of his interest with that prince was a memorable proof of the romantic turn of his mind. He requested the emperor to rebuild a city in Campania; which had been formerly rased, and to grant it, with the neighbouring territory, to a body of philosophers, who should be governed by the laws of Plato, and should call the city Platonopolis; at the same time promising, that he himself, with his friends, would lay the foundation of this philosophical colony. The emperor was himself inclined to listen to the proposal, but was dissuaded by his friends.

It was another proof of the fanatical spirit of Plotinus that, though well skilled in the medical art, he had such a contempt for the body, that he could never be prevailed upon to make use of any means to cure the diseases to which his constitution was subject, or to alleviate his pain. He had learned from Pythagoras and Plato that the soul is sent into the body for the punishment of its former sins, and must, in this prison, pass through a severe servitude before it can be sufficiently purified to return to the divine fountain from which it flowed. Such was his contempt of the corporeal vehicle in which his soul was inclosed, that he would never suffer the day of his birth to be celebrated, or any portrait to be taken of his person. Amelius, one of his pupils, however, desirous of obtaining a picture of his master, introduced a painter, named Casterius, into the school which any one was at liberty to visit, in hopes that, by attentively observing his features, he might be able to delineate the likeness from memory. This the painter accomplished with great success; and Amelius became possessed of a portrait of Plotinus without his knowledge.

By his rigorous abstinence, and determined neglect of his health, Plotinus at last brought himself into a state of disease and infirmity, which rendered the latter part of his life exceedingly painful. Forsaken by his friends excepting only Eustochius (for Porphyry was at that time in Sicily) he left Rome, and retired into Campania, to the estate of Zathus, one of his former disciples, now deceased. By the hospitality of the heirs of this old friend Plotinus was supported till his death. When he found his end approaching, he said to Eustochius, "The divine principle within me is now hastening to unite itself with that divine being which animates the universe:" herein expressing a leading principle of his philosophy, that the human soul is an emanation from the divine nature, and will return to the source whence it proceeded. Plotinus died in the year two hundred and seventy, aged sixty-six years.

Porphyry, in relating the life of Plotinus, represents him as having been possessed of miraculous powers, similar to those which he ascribes to Pythagoras, and doubtless with the same artful design: but the characters of fiction are so strongly marked upon the whole narrative, that, after what has been already said concerning the marvellous parts of the history of Pythagoras, and of Apollonius Tyaneus, it is wholly unnecessary to allow those of Plotinus further notice in the history of philosophy.

From the life and writings of this philosopher it clearly appears that he belonged to the class of fanatics. His natural temper, his education, his system, all inclined him to fanaticism. Suffering himself to be led astray by a volatile imagination from the plain path of good sense, he poured forth crude and confused conceptions, in obscure* and incoherent language.

* Vid. Eunap. p. 17.

Sometimes he soared, in ecstatic flights, into the regions of mysticism. Poryhyry relates* that he ascended through all the Platonic steps of divine contemplation to the actual vision of the Deity himself, and was admitted to such intercourse with him as no other philosopher ever enjoyed. They who are well acquainted with human nature will easily perceive in these flights unequivocal proofs of a feeble or disordered mind, and will not wonder that the system of Plotinus was mystical, and his writing obscure. The truth seems to be, that this philosopher made it the main scope and end of his life to dazzle his own mind, and the minds of others, with the meteors of enthusiasm, rather than to illuminate them with the clear and steady rays of truth. How much is it to be regretted that such a man should have become, in a great degree, the preceptor of the world, and should, by means of his disciples, have every where disseminated a species of false philosophy, which was compounded of superstition, enthusiasm, and imposture! The muddy waters, sent forth from this polluted spring were spread through the most celebrated seats of learning, and were even permitted, as we shall afterwards see, to mingle with the pure stream of Christian doctrine.

Not only at Rome, where Plotinus had taught, but first in Alexandria, afterwards in many of the principal cities of Asia Minor, and even at Athens, the ancient seat of wisdom, the system of Ammonius and Plotinus was embraced and propagated by men who, in learning and abilities, were greatly superior to its founders. We shall trace the progress of the Plotinian or Eclectic school through a long series of Pagan professors, reserving to a subsequent part of the work the consideration of its influence upon the opinions of Christian writers.

AMELIUS,† a Tuscan, who in his youth had been instructed in philosophy by Lysimachus, a Stoic, and who had, in the course of his studies, acquired a great fondness for the writings of Plato, in the year two hundred and forty-six became a pupil of Plotinus. His master found his talents and taste so similar to his own, that he soon admitted him to his friendship, and employed him in writing solutions of questions proposed to him by his disciples, and refutations of the objections and calumnies of his enemies. He had been eighteen years with Plotinus, when Porphyry entered the school, and probably assisted him in studying the doctrine of their master.‡ Before the death of Plotinus he retired to Apamea, where he survived his master a few years.

Among the most celebrated preceptors of the Plotinian school and the Alexandrian sect, is PORPHYRY, a learned and zealous supporter of Pagan theology, and an inveterate enemy to the Christian faith. Porphyry§ was, as we learn from himself, a Tyrian.|| He was born in the year two hun-

* L. c. c. 13. 15. 23.

† Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 7, &c. Suidas. Fab. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 405. Eunap. l. c.

‡ Suidas had probably no other ground for saying that Porphyry was a disciple of Amelius.

§ Eunap. Vit. Soph. p. 17. Suidas in Porph. t. iii. p. 158. Diss. de Vita Porph. Rom. 1630. 8vo. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 207. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. viii. 107.

|| Jerom (a) and Chrysostom (b) call Porphyry a Batanean: whence some have supposed (c) that he was born in the country of Basan, a part of Trachonites, in Palestine. It is more probable (d) that Batanea was a part of Syria bordering upon Tyre, in which a colony of Tyrians had settled: and if this was the place of Porphyry's birth, he might choose rather to call himself a Tyrian, than to derive his appellation from an obscure region.

(a) Pref. Epist. ad Galat.

(b) Hom. vi. in 1 Cor. p. 58.

(c) Cæs. Baron. ad A. C. 325. Le Moine ad var. Sac. t. ii. p. 607.

(d) Stephan. in Ethnicis. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. iv. p. 181.

dred and thirty-three.* His father very early introduced him to the study of literature and philosophy under the Christian preceptor Origen, probably whilst he was teaching at Cæsarea in Palestine.† His juvenile education was completed at Athens by Longinus, whose high reputation for learning and genius brought him pupils from many distant countries. Under this excellent instructor he gained an extensive acquaintance with antiquity, improved his taste in literature, and enlarged his knowledge of the Plotinian philosophy. It is, doubtless, in a great measure to be ascribed to Longinus that we find so many proofs of erudition, and so much elegance of style, in the writings of Porphyry.‡

From this time we have little information concerning this philosopher, till we find him, about the thirtieth year of his age, becoming at Rome a disciple of Plotinus, who had before this time acquired great fame as a teacher of philosophy.§ Porphyry was six years a diligent student of the Eclectic system; and became so entirely attached to his master, and so perfectly acquainted with his doctrine, that Plotinus esteemed him one of the greatest ornaments of his school, and frequently employed him in refuting the objections of his opponents, and in explaining to his younger pupils the more difficult parts of his writings: he even intrusted him with the charge of methodising and correcting his works.|| The fanatical spirit of the philosophy, to which Porphyry addicted himself concurred with his natural propensity towards melancholy to produce a resolution, which he formed about the thirty-sixth year of his age, of putting an end to his life; purposing hereby, according to the Platonic doctrine, to release his soul from her wretched prison, the body. From this mad design he was, however, dissuaded by his master, who advised him to divert his melancholy by taking a journey to Sicily, to visit his friend Probus, an accomplished and excellent man, who lived near Lilybæum. Porphyry followed the advice of Plotinus, and recovered the vigour and tranquillity of his mind.¶

After the death of Plotinus, Porphyry, still remaining in Sicily, appeared as an open and implacable adversary to the Christian religion.** Some have maintained that in his youth he had been a Christian; but of this there is no sufficient proof. It is not improbable that, whilst he was a boy, under the care of Origen, he gained some acquaintance with the Jewish and Christian scriptures. He wrote fifteen distinct treatises against Christianity, which the emperor Theodosius ordered to be destroyed: an injudicious act of zeal, which the real friends of Christianity, no less than its enemies, will always regret; for truth can never suffer by a fair and full discussion; and falsehood and calumny must always, in the issue, serve the cause they are designed to injure. The spirit of those writings of Porphyry which are lost may be in some measure apprehended from the fragments which are preserved by ecclesiastical historians. Many able advocates for Christianity appeared upon this occasion, the principal of whom were Methodius, Apollinaris, and Eusebius.†† So vehement and lasting was the indignation which was excited against the memory of Porphyry, that Constantine, in order to cast the severest possible censures upon the Arian sect, published an edict,‡‡ ranking them among the professed enemies of Christianity, and requiring that they should from that time be branded with the name of Porphyrians.

Porphyry, after remaining many years in Sicily, returned to Rome, and

* Ib. c. 4. † Euseb. Ecc. H. l. iii. c. 19.

‡ Vit. Plot. c. 21. § Vit. Plot. c. 4, 5. || C. vii. 13. 20.

¶ Vit. Plot. c. 11. Eunap. p. 14. ** Euseb. et Hier. Conf. Lactant. l. v. c. 2.

†† Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 197. et Syllab. Script. de Ver. Ch. Rel. c. 3.

‡‡ Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 9.

taught the doctrines of Plotinus; pretending to be, not only a philosopher endued with superior wisdom, but a divine person, favoured with supernatural communications from heaven. He himself relates,* that in the sixty-eighth year of his age he was in a sacred ecstasy, in which he saw the Supreme Intelligence, the God who is superior to all gods, without an image. This vision Augustine† supposes to have been an illusion of some evil spirit: we are rather inclined to believe it to have been the natural effect of a heated imagination; unless indeed it be added to the long list of fictions with which the writings of Porphyry abound. He died about the year three hundred and four. Of his numerous works, the only pieces which have escaped the depredation of time (except sundry fragments dispersed through various authors) are, his "Life of Pythagoras;" a book "On the Cave of the Nymphs in Homer;" "Homeric Questions;" "A Fragment on the Stygian Lake;" "An Epistle to Anebo, an Egyptian priest;" "A Treatise on the Five Predicables," commonly prefixed to the logical works of Aristotle; "Thoughts on Intelligibles;" "A Treatise on Abstinence from Animal Food;" and "The Life of Plotinus," which contains also memoirs of Porphyry himself.‡

Porphyry was, it must be owned, a writer of deep erudition; and had his judgment and integrity been equal to his learning, he would have deserved a distinguished place among the ancients. But neither the splendour of his diction, nor the variety of his reading, can atone for the credulity, or the dishonesty, which filled the narrative parts of his works with so many extravagant tales, or interest the judicious reader in the abstruse subtleties, and mystical flights of his philosophical writings.

The Alexandrian philosophy had, after Porphyry, many learned and able defenders. Among these, one of the most celebrated was his immediate successor, JAMBLICUS, § a native of Chalcis in Cælo-Syria. He flourished, as may be inferred from the age of his preceptor Porphyry, about the beginning of the fourth century. His first instructor was Anatolius, who presided in a Peripatetic school in Alexandria; but he soon left this school, and became a disciple of Porphyry. He became perfect master of all the mysteries of the Plotinian system, and taught it with such credit and success, that disciples crowded to his school from various quarters. Though he fell far short of Porphyry in eloquence, he won the affections of his followers by the freedom with which he conversed with them upon philosophy, and was, at the same time, careful to excite their admiration, and command their reverence, by high pretensions to theurgical powers. He astonished them with wonders, which he professed to perform by means of an intercourse with invisible beings. Hence he was called, The Most Divine and Wonderful Teacher.

The writings of Jamblicus discover extensive reading; but his style is so deficient in accuracy and elegance, that even his encomiast, Eunapius, acknowledges it more likely to disgust than to allure the reader. He borrows freely from other writers, particularly Porphyry, without the smallest acknowledgment. His philosophical works are exceedingly obscure, but are valuable as authentic documents respecting the Alexandrian school. "The Life of Pythagoras;" "An Exhortation to the Study of Philosophy;" "Three Books on Mathematical Learning;" "A Commentary upon Nicomachus's Institutes of Arithmetic;" and "A Treatise on the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians,"

* Vit. Plot. c. 23.

† De Civ. Dei, l. x. c. 10.

‡ Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 108.

§ Eunap. Vit. Soph. Fabr. ib. p. 282.

are all the writings of Jamblicus now extant. The time and place of his death are uncertain; but, from a passage of Eunapius, in which he says that his disciple Sopater went, after his master's death, to the court of Constantine, it appears probable that Jamblicus died before that emperor, that is, about the year three hundred and thirty-three. This Jamblicus must be distinguished from the person of the same name to whom the emperor Julian dedicates his epistles; for Julian was scarcely born at the time when Porphyry's successor died.

The school of Jamblicus produced many Eclectic philosophers, who were dispersed through various parts of the Roman empire. But the fate of one of their number, Sopater, who was put to death by order of the emperor, (probably for insidious practices against the peace of the state), and the discredit into which the Pagan theology was now, through the general spread of Christianity, almost universally fallen, induced those philosophers to propagate their tenets, and practise their mysteries, with caution and concealment.* In this state of depression the sect continued through the reigns of Constantine and Constantius. But under the emperor Julian, who apostatised from the Christian faith, the Alexandrian sect revived, and again flourished in great vigour. Many pretenders arose, who, under the cloak of philosophy, practised magical deceptions with great success, and industriously disseminated mysticism and enthusiasm. Their biographer is Eunapius, a writer of the same school, who relates, and seems to have credited, many marvellous stories.

The immediate successor of Jamblicus, was *ÆDESIVS*, † of Cappadocia. After the example of his master, he pretended to supernatural communications with the Deity, and practised theurgic arts. Among the wonderful events which are said to have happened to him, one of the most ludicrous is, that in answer to his prayers his future fate was revealed to him in hexameter verses, which suddenly appeared upon the palm of his left hand. Towards the close of his life he left his school in Cappadocia to the care of his disciple and friend *EUSTATHIUS*, and removed to Pergamus where he had a numerous train of followers. Of Eustathius, his wife *Sosipatra*, and his son *Antoninus*, several tales are related by Eunapius, which only serve to expose the fraud of these pretended philosophers, and the credulity of their biographer. ‡

EUSEBIUS, of Myndus in Caria, § though one of the disciples of *Ædesius*, appears, from a conference which he had with Julian, to have considered all pretensions to intercourse with demons, or inferior divinities, as illusions of the fancy, or tricks of imposture, and to have discouraged them, as unworthy of the purity and sublimity of true philosophy. His design seems to have been to restore the contemplation of Intelligibles, or Ideas, as the only real and immutable natures, according to the doctrine of Porphyry, and of Plato himself: but the fanatical doctrine of an intercourse between demons and men, and the arts of theurgy founded upon this doctrine, were now too generally established, and found too useful, to be dismissed. Eusebius of Myndus was therefore less acceptable to the emperor Julian than another disciple of *Ædesius*, *Maximus of Ephesus*.

MAXIMUS, according to Eunapius, was, through the recommendation of his master, appointed by Constantius preceptor to Julian: according to the Christian historians, he introduced himself to Julian, during his Asiatic expedition, at Nicomedia. By accommodating his predictions to the

* Sozomen. Hist. Ecc. l. i. c. 5

† Eunap. p. 34.

‡ Eunap. p. 50, &c. Conf. Ammian. Marc. l. xx—xxii.

§ Eunap. p. 86, &c.

wishes and hopes of the emperor, and by other parasitical arts, he gained entire possession of his confidence. The courtiers, as usual, followed the example of their master, and Maximus was daily loaded with new honours. He accompanied Julian in his expedition into Persia, and there, by the assistance of divination and flattery, persuaded him that he would rival Alexander in the glory of conquest. The event, however, proved as unfortunate to the philosopher as to the hero; for Julian being slain in battle, after the short reign of Jovian, Maximus fell under the displeasure of the emperors Valentinian and Valens, and, for the imaginary crime of magic, underwent a long course of confinement and suffering, which was not the less truly persecution because they were inflicted upon a Pagan. At last Maximus was sent into his native country, and there fell a sacrifice to the cruelty of the proconsul Festus.*

To the list of Eclectic philosophers, who enjoyed the patronage of the emperor Julian, must be added PRISCUS of Thesprotium, who also accompanied him into Persia; and CHRYSANTHIUS of Sardis, appointed by Julian high priest of Lydia, who was supposed to possess a power of conversing with the gods, and of predicting future events.†

The emperor JULIAN is generally acknowledged to have been not only a patron of philosophers, but himself a philosopher. Referring to the civil historians‡ for the particulars of his political conduct, we shall mention such incidents as more immediately respect his philosophical character.

Julian, in the early part of his life, was carefully instructed in literature and science by Christian preceptors.§ Whilst he was pursuing his studies at Nicomedia, his uncle Constantius strictly charged him not to attend upon the lectures of the celebrated Pagan Sophist, Libanius. This prohibition had no other effect than to awaken the young man's curiosity, and kindle an earnest desire of visiting the Pagan schools. Notwithstanding every precaution, he conversed freely with philosophers, and grew fond of the fanciful system taught by the Alexandrian Platonists. His natural disposition, which was tinctured with enthusiasm, favoured this attachment; and it was confirmed by the intimacy which, during his residence at Nicomedia, he formed with Maximus of Ephesus. Under his instructions, and those of Chrysanthius and others, he became a great proficient in the abstruse speculations, and in the theurgic arts of this school.|| With the permission of his uncle, he finished his studies at Athens; where he acquired great reputation in learning and philosophy, and was initiated in the Elusinian mysteries.¶

When Julian was called by Constantius to exchange the school of philosophy for the field of war, he made great use of the magic arts, which he had learned from Maximus, in executing his political purposes. Whilst he was at Vienna, he reported that, in the middle of the night, he had been visited by a celestial form, which had, in heroic verse, promised him the possession of the imperial dignity.**

As soon as Julian reached the summit of his wishes he employed his

* Amm. Marcell. l. xxix. c. 1. Socr. et Niceph. l. c. Theodoret. Hist. Ecc. l. ii. c. 27.

† Eunap. p. 114. &c. Suidas.

‡ Amm. Marcell. Victor. Zosimus. Libanus in Orat. &c.

§ Socr. l. iii. c. 1. 23. Sozomen. l. vi. 3. 2. Liban. sect. 5. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 228.

|| Eunap. p. 83. Amm. Marc. l. xxv. c. 6. l. xxi. c. 1. l. xxii. c. 12. l. xxiii. c. 2. 5. 11. Liban. ib. sect. 9, 10.

¶ Sozomen. l. v. c. 2. Soc. l. iii. c. 1. Liban. sect. 13. p. 233. 238.

** Liban. sect. 34. p. 260. Amm. Marc. l. xxi. c. 2.

power in restoring the heathen superstition.* He at this time, however, used no violent measures to compel the Christians to forsake their religion; rightly judging, that "false opinions can never be corrected by fire and sword."† His principal favourites were the Pagan philosophers of the school of *Ædesius*; but learned men of every class were encouraged in his court. When he afterwards shut up the Christian schools, it was in hopes of suppressing the Christian religion by involving its professors in ignorance and barbarism.‡

This prince not only encouraged letters by his patronage, but was himself a learned writer. It is easy to perceive, from a slight inspection of his works, that he strictly adhered to the Alexandrian or Eclectic school. He professes himself a warm admirer of Pythagoras and Plato, and recommends a union of their tenets with those of Aristotle.§ The later Platonists of his own period, he loads with encomiums, particularly Jamblicus, whom he calls *The Light of the World*, and *The Physician of the Mind*.|| Amidst the numerous traces of an enthusiastic and bigotted attachment to Pagan theology and philosophy, and of an inveterate enmity to Christianity,¶ which are to be found in his writings, the candid reader will discern many marks of genius and erudition.**

Concerning the manners of Julian, Libanius writes, that no philosopher, in the lowest state of poverty, was ever more temperate, or more ready to practise rigorous abstinence from food, as the means of preparing his mind for conversing with the gods.†† Like Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblicus, and others of this fanatical sect, he dealt in visions and ecstasies, and pretended to a supernatural intercourse with divinities. Suidas relates, probably from some writings of the credulous Eunapius now lost, an oracular prediction concerning his death.‡‡

His philosophical character attended him in his military exploits, and accompanied him to the last. After he had received his mortal wound, he held a conference with the philosophers Maximus and Priscus concerning the soul, in the midst of which he expired, in the thirty-second year of his age.

On the whole, although the emperor Julian must not be denied the place which has long been allowed him among philosophers, it must be owned that his philosophy was neither able to preserve him from superstition and enthusiasm, nor to raise his mind above the influence of the narrowest and most pernicious prejudices.

We must not in this place omit the biographer of the *Ædesian* school, EUNAPIUS, §§ a native of Sardis, and a pupil of Chrysanthius. He followed the profession of a Sophist, and at the same time practised medicine. He appears to have been initiated in all the mysteries of theurgy. His "*Lives*," a mass of extravagant tales, discover a feeble understanding, and an imagination prone to superstition. Eunapius wrote in the reign of the emperor Theodosius.

* Sozom. l. v. c. 3, 16. Am. M. l. xxv. c. 6 Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. adv. Jul.

† Lib. sect. 58. p. 256.

‡ Amm. M. l. xxii. c. 10. Jul. Epist. 42. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. vi. p. 77.

§ Orat. Jul. in Cynic. p. 188. Orat. v. in Mat. Deor. p. 162.

|| Ep. ad Jamblic. 24. 40. 60.

¶ The reader will find many proofs of Julian's aversion to Christianity, and his injurious treatment of Christians, adduced in Priestley's History of the Chr. Church. Per. ix. sect. 2, 3, 4.

** Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 78.

†† Lib. sect. 83. p. 309.

‡‡ Amm. Marc. l. xxv. c. 3, 4.

§§ Eunap. p. 77. 99. 162. 198. Phot. Cod. 77.

Towards the close of the fifth century flourished **HIEROCLES**, who was born, and taught, in Alexandria. He suffered severely for his adherence to the Pagan superstitions.* At Constantinople he was cruelly scourged; and, in the midst of his torture, receiving some of the blood into his own hand, he threw it upon the face of his judge, repeating the following verse from Homer:†

Κύκλωψ, τῇ, πῖε οἶνον, ἐπεὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα. (a)

Hierocles wrote a treatise "On Providence," in which he appears as an advocate for the Eclectic philosophy. He strenuously opposes those writers who had maintained that the opinions of Plato and Aristotle were inconsistent with each other; and attempts to reconcile their doctrines concerning Providence, the origin of the world, the immortality of the soul, and other subjects. The same method of philosophising is pursued in his book "On Fate," and in his "Commentary on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras." Little confidence is therefore to be placed in his representation of the opinions of ancient philosophers. This Hierocles is not to be confounded with Hierocles of Bithynia, who wrote a book against Christianity, which was answered by Eusebius.‡

Hitherto we have traced the rise and growth of the Eclectic philosophy in Alexandria, and in various parts of Asia. It remains, that we follow its progress in Europe, and particularly at Athens.

Although, after Greece became subject to Rome, its philosophers were dispersed, and its ancient seat of wisdom was for a time neglected, Athens, through the favour of several of the Roman emperors, especially Adrian, and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, recovered, in some measure, its former honours.§ Adrian founded a library, and Aurelius erected magnificent schools, and established professors in rhetoric, and in the principal sects of philosophy. These schools were liberally endowed, and, according to Lucian,|| a large sum was annually paid by the public to the Athenian preceptors. Through this imperial munificence Athens was again distinguished by a numerous train of philosophers and scholars.¶ The salaries, which had been probably discontinued under the Christian emperors, were renewed by Julian, who appointed Chrysanthius preceptor in Athens. The Athenian schools, during the incursions of the Goths, at the close of the fourth century, suffered great injury. They, however, survived that hazardous period, and continued to flourish till after the time of Justinian.**

It was not till the reign of Julian that the Alexandrian philosophy was publicly professed at Athens.†† After Chrysanthius, the next professor of this system was **PLUTARCH**, the son of **NESTORIUS**.‡‡ He was an eminent teacher of philosophy, and a famous master of the theurgic arts: he had a large body of disciples, who bore his name, and continued in his public capacity to an advanced age. He left the charge of his school to Syrian, an Alexandrian. This Plutarch died about the year four hundred and thirty-four.

SYRIAN prosecuted the Eclectic method of philosophising with great ingenuity and industry; not only combining the doctrines of Plato and Aris-

* Suidas Phot. Cod. 214. 251. p. 283. 749.

† *Odys.* l. ix. v. 347.

(a) Cyclops! since human flesh has been thy feast,
Now drain this goblet potent to digest.

POPE.

‡ Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 413. Needham, ed.

§ Pausan. in Attic. Xiphilin. in M. Ant.

|| Eunuch. t. iv. p. 160.

¶ Eunap. Proæres. p. 138. Chrysanth. p. 198. Philostrat. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 2, 3.

** Meurs. de Fort. Attic. c. 8. Synes. Ep. vi. Marin. Vit. Procli, c. xvi. p. 37.

†† Eunap. in Maxim.

‡‡ Suidas. Marin. Vit. Proc. c. 12. Phot. Cod. 242.

tote, but embellishing his complex system with the allegories of Orpheus, Homer, and other ancient poets. "In less than two years," says Marinus,* "Syrian read, with his pupil Proclus, all the works of Aristotle; after which he conducted him to the sacred school of Plato, that he might in his writings contemplate the true mysteries with a pure mind." He wrote "A Commentary on the Theology of Orpheus," and "A Treatise on the Agreement of Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato; but nothing remains of this philosopher, except his "Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics."† Among his pupils, his chief favourite was Proclus, who always retained a warm affection for the memory of his master, and at his death gave orders that he should be buried in the same grave with Syrian, and that the following epitaph should be inscribed upon their tomb:‡

Proclus ego heic Lycius jaceo, tuus, optime, alumnus,
 Successorque tuus qui, Syriane, fui:
 Condita communi tumulo hoc sunt corpora nostra,
 Sic et utramque animam cœlica templa tenent.(a)

PROCLUS, according to his biographer Marinus,§ was a native of Constantinople, and was born in the year four hundred and twelve. His parents having been inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia, he is commonly spoken of as a Lycian. He received the first rudiments of learning at Xanthus, and afterwards studied eloquence and polite literature under Isaurus at Alexandria, with a view to qualify himself for the profession of the law. This design, however, he soon relinquished, and wholly devoted himself to philosophy. From Olympiodorus he learned the Aristotelian system combined with the Platonic; and he was instructed in Mathematics by Hero. His facility of conception and strength of memory were such, that when his master's lectures, through the rapidity of his utterance, or the abstruse nature of his subject, were not clearly understood by the rest of the pupils, he was able to give an accurate summary of the arguments, in the order in which they had been delivered; a circumstance which gained him great credit and esteem among his fellow-students.

Having spent several years in the Alexandrian schools, Proclus determined to visit Athens. Here he first became acquainted with Syrian, who introduced him to Plutarch the son of Nestorius. The old man was delighted with the attainments of this young stranger, and undertook to conduct him into the more recondite mysteries of philosophy. Plutarch, dying two years afterwards, left Proclus to the care of his successor Syrian, under whose direction the young man prosecuted his studies with indefatigable industry. He reaped great benefit from the practice, recommended to him by Plutarch, of writing, from his own recollection, compendious abridgments of the lectures which he had heard from his preceptor. At the age of twenty-eight, he had written, besides many other pieces, his "Commentary on the Timæus of Plato," full of that kind of learning which at this time prevailed in the Platonic schools. In order to reach the point, which was in these schools esteemed the summit of wisdom, Proclus diligently studied the theology of the sect, both that which respects the con-

* Vit. Proc. c. 12. Suidas. Phot. Cod. 241.

† Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 450.

‡ Marin. c. 36.

(a) Here, much loved Syrian, in thy sacred tomb,
 Thy pupil Proclus seeks a peaceful home:
 As in one bed now sleeps our mingled clay,
 So may our souls together wing their way
 To the blest mansions of celestial day!

§ Vit. Procli, passim. Suidas.

templation of the Supreme Deity, and that which was supposed to lead to an intercourse with inferior divinities. He was instructed in the Chaldean arts of divination, and in the use of mystical words, and other charms, by Plutarch's daughter Asclepigenia, who inherited from her father many secrets of this kind. He was also initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. By these helps, and by a diligent study of the writings of Plotinus, Porphyry, and Jamblicus, he became, if Marinus may be credited, a complete master, not only of divine science, but of theurgic powers.

Thus accomplished, Proclus was judged by Syrian worthy to share with him the honours and profits of the Platonic chair. And there can be no doubt, after what has been related, that he was eminently qualified for the office of preceptor in the Alexandrian philosophy. His biographer may be easily credited when he asserts, that Proclus excelled all his predecessors in the knowledge of this system, and that he improved it by many new discoveries, and was the author of many opinions which had never before entered into the mind of man, both on the subject of physics, and in the sublime science of Ideas. The lectures which Proclus delivered in his school were obscure and enthusiastic; but they suited the genius and taste of the age, and he had many followers.

The piety of Proclus is highly extolled by his biographer. Of what sort it was may be learned from the superstitious manner in which he conducted his devotions. Besides his general abstinence from animal food, in which he followed the Pythagorean discipline, he often practised rigorous fastings; and he spent whole days and nights in repeating prayers and hymns, that he might prepare himself for immediate intercourse with the gods. He observed with great solemnity the new moons, and all public festivals, and on these occasions pretended, or fancied, that he conversed with superior beings, and was able, by his sacrifices, prayers and hymns, to expel diseases, to command rain, to stop an earthquake, and to perform other similar wonders. Marinus does not scruple to assert that, on these occasions, Proclus partook of divine inspiration, and that a celestial glory irradiated his countenance. He even relates, that God himself appeared to him in a human form, and with an audible voice hailed him as the glory of the city. In his old age his mental infirmities, as might naturally be expected, increased with those of his body; and he fancied, between sleeping and waking (the season in which these visions commonly happen), that Esculapius approached him in the form of a dragon, and relieved his pain. Without attempting accurately to determine how much of these tales is to be ascribed to the invention of Marinus, and how much to the fanaticism of his master, we may perceive in them proofs of superstitious weakness, of artful hypocrisy, or of a strange union of both, abundantly sufficient to justify us in ranking Proclus among enthusiasts or impostors, rather than among philosophers.

If the reader require any further evidence on this head, we must refer him to the writings of Proclus, in which he appears at once a man of erudition and a fanatic. They contain a rude and indigested mass of materials, collected, with bold variations, from the Chaldaic, Orphic, Hermetic, Pythagoric, Platonic, and Aristotelian doctrines, and adorned with fictions and allegories, which, while they involve the subjects upon which the writer treats in thick darkness, discover great luxuriance of imagination. The confusion and obscurity of his works may be in part owing to the hasty manner in which they were written, but are chiefly to be ascribed to the enthusiastic cast of the writer's mind, and to the mystical spirit of the system which he espoused. Of the works of Proclus which remain,

some are philosophical, as his "Commentaries upon the *Timæus*," and several other dialogues of Plato; some theological, as his "Institutes of Theology;" some critical, as his "Chrestomathia," of which Photius has preserved an Epitome; and some mathematical, as his "Paraphrase upon Ptolemy, Euclid," &c. and his "Doctrine of the Sphere." This last piece was in part copied, without acknowledgment, from the *Isagoge* of Geminus, an astronomer of some distinction in the time of Cicero.* Proclus died of the gout, in the year four hundred and eighty-five.

The Eclectic school at Athens was continued by MARINUS,† a native of Sichem in Palestine, and a convert from the Samaritan to the Gentile religion. If the mathematical writings which bear his name be really his, which has been doubted, they are a sufficient proof of his proficiency in this kind of learning. His life of Proclus rather delineates a picture of a perfect philosopher, than relates the actions and opinions of his hero. The work abounds with ridiculous tales, and destroys its own credibility by manifest contradictions. Towards the close of his life Marinus, perceiving his health decline, was anxious to find a successor, who might continue, with credit, what was called the chain of the Platonic succession, and for that purpose made choice of Isidorus, who soon afterwards removed to Alexandria, and left the Athenian school in the hands of ZENODOTUS,‡ a pupil of Proclus.

ISIDORUS, as we learn from his biographer Damascius,§ was a native of Gaza in Palestine, a city which retained the Gentile superstitions long after Christianity had been commonly embraced in the neighbouring countries. At Alexandria, whether he was sent by his parents for education, he was instructed in rhetoric and polite learning by Asclepiodotus, a Platonist; but he neglected these studies, that he might devote himself entirely to sublimer speculations. The fame of Proclus as a preceptor in theology soon induced him to repair to his school at Athens. Bringing with him a mind inured to profound meditation, and an imagination inflamed with enthusiasm, he found it no difficult labour, under the direction of Proclus, to soar into the region of mysticism. After the death of his master he entertained a superstitious reverence for his memory, and offered sacrifices to him as to a divinity.|| Relinquishing, however, for reasons which do not appear, the chair to which he had been appointed by Marinus, he returned to Alexandria. After a short residence in that city, he fled, with several other philosophers, into Persia, to escape the persecution of Justinian. About the year five hundred and thirty-three he returned from his voluntary exile.¶ As Isidorus had been a pupil of Proclus, he must have been far advanced in life when he left Persia. The exact dates of his birth and death cannot be ascertained; but it is probable that he was not born later than the year four hundred and sixty-five, and that he did not die before the year five hundred and forty.

The succession of the Platonic or Eclectic school in Alexandria terminated in DAMASCIUS,** a native of Syria. He studied both at Athens and Alexandria, and in the latter school was a professor of philosophy, till he was driven into Persia by the severities which, as we have said, were

* Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 32. sect. 26. Fabr. de Procli Scriptis. sect. 11. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 518.

† Damascius in Vit. Isidori, ap Phot. Cod. 181. Suidas. Voss. ib. p. 442. Fabr. viii. 364.

‡ Damasc. ib. p. 563.

§ Ib. Cod. 181. 242. Suidas.

|| Damascius, p. 566. 569, 570.

¶ Agathias de reb. Justin. l. ii. 49. Suidas in *πρῆσβυς*, t. iii. p. 171. Petav. Rat. Temp. l. vii. c. 8.

** Phot. Cod. 181. p. 212. Cod. 242. p. 566. Suidas.

exercised by the emperor Justinian against the Gentile philosophers. His "Lives of Isidorus and others," and the few fragments of his philosophy which remain, are strongly marked with the characters of the Eclectic school—obscurity, fanaticism, and imposture.

To this list of Alexandrian philosophers must be added the celebrated female, *HYPATIA*,* whose extensive learning, elegant manners, and tragical end, have rendered her name immortal. Hypatia was the daughter of Theon, a celebrated mathematician of Alexandria. She possessed an acute and penetrating judgment, and great sublimity and fertility of genius, and her talents were cultivated with assiduity by her father and other preceptors. After she had made herself mistress of polite learning, and of the sciences of geometry and astronomy, as far as they were then understood, she entered upon the study of philosophy. She prosecuted this study with such uncommon success, that she was importuned to become a public preceptress in the school where Plotinus and his successors had taught; and her love of science enabled her so far to subdue the natural diffidence of the sex, that she yielded to the public voice, and exchanged her female decorations for the philosopher's cloak.† In the schools, and in other places of public resort, she discoursed upon philosophical topics, explaining, and endeavouring to reconcile, the systems of Plato, Aristotle, and other masters. A ready elocution, and graceful address, united with rich erudition and sound judgment, procured her numerous followers and admirers; among whom was Synesius, afterwards to be mentioned. But that which reflects the highest honour upon her memory is, that, though she excelled most of the philosophers of her age in mathematical and philosophical science, she discovered no pride of learning; and though she was in person exceedingly beautiful, she never yielded to the impulse of female vanity, or gave occasion to the slightest suspicion against her chastity.

The extraordinary combination of accomplishments and virtues which adorned the character of Hypatia, rendered her house the general resort of persons of learning and distinction. But it was impossible that so much merit should not excite envy. The qualifications and attainments, to which she was indebted for her celebrity, proved in the issue the occasion of her destruction. It happened that at this time the patriarchal chair of Alexandria was occupied by Cyril, a bishop of great authority, but of great haughtiness and violence of temper. In the vehemence of his bigotted zeal, he had treated the Jews with severity, and at last banished them out of Alexandria. Orestes, the prefect of the city, a man of a liberal spirit, highly resented this expulsion as an unpardonable stretch of ecclesiastical power, and a cruel act of oppression and injustice against a people, who had inhabited Alexandria from the time of its founder. He reported the affair to the emperor. The bishop, on his part, complained to the prince of the seditious temper of the Jews, and attempted to justify his proceedings. The emperor declined to interpose his authority; and the affair rapidly advanced to the utmost extremity. A body of about five hundred monks, who espoused the cause of Cyril, came into the city with a determination to support him by force. Meeting the prefect, as he was passing through the street in his carriage, they stopped him, and loaded him with reproaches; and one of them threw a stone at his head, and wounded him. The populace, who were by this time assembled on the part of the prefect, routed the monks, and seized one of their leaders. Orestes ordered him to be put to death. Cyril buried his body in the church, and gave in-

* Suidas. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 15.

† Nicephor. l. xiv. c. 16. Synesii Epist. ad. Hypat.

structions that his name should be registered among the sacred martyrs. Hypatia, who had always been highly respected by the prefect, and who had, at this time, frequent conferences with him, was supposed by the partizans of the bishop to have been deeply engaged in the interest of Orestes. Their resentment at length rose to such a height, that they formed a design against her life. As she was one day returning home from the schools, the mob seized her, forced her from her chair, and carried her to the Cæsarean church; where, stripping off her garments, they put her to death with extreme barbarity; and having torn her body limb from limb, committed it to the flames. Cyril himself has, by some writers, been suspected of secretly prompting this horrid act of violence. And if the haughtiness and severity of his temper, his persecution of the Jews, his oppressive and iniquitous treatment of the Novatian sect of Christians and their bishop, the vehemence of his present indignation against Orestes and his party, and, above all, the protection which he is said to have afforded to the immediate perpetrator of the murder of Hypatia, be duly considered, it will perhaps appear that this suspicion is not wholly without foundation. Hypatia was murdered under the reign of the emperor Theodosius II. in the year four hundred and fifteen.* Hence it is certain that she could not have been, as Suidas,† with his usual precipitation, relates, the wife of Isidorus: it is probable that through her whole life she remained in a state of celibacy.

Besides the philosophers of the Alexandrian or Eclectic sect who have been enumerated, and others of inferior note, there were many persons who, though not philosophers by profession, espoused, the doctrines of Platonism, as they were new modelled in this school. Among these were several celebrated writers; particularly, MACROBIUS,‡ who flourished in the reigns of Honorius and Theodosius II., and wrote, besides other pieces, “A Commentary on Scipio’s Dream,” as described by Cicero, a work full of Platonic notions; and also *Saturnalia*, or “Learned Conversations;” and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, an historian of credit, who mentions, with high respect, several philosophers of the Platonic school.§

Having thus far taken an historical survey of the rise and progress of the Eclectic sect, it remains that we endeavour, somewhat more distinctly, to mark the circumstances which contributed towards its establishment, and to enumerate its peculiar tenets. This is the more necessary, as the doctrines of this school were widely disseminated, and obtained a powerful influence, not only in other philosophical sects, but even in the Christian church.

The Eclectic sect took its rise, as we have seen, among the Egyptians, a people peculiarly addicted to superstition, among whom the art of divination is said to have originated. || It was formed in Alexandria, a city colonized from many different nations, whose inhabitants brought with them their respective religious and philosophical tenets. The Pythagoric and Platonic doctrine had been in many respects similar to that of the Egyptians, and therefore obtained an easy admission into their schools, at a time when the philosophy of Greece, already universally celebrated, was introduced under the sanction of conquest. Before the commencement of the Christian era, the return of those philosophers who had, during the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, been dispersed in Asia, and had there learned the Oriental philosophy, increased the chaotic mass of opinions in theology and philosophy, which had been forming in the Alexandrian schools from

* Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 15.

† Cod. Theodos. l. vi. t. 8.

|| Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

‡ Hypat. t. iii. p. 533.

§ L. xxii. 16. xxiii. 6. xxx. 4.

their first establishment; the confusion and inconsistency of which were now, with much industry, concealed under the veil of allegory. It will clearly appear from an attentive comparison of these circumstances, that the Eclectic method of philosophising began at a period prior to the time of Christ.

The violent dissensions which diversity of opinions produced in the Alexandrian schools inclined many to wish for a general coalition of sects. This project appears to have been first formed by Potamo, and to have been carried into execution by Ammonius and his followers. The philosophy of Plato, already united with that of Pythagoras, was made the basis of this new system; whence the sect was considered as a Platonic school, and its followers have been commonly distinguished by the appellation of the later Platonists. With the doctrines of Plato they attempted to blend those of Aristotle, who from the time of Demetrius Phalereus had been in high estimation in Alexandria. In dialectics, this union was not difficult; but in physics and metaphysics, the leading dogmas of these philosophers were so widely different, and in many respects even contradictory, that it was impossible to bring them together without distorting and misrepresenting both, and contriving strange and fanciful hypotheses to reconcile them. One memorable example of these, among many which might be adduced, is the dogma of the Eclectic school concerning the eternal generation of the world in the divine mind, which neither agrees with Plato's doctrine of Ideas, nor with Aristotle's notion concerning the eternity of the world. The Stoic system was also in the Eclectic school accommodated to the Platonic; and the moral writings of the followers of Zeno were explained upon the principles of Plato. The *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, for instance, is Platonised in the Commentary of Simplicius. The only sect, with which the Alexandrian school could come to no terms of agreement, was that of Epicurus, whose mechanical principles of nature were contrary to the fundamental doctrines of Platonism. It must be evident, on the most cursory view, that a method of philosophising, which thus undertook to combine the tenets of different sects, could answer no other purpose than to confound all former distinctions, and to give birth to new absurdities.

Plato having proposed the intuitive contemplation of Intelligibles, and especially of the First Intelligence, the Supreme Deity, as the summit of human felicity, the philosophers of the Eclectic sect were peculiarly ambitious of this sublime attainment, and even carried their notions and pretensions on this subject further than their master. Not satisfied with arriving at a formal and essential intuition of Divine natures, they aspired after a sort of deification of the human mind. That they might the more easily reach, in imagination, this point of perfection, they forsook the DUALISTIC SYSTEM which Plato had assumed, and adopted from the Oriental philosophy the SYSTEM OF EMANATION, which supposed an indefinite series of spiritual natures, derived from the supreme source; whence, considering the human mind as a link in this chain of intelligence, they conceived that, by passing through various stages of purification, it might at length ascend to the First Fountain of intelligence, and enjoy a mysterious union with the Divine nature. They even imagined that the soul of man, properly prepared by previous discipline, might rise to a capacity of holding immediate intercourse with good demons, and even to enjoy, in ecstasy, an intuitive vision of God: a point of perfection and felicity which many of their great men, such as Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblicus, and Proclus, were supposed actually to have attained.

Several circumstances concurred to give this enthusiastic cast to the

Alexandrian school. The Platonic sect had, from its first institution, leaned towards enthusiasm. That part of their system which these later Platonists had borrowed from the Oriental school, was wonderfully calculated to cherish the flights of a luxuriant fancy. And the union of the two characters of philosopher and priest, which, as appears in the lives of Apollonius, Apuleius, and others, was at this period not unusual, whilst it would in some cases be favourable to imposture, would, in others, serve to minister fuel to the fire of enthusiasm.

In order to account still further for some of the more striking features of the Eclectic sect, it is necessary particularly to remark the arts which the leaders of this sect employed to obstruct the progress of the Christian religion. By combining into one system all the important tenets, both theological and philosophical, which were at that time received, either in the Pagan or the Christian schools, they hoped to confirm the heathens in their attachment to their old superstitions, and to reconcile the Christians to Paganism. They endeavoured to conceal the absurdities of the ancient religion, by casting over its fables the veil of allegory, and thus representing them as founded upon important truths. The numerous train of heathen divinities they represented as emanations from the Supreme Deity, through whom he himself was worshipped. That their system might, if possible, rival that which was taught in the Christian schools, they speculated, after the manner of Plato, upon divine and intelligent natures: they even attempted to incorporate with their own dogmas several of the peculiar doctrines received among the Christians, and made no scruple to deck themselves with borrowed ornaments, by imitating, on many occasions, the language of the Christian fathers. In hopes of counteracting the credit which Christianity derived from the exalted merit of its Founder, and from the purity of manners which prevailed among his followers, these philosophers practised rigorous abstinence, by which they professed to purify themselves from every tincture of moral defilement, and passed whole days and nights in contemplation and devotion. With a view to destroy the authority which the Christian religion derived from miracles, or at least to reduce it to a level with their own, they pretended to a power of performing supernatural operations by the aid of invisible beings; and maintained, that the miracles of Christ were wrought by the same magical, or theurgic, powers which they themselves possessed. Lastly, for the purpose of supporting the credit of Paganism against that of Christianity, they obtruded upon the world many spurious books, under the names of Hermes, Orpheus, and other illustrious ancients.

The Eclectic sect, thus raised upon the foundations of superstition, enthusiasm, and imposture, proved the occasion of much confusion and mischief both to the Christian religion and to philosophy.

In the infancy of the Alexandrian school, not a few among the professors of Christianity suffered themselves to be so far deluded by the pretensions of this sect, as to imagine that a coalition might, with great advantage, be formed between its system and that of Christianity; and this union seemed the more desirable, as several philosophers of this sect became converts to the Christian faith. But the consequence was, that Pagan ideas and opinions were by degrees mixed with the pure and simple doctrine of the Gospel; the fanatical philosophy of Ammonius corrupted the pure religion of Christ; and his church became a field of contention, and a nursery of error.

This project for a coalition of systems was not less injurious to philosophy. Before this period, although the philosophical world had been divided

into many sects, and disturbed by endless controversies, still each sect had its peculiar character and tenets; so that any one, who was desirous of knowing the truth, might form a judgment for himself of their respective merits, and might adopt that system which he judged to be most consonant to reason. But in attempting to combine the leading tenets of each sect into one common system, these philosophers were obliged, in many cases, to understand them in a sense different from that of their original authors; whence it becomes impossible, from their writings, to form an accurate notion either of the Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, the Egyptian, or the Oriental philosophy. Finding it impracticable to produce an appearance of harmony among systems essentially different from each other, without casting a veil of obscurity over the whole, they exerted their utmost ingenuity in devising fanciful conceptions, subtle distinctions, airy suppositions, and vague terms; combinations of which, infinitely diversified, they attempted, too successfully, to impose upon the world as a system of real and sublime truths. It is not easy to conceive how many thorns and briars, from this time, obstructed the path of science. Lost in subtleties, these pretenders to superior wisdom were perpetually endeavouring to explain, by imaginary resemblances, and arbitrary distinctions, what they themselves probably never understood. Disdaining to submit to the guidance of reason and good sense, they gave up the reins to imagination, and suffered themselves to be borne away through the boundless regions of metaphysics, where the eye labours in vain to follow them. If any one be desirous of proofs or illustrations of these remarks, we refer him to the writings of Plotinus and Proclus, on the subjects of the Deity and inferior divine natures, where he will meet with innumerable examples of egregious trifling, under the appearance of profound philosophy.

It would be an undertaking wholly impracticable to frame an accurate delineation of the Eclectic doctrine; both because its authors were not agreed among themselves in any one system, and because they do not appear to have themselves clearly conceived the meaning of many of their own dogmas. We shall, however, lay before the reader a brief specimen of this philosophy; in metaphysics, from Plotinus; in theology, from Jamblicus; and in morals, from Porphyry.

In metaphysics Plotinus taught thus:—The First Principle of the universe is not the universe, but above all, and the power of all; without which nothing could be; which, though the fountain of being, is itself incapable of division or increase. This first principle, the cause of intellectual life, the source of essence and being, is simple, and having no place, has neither motion nor rest. It is infinite, not as being immense, but as it is one, and has nothing by which it can be limited. Because that from which all things proceed can permit nothing to exist better than itself, it is the best of all beings. It is essential good, most fair and beautiful; and because it is in itself lovely, and the author of all that is lovely, it is the beginning and end of beauty. No attribute is to be ascribed to this First Principle in the same sense in which it is ascribed to other beings, but in a manner wholly inexplicable. Its nature is to be comprehended rather by profound contemplation, than by any act of the understanding.*

From this First Principle proceeds Mind, or Intellect, and Soul, or the Active Principle. The primary Essential Good is the centre; Mind, the light emerging from it, and remaining fixed; Soul, the motion of the

* Plotin. En. iii. l. viii. c. 9. En. v. l. ii. c. 1. l. v. c. 10, 11. En. vi. l. ii. c. 9. l. vii. c. 23. 33. l. viii. c. 7. Jambl. de Myst. S. viii. c. 2.

emanating light; Body, the opaque substance which is illuminated by the soul. In the production of the Second Principle, Mind, no kind of action or will is to be supposed; for then that action or will, would be the second, and Mind, the third emanation. The first principle, having been always perfect, has always produced the second; which is inferior to the producing cause, but superior to all other natures. This second principle, Mind, is necessarily united to its source, and is the image of God, bearing such resemblance to him as light bears to the sun: it is produced by the energy of the first principle, and is the exerted power of vision, reflection, or intelligence. This second principle being produced, its energy produces within itself the fair universe of ideas, or intelligible natures; whence it comprehends a plenitude of all things as essential principles before they exist as material substances. Intelligence is the act of intellect, or mind, contemplating intelligible natures. These natures may be considered as numbers proceeding from the Monad, or first principle, and Duad, or first emanation: but the first principle, considered in itself, must be distinguished from these; for intellect, being exercised in contemplating intelligible natures within, but distinct from itself, wants that simplicity which is essential to the first principle.*

From the emanative energy of Mind is produced Soul, or the Active Principle of life. This Divine principle is the fountain whence all life is derived. It subsists, as well as Intellect, within the divine essence, and is therefore *ὑπερκόσμιον*, supramundane.† This is the immediate source of the principle which animates the world, *ἐγκόσμιον*, and which is diffused, in various portions, through animated nature.‡

Matter is the receptacle and subject of forms, but has in itself neither figure, quality, magnitude, nor place, and can therefore only be defined negatively: nevertheless, it is not a mere name, but truly exists as the basis of qualities. Matter exists potentially; bodies actually, with their peculiar characters.§ There never was a time when matter and form existed separately, or when the universe was not animated.|| To suppose the formation of the universe the effect of chance is absurd. The world is to be conceived as having always existed, and mind as prior to it, not in the order of time, but of nature, and therefore as the eternal and necessary cause, both formal and efficient, of its existence.¶ The sensible world is produced after the pattern of the intelligible world, by the energy of mind pouring forth some portion of its own nature upon matter, and hereby giving it the first unconscious principle of motion and form.** The world contains superior and inferior regions, the former of which are inhabited by gods and other celestial beings, the latter by men and inferior animals. Because the world includes every thing within itself, so that there is nothing into which it can be changed, nor any external force by which it can be dispersed, it must be perpetual in its duration.††

Among the Celestial Natures there are various orders, possessing different degrees of perfection, and all entitled to religious worship, Gods, Demons, Genii, Heroes. The souls of men and inferior animals form the common limit between the intellectual and sensible world.‡‡

* En. ii. l. ix. c. 1. En. iv. l. iii. c. 14. 17. En. v. l. i. c. 4. 6, 7. l. iv. c. ult. l. v. c. 1. 12. l. vi. c. 1, 2. l. vii. c. 1. l. ix. c. 6. 8.

† En. iii. l. v. c. 2. En. v. l. i. c. 7. l. viii. c. 4.

‡ Proclus in Tim. l. ii. p. 92.

§ Plot. En. ii. l. iv. c. 1—6. 11, 12. l. v. c. 2.

|| En. iv. l. iii. c. 9.

¶ En. iii. l. i. c. 1. Porphy. Ant. Nymph. p. 131. Jamb. Myst. Ægypt. s. viii. c. 3.

** From this doctrine Cudworth, in his *Intellectual System*, derives his Plastic Nature.

†† En. iii. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4, 8—10.

‡‡ En. iii. l. v. c. 6.

The human soul is derived from the supramundane soul, or first principle of life, and is in this respect sister to the soul of the world. Souls are not in the body as their place, nor as their receptacle, nor as their subject, nor as a part of a whole, nor as form united to matter, but simply as the animating principle; for it is in this respect only that we know the soul to be present with the body. The power of the soul is diffused through every part of the body; and though it be said to reside in its chief instrument the brain, it is incorporeal, and exists entirely every where within the sphere of its energy. Partaking of the nature of real being, it is immutable. It is the principle of motion, moving itself, and communicating motion to bodies. The vices and infelicities of the soul are wholly derived from its union with the body.*

Souls, in the periodical revolutions of nature, separate themselves from their fountain, and descend into the lower regions of the world. In their passage they attract to themselves an ethereal vehicle, and at last sink into animal bodies, as into a cavern, or sepulchre. But when, by the power of reminiscence, they again turn themselves to the contemplation of intelligible and divine natures, they regain their freedom.† God, on account of his greatness, is not known by intelligence, or sense, but by a kind of intuition superior to science, by means of which the soul can see him in his real nature, as the fountain of Life, Mind, and Being, and the cause of good.‡ A soul which has attained to this vision of God will lament its union with the body, and will rejoice to leave its prison, and return to the divine nature from which it proceeded.§ After death, the souls of men pass into other animals, or ascend into superior regions, and are converted into beings of a higher order, according to their present degree of defilement or of purification.||

The theological doctrine of Jamblicus is briefly this:—The human soul has an innate knowledge of God prior to all reasoning, having originally derived its essence from, and subsisted in, the Divine nature. By the intervention of demons, it enjoys communications with the superior divinities, and with God himself. Prayers, hymns, lustrations, sacrifices, are the means by which this intercourse is maintained. Gods, demons, and heroes, appear to men under various forms, in dreams or waking visions, to render them bodily or spiritual services, and to enable them to predict future events. These communications with divine natures are not to be obtained but by the observance of certain sacred rites, whose symbolical meaning is only known to the gods, and to those who are conversant with these mysteries. The signs of divine communication, *ἐνθουσιασμον*, are a temporary suspension of the senses and faculties, the interruption of the ordinary functions of life, and a capacity of speaking and doing wonders, so that the person doth not live an animal, or human, but a divine life.¶

Upon the foundation of these enthusiastic notions was raised the ethical system of the Alexandrian school. Their moral doctrine, as it appears in the writings of Porphyry and others, was briefly as follows:—The mind of man, originally a portion of the Divine nature, having fallen into a state of darkness and defilement by its union with the body, is to be gradually emancipated from the chain of matter, and by contemplating real entities,

* En. v. l. i. c. 2. En. iv. l. ii. c. 18. l. iii. c. 20. l. i. p. 360. l. ii. c. 1. En. ii. l. ii. c. 18. l. ix. c. 5. En. iv. l. vii. c. 1, 2. 9. 11.

† En. iv. l. iii. c. 12. l. iv. c. 16. l. ix. c. 4. En. vi. l. viii. c. 1.

‡ En. vi. l. ix. c. 4. 7. § C. 8, 9.

|| En. i. l. ix. c. 1. En. iii. l. iv. c. 2.

¶ Jamblic. de Mysteriis Ægyptiorum. Ed. Gal. Oxon. 1702. fol.

to rise to the knowledge and vision of God. The end of philosophy is, therefore, the liberation of the soul from its corporeal imprisonment. For this purpose, it must pass through the several stages of the Human and Divine Virtues. The Human Virtues are physical, economical, and political; or those which respect the care of the body, and the offices of domestic and civil life. The Divine Virtues are purgative, theoretic, and theurgic: the first class consists in bodily abstinence, and other voluntary mortifications; the second comprehends all those exercises of the intellect and imagination by which the mind contemplates abstract truth and intelligible natures; the third includes those religious exercises, by which the philosopher is qualified for, and admitted to, an immediate intercourse with superior beings, attains a power over demons, and ascends so far above the ordinary condition of humanity, as to enjoy the vision of God in this life, and to return, at death, to the Divine Mind, whence it first proceeded.*

On reviewing the speculative part of the Eclectic system, as it appears in the preceding summary, the reader will easily perceive that the Alexandrian philosophers, though they founded their system chiefly upon the doctrine of Plato, departed from him in many particulars. Their notions of the Divine nature are not strictly Platonic, but the fanciful conceptions of Plato, pursued to a higher degree of extravagance, and blended with the Egyptian and Oriental doctrine of emanation. Those of the Oriental philosophers, who were called Gnostics, carried this doctrine to so absurd an extreme, as to imagine a long genealogy of divine essences, flowing from the first fountain of existence, and dwelling within the infinite plenitude of the Divine Nature; to these they gave the name of *Æons*. Plotinus maintained, against the Gnostics, that there are only three distinct *ὑποστάσεις*, subsistences, in the Divine nature.† He receded from Plato, in supposing one of these, the soul or animating principle, to be a part of the Divine nature, and not a separate and subordinate principle, the soul of the world. Others‡ converted this trinity into a quaternity, by conceiving three principles, Intellect, Ideas, and Soul, to be derived from one common source, the first principle of all existence. In what manner they supposed the intelligible world to subsist in the Divine nature, whilst nevertheless it retained its simplicity, it may be difficult to explain. But it appears evident that, with Plato, they understood these Ideas to be something more than mere conceptions, and imagined them to have a real existence, comprehended with the Divine essence.§ Plotinus expresses his notion of these intelligible natures under the image of waters existing in their fountain before they flow forth in streams.|| Another essential difference between the doctrine of Plato himself, and that of the later Platonists, is, that while Plato held the DUALISTIC SYSTEM, which supposed matter to have existed eternally as a substance distinct from mind, the Alexandrian philosopher conceived matter itself to have proceeded by eternal emanation from the Divine nature. To this we may add, that Plato taught that the universe was formed at a certain finite time, by the voluntary energy of Divine power upon the eternal mass of matter; but the Alexandrian Platonists, that intelligible forms have been eternally impressed upon matter, that is, that the universe has existed from eternity.

* Porphy. de Abſtinentiæ, et Sententiæ, &c. Jamb. Serm. Protrept. pass. Conf. Plot. En. iii. l. ix. c. 9, 10. En. iv. l. iii. c. 7. En. vi. l. ult. Ann. Marcell. l. xxv. c. 4. Macrob. Som. Sc. l. i. c. 7. 13. Simplic. in Epict. p. 5. † En. ii. l. ix. c. 1.

‡ Cyril. Alex. adv. Julian. l. i. p. 35. l. viii. p. 371. Proclus in Tim. Plat. l. ii. p. 93. § Plot. En. v. l. i. c. 7. || En. iii. l. viii. c. 9.

It is wonderful to observe how laboriously these philosophers tortured their imaginations in attempting to solve difficulties which existed only in their own fanciful system, or which lie beyond the reach of the human understanding. They took infinite pains to distinguish between intelligible and intelligent natures;* to show how Ideas, not in themselves intelligent, but the objects of intelligence, could exist in the divine intellect; to explain the manner in which the Divine mind acts upon matter; to make it evident that matter is sent forth by emanation from an immaterial source; and to clear up other imaginary, or inexplicable mysteries. "The Divine mind," says Plotinus,† "acts upon matter by means of ideas, not externally, after the manner of human art, but internally, as a forming nature; neither separate from matter, nor mixed with it, he sends forth from himself ideas, or forms, and impresses them upon matter." "God," says Jamblicus, "produced matter, by separating Materiality from Essentiality."

But it is wholly unnecessary to dwell longer upon the visionary subtleties of the Alexandrian philosophy. The facts and opinions which we have laid before the reader respecting the Eclectic sect will, we doubt not, be thought abundantly sufficient to justify this general conclusion; that the Plotinian school, by combining systems which were originally distinct from each other; by personifying abstract conceptions, and speaking of them as real beings; by inventing strange fictions concerning the Supreme Being, and concerning subordinate divinities; and by raising upon these fictions the baseless fabric of enthusiasm and fanaticism, introduced infinite confusion into philosophy, and fatally obstructed, instead of promoting, the progress of useful knowledge. The pernicious influence of the Eclectic system, both upon opinions and manners, through many succeeding ages, will be seen in the sequel.‡

SECTION V.—OF THE STATE OF THE PERIPATETIC PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

WHILST Platonism, and the Eclectic sect, which rose out of Platonism, flourished at Alexandria and Athens, and had many advocates in Rome, the other ancient sects still continued to exist in their respective forms, and to be supported by able patrons.

The Peripatetic philosophy, which had been introduced into Rome, as we have seen, by Tyrannio and Andronicus, by whom the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus were rescued from oblivion, regained its ancient credit under the Cæsars. From the time of Andronicus to that of Ammo-

* Plot. En. l. viii. c. 4.

† En. vi. l. v. c. 8. En. iii. l. i. c. 2.

‡ Vidend. Voss. de. Sect. c. 21. sect. 23. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 327. Gesner. Act. Phil. v. i. p. 851. Mosheim. de Turb. per recent. Plat. Eccl. sect. 8. Selden in Orig. Alexand. p. 147. Oudin. de Scr. Eccl. t. 1. p. 230. 238. Rhodogin. Ant. Lect. l. xxi. c. 10. Blount, Cens. p. 203. Jons. l. ii. c. 9. 18. l. iii. c. 11. 15, 16, 17. Holsten. Vit. Porph. ed. Rom. Basnage, Annal. t. ii. An. 278. Vincent. Lirinensio, Commonit. c. 23. ed. Bal. Pearson, Vind. Ignat. p. ii. c. 1. Huet. Origen, An. l. i. c. 1. Thomas, Obs. de Porph. ap. Heuman. t. iii. p. 53. Misc. Lips. t. i. p. 317. Clerici Bibl. Anc. et Mod. t. x. Reland. Palæstin. l. i. c. 48. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. c. 18. Conring. Ant. Acad. Diss. 1. Schmidii Diss. de Hypatia. Cave Hist. Lit. Sac. p. 251. Voss. de Sc. Math. c. xvi. sect. 9. Bayle. Mosheim. de Studio Ethnicorum Christianos imitandi. Diss. H. E. p. 330. Idem de Causis suppos. lib. ibid. p. 217. Cudworth, c. iv. sect. 23. 30, &c. cum Notis Mosheim. Fabr. Proleg. in Vit. Procli. De Bleterie, Vie de Julien. Amst. 1735. Rechenberg. de Apost. Jul. Toland's Tetradymus. Weyrenschorf. Diss. 1734.

nius, the preceptor of Plutarch, that is, till the reign of Nero, the doctrines of this sect were taught with great purity in its schools. But after Ammonius it began to experience the influence of that spirit of confusion which prevailed among the Eclectic philosophers; and the plan of Antiochus, who had formerly attempted a coalition between Aristotle, Plato, and Zeno, was revived. The Peripatetic sect was from this time divided into two branches; the one consisting of such as attempted to combine the doctrines of other schools with those of Aristotle; the other, including those who wished to follow more closely the steps of the Stagirite.*

Julius Cæsar and Augustus patronised the Peripatetic philosophy; the former in the person of Sosigenes, the latter in that of Nicolaus. Under the tyrannical reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, it experienced worse fortune, many excellent men of this sect, as well as others, being either banished from Rome, or obliged, through fear of persecution, to remain silent. In the reign of Nero, a fortunate circumstance for a while raised philosophy from the dust. Agrippina, the wife of the emperor Claudius, having formed the design of advancing her son Nero to the imperial power, in order to give the people high expectations concerning him, committed the charge of his education to philosophers of the first eminence, particularly Seneca the Stoic, and Ægeus the Peripatetic. In consequence of this appointment, philosophers continued, for about five years, to enjoy the patronage of the Imperial Court; but after that period they shared the fate of the professors of magical arts, or, as they were then called, mathematicians, and were again banished the city.† During the first century of the Roman empire we find few celebrated names among the Peripatetic philosophers. The principal are Sosigenes, Boethius, Nicolaus, and Ægeus.

SOSIGENES, a native of Egypt, acquired great celebrity by his acquaintance with mathematical science, and was employed by Julius Cæsar in correcting the calendar. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle's treatise *De Cælo*.‡

BOETHIUS OF SIDON was a pupil of Andronicus.§ Strabo mentions him as his fellow-pupil in the study of the Aristotelian philosophy, and ranks him among the most famous philosophers of his time.||

NICOLAUS,¶ a native of Damascus in Syria, flourished in the time of Augustus. He was a man of extensive learning, and an illustrious ornament of the Peripatetic school. Herod the Great made choice of him for his preceptor in philosophy; and, when he sailed to Rome, for the purpose of visiting the emperor, took him as his companion in the voyage. Afterwards, interrupting the study of philosophy, that prince prosecuted historical learning under Nicolaus, who at his request undertook to write a Universal History. Introduced by Herod to Augustus, he was admitted to his intimate friendship, and received from him many valuable tokens of regard. The integrity and generosity of his spirit, and the urbanity of his manners, obtained him universal respect. Nicolaus wrote several treatises on the philosophy of Aristotle; "A Dissertation on the Manners of Various Nations;" "Memoirs of Augustus;" and "His own Life." Of these some fragments are preserved by Valesius.

* Nunnes. ad Vit. Arist. p. 153. Patricii Disc. Perip. t. i. l. x. p. 127. xi. p. 145. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 271. † Plin. Hist. N. l. xxx. c. 1.

‡ Plin. l. xviii. c. 25. Conf. Patric. l. x. p. 134. Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 33.

§ Ammon. in Categ. p. 8.

|| Menag. ad Laert. l. vi. sect. 443. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 757. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 299.

¶ Athenæus, l. vi. p. 249. Plut. Symp. l. viii. qu. 4. Phot. Cod. 189. Snidas. Suet. in Aug. c. 79. Simplic. l. ii. de Cælo. Fabr. v. ii. p. 809.

ALEXANDER ÆGEUS wrote a commentary upon Aristotle's Meteorology, in the manner of the ancient Peripatetics. He was, as we have said, one of Nero's preceptors, but gained little credit in this capacity, for he is suspected of having contributed to the corruption of his royal pupil. This philosopher is sometimes confounded with Alexander Aphrodisius.*

About this time AMMONIUS, the preceptor of Plutarch, attempted to extend the authority of Aristotle beyond the limits of his own sect, by blending the Platonic and Stoic doctrine with the Peripatetic. He taught and died at Athens. From this time many Platonists studied the writings of Aristotle, and commented upon them; and thus the way was prepared for the formation of the Eclectic sect under Ammonius Sacca, who flourished about a century later than Ammonius the Peripatetic.†

After this time, however, we still meet with several genuine followers of Aristotle, of whom the most celebrated was ALEXANDER APHRODISIUS, so called from a town in Caria which gave him birth.‡ This philosopher penetrated, with so much success, into the meaning of the most profound speculations of his master, that he was not only respected by his contemporaries as an excellent preceptor, but was followed by subsequent Aristotelians among the Greeks, Latins, and Arabians, as the best interpreter of Aristotle. On account of the number and value of his commentaries, he was called, by way of distinction, The Commentator. Under the emperor Septimius Severus he was appointed public professor of the Aristotelian philosophy, but whether at Athens or Alexandria is uncertain. He flourished about the year two hundred. Several of his works are still extant, among which is a learned and elegant treatise "On Fate,"§ wherein he supports the doctrine of Divine Providence. Upon this head he leaned towards Platonism, but on most other subjects he adhered strictly to Aristotle. In his book concerning the Soul, he maintains that it is *εἶδος τι τοῦ σώματος ὀργανικοῦ, καὶ οὐκ οὐσίαν αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν*, not a distinct substance by itself, but the *form* of an organised body.||

Many of the Eclectic philosophers undertook to explain and illustrate the writings of Aristotle, particularly on the subject of dialectics, which Plato had left imperfect. Besides Porphyry, Jamblicus, Plutarchus, Nestorius, and others already mentioned, we may reckon Dexippus, Themistius, Olympiodorus, and Simplicius, among the Eclectic commentators upon Aristotle.¶

DEXIPPUS was a disciple of Jamblicus; but though he gave his name to the Platonic school, he was more inclined to the doctrine of Aristotle than to that of Plato, as appears from his "Reply to the Objections of Plotinus against Aristotle's Categories," a work still extant.**

THEMISTIUS, who was born in an obscure town of Paphlagonia, fixed his residence at Constantinople, and taught eloquence and philosophy with great success. He had many disciples, both Pagan and Christian: among the former was Libanius; among the latter, Gregory Nazianzen. He enjoyed the favour of the emperors, by whom he was admitted to the highest honours. Constantius, in the year three hundred and fifty-five, received him into the senate, and afterwards, in return for an eloquent eulogium,

* Suidas. Fabr. v. ii. p. 273. v. iv. p. 63. † Eunap. Proœm. Vit. Soph. p. 5. Suidas. Plut. de Ei Delph. Fabr. v. ii. p. 274. v. iii. p. 330. v. iv. p. 171.

‡ Suidas. Aphrod. de Anim. Præf. l. i. De Fato, init. Topic. l. ii. p. 72. De Anim. l. i. l. ii. 144. l. iii. c. 7. p. 138.

§ Ed. Lond. 1658. || Qu. et Sol. l. ii. c. 8.

¶ Euseb. Ecc. Hist. l. vii. c. 32. Niceph. l. vi. c. 36. Hieron. Cat. Scrip. c. 73. Porph. Vit. Plot. c. 14. ** Simplic. in Categ. p. 1. Suidas.

presented him with a brazen statue. Julian received him as a friend, and frequently corresponded with him. In the year three hundred and sixty-two he was appointed by this emperor prefect of Constantinople. He enjoyed equal distinction under the succeeding emperors, from whom he obtained by his eloquence whatever he wished. Theodosius the Great, during his visit to the Western empire, entrusted Themistius with the care and education of his son Arcadius. His eloquence, wisdom, and ability in public affairs, united with uncommon gentleness of temper and urbanity of manners, were the foundation of that long course of civil honours by which his life was distinguished. About the year three hundred and eighty-seven Themistius withdrew, at an advanced age, from public business, and soon after died.*

A memorable example of the liberal spirit of Themistius is related by ecclesiastical historians.† The emperor Valens, who favoured the Arian party, inflicted many hardships and sufferings upon the Trinitarians, and daily threatened them with still greater severities. Themistius, to whom these measures were exceedingly displeasing, addressed the emperor upon the subject in an eloquent speech, in which he represented the diversity of opinions among the Christians as inconsiderable, compared with that of the Pagan philosophers; and pleaded that this diversity could not be displeasing to God, since it did not prevent men from worshipping him with true piety. By these and other arguments Themistius prevailed upon the emperor to treat the Trinitarians with greater lenity.

Themistius illustrated several of the works of Aristotle, particularly the *Analytics*, the *Physics*, and the book on the Soul, in Commentaries written with great perspicuity and elegance.‡ His “Orations” are strongly marked with the same characters. He is to be distinguished from Themistius, a Christian deacon of Alexandria, who lived after the council of Chalcedon, held in the year five hundred and fifty-one, and was the head of the sect of the *Agnoetæ*;§ so called, because they taught that Christ, the λόγος, was ignorant of many things. There is nothing in the writings of Themistius the philosopher from which it can be inferred that he ever deserted the Pagan schools.

In the following century, about the year four hundred and thirty, flourished OLYMPIODORUS, an Alexandrian philosopher, celebrated for his knowledge of the Aristotelian doctrine. Proclus, before he was twenty years of age, attended upon his school. This philosopher is to be distinguished from a Platonist of this name, whose Commentary upon Plato is preserved among the manuscripts in the king’s library at Paris; and also from a Peripatetic of a later age, who wrote a Commentary upon Aristotle’s *Meteorology*.¶

SIMPLICIUS CILIX, a Platonist, who flourished under the emperor Justinian, wrote commentaries upon Aristotle, which discover sound judgment and extensive reading; but his fondness for the Eclectic method of philosophising led him to mix the Platonic and Stoic with the Peripatetic doctrines. His “Commentary upon the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus” affords a curious example of this combination of heterogeneous tenets. He strenuously defended Aristotle’s doctrine concerning the eternity of the world against Philoponus. Simplicius was one of those Platonists who, about

* Suid. Phot. Cod. 74. Them. Orat. 4. 16. 17. 20. 21. 23. 27. 31. 33. Liban. Epist. i. 139, 140. Jul. ep. ad Them.

† Socrat. l. iv. c. 32. Sozom. l. vi. c. 36. Niceph. l. xi. c. 46.

‡ Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 1. 37. Ed. Venet. 1534. Par. 1684.

§ Phot. Cod. 108. 23.

¶ Suidas. Marin. Vit. Procli, c. 9.

the beginning of the sixth century, fled from the persecution of the emperor to Chosroës, king of Persia.*

From the preceding detail, a sufficiently accurate idea may be formed of the fate of the Peripatetic philosophy under the Roman emperors, before it took refuge, as we shall afterwards see, among the Arabians. Under several of the Cæsars, the philosophers of this school shared, with their brethren, the common discouragements and infelicities of oppression. The concise and logical method of philosophising, which prevailed in this school, could obtain few admirers at a period remarkable for a loose and florid kind of eloquence. The doctrine which the Peripatetics of this period had received from their master suffered much adulteration from the unwearied endeavours of the Alexandrian philosophers to establish an Eclectic system. Notwithstanding the external splendour in which this sect, with several others, appeared under the Antonines, it was from that time impaired by internal disease and corruption. Many bold, but injudicious grammarians and critics attempted to supply chasms, and to clear up obscurities, in the writings of Aristotle, from their own ingenious conjectures, which they presumed to incorporate with the author's text. Even Alexander Aphrodisius, who professed to restore the genuine Aristotelian system, not confining himself to the doctrine of his master, contributed towards its adulteration. But nothing proved so injurious to the Peripatetic philosophy as the rage for commenting upon the works of Aristotle, which prevailed among his followers. Notes, paraphrases, arguments, summaries, and dissertations, piled up, century after century, under the general name of Commentaries upon Aristotle, created, as might be expected, endless disputes concerning the meaning of his writings: and it may, perhaps, be asserted with truth, that their genuine sense, after all the pains which have been taken to explore it, yet remains, in many particulars, undiscovered.†

SECTION VI.—OF THE STATE OF THE CYNIC SECT UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE ancient Cynic sect was instituted, as has been shown, rather with a view to exhibit a pattern of philosophical virtue, than to introduce a new system of opinions. For this end, the original authors and supporters of this sect devoted themselves to voluntary poverty, lived upon the charity of the rich, practised the most rigorous abstinence from pleasure, and became censors of public manners. Whilst the Cynics adhered to their original principles and character, they commanded, notwithstanding their forbidding peculiarities, great attention and respect, not only from the vulgar, but even from persons of the highest rank. But in process of time their independent spirit rose into insufferable haughtiness and insolence; and their unnatural severity of manners degenerated into a gross contempt of decorum, and an impudent freedom of speech. Even so early as the time of Cicero this sect was fallen into such discredit, that it was his opinion that the whole body ought to be banished

* Simp. ad Phys. l. i. com. 12. p. 32. l. iv. com. 53. 141. De Cælo, p. 113. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. viii. p. 621.

† Vidend. Cozzand. de Magistr. Ant. Ph. l. ii. c. 2. Voss. de Sc. Math. c. 33. sect. 9. c. 59. sect. 14. Id. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. c. 4. 15. 20. Grot. Epist. 262. Cleric. Hist. Med. p. iii. c. 9. Jons. l. ii. c. 16. l. vi. c. 19. Ruald. in Vit. Plutarch. c. 7. Meurs. ad Aristoxen. et de Fortuna Attica, c. 8. Labb. Conspect. Interpr. Pl. et Arist. Schellhorn. Amœnit. Lit. P. iii.

from the state, for their shameful violations of modesty.* Under the Cæsars, their infamous excesses furnished Lucian with a copious theme for satire.† In his *Fugitives*,‡ he draws a humorous picture of those false Cynics, who, without the virtues of Diogenes, carried his singularities to the most extravagant height.

The gross and shameless manners of these pretended philosophers exposed them to ridicule and insult from the lowest and most profligate vulgar. Hence Persius says, §

Multum gaudere paratus,
Si Cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellet. (a)

Julian,|| speaking of the Cynics of his time, says, that they led a wandering and brutish life, and were alike troublesome and mischievous by the malignant reproaches which they cast upon the most excellent characters, and by the base adulation which they bestowed upon the most infamous. It is no wonder that this body, so injurious to society, as well as disgraceful to philosophy, was, under the virtuous Antonines, forbidden to hold public schools; and that in the fifth century, as the poet Sidonius intimates,¶ the sect became almost extinct. In the midst of the numerous herd of Cynics whose names are forgotten, there were a few persons whose singular virtues, or vices, have preserved their names from oblivion.

MUSONIUS a Babylonian (confounded by Suidas with Musonius the Tuscan, a Stoic philosopher) is ranked by Eunapius** among the most virtuous and excellent of the modern Cynics. Philostratus speaks of him as next to Apollonius in wisdom, and as an eminent philosopher. His cynical spirit would not permit him to spare the vices of Nero; and the resentment of that tyrant consigned him to prison. Whilst he was in confinement he formed a friendship with Apollonius, and held a correspondence with him, some specimens of which are preserved by Philostratus. He was at last banished to the Isthmus of Greece, and condemned to remain a slave, and to labour daily with the spade. His friend Demetrius, seeing him in this condition, expressed great concern at his misfortunes; upon which Musonius, striking his spade firmly in the ground, said, "Why, Demetrius, do you lament to see me digging in the Isthmus? You might indeed lament if you saw me, like Nero, playing upon the harp.††" Julian speaks with admiration of his magnanimity.‡‡ The time of his death is uncertain; and none of his writings remain. §§

DEMETRIUS of Corinth,||| the friend of Musonius, was also banished from Rome in the time of Nero for his free censure of public manners. After the death of this emperor he returned to Rome; but the boldness of his language soon offended Vespasian, and again deprived him of his liberty. Apollonius, with whom he had contracted a friendship, prevailed upon Titus to recall him; but under Domitian he shared the common fate of the philosophers, and withdrew to Puteoli. Seneca, who was

* De Off. l. i.
§ Sat. i. v. 133.

† Lucian. Diog. et Crates: Vit. Auct. &c.

‡ T. iv. p. 321.

(a) And then, O then, art most supremely blest,
When some wise Cynic's beard becomes a jest.

BREWSTER.

|| Orat. 6, 7. Conf. Maxim. Tyr. Diss. 21. Arrian. Diss. Epict. l. iii. c. 22. p. 229.

¶ Carm. 2. ** In Procem. p. 6.

†† Vit. Apoll. l. iv. c. 35. 46. l. v. c. 19. l. vii. c. 11. 16. Suidas.

‡‡ Epist. ad. Themist. p. 262. §§ Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 365.

||| Eunap. Vit. Soph. p. 7. Philost. l. iv. c. 42. l. v. c. 19. l. vi. c. 30. l. vii. c. 11. Suet. in Vesp. c. 13. Aul. Gel. l. xv. c. 11. Arrian. Ep. l. i. c. 26.

intimately acquainted with Demetrius, speaks in the highest terms of panegyric concerning his masculine eloquence, sound judgment, intrepid fortitude, and inflexible integrity. "Leaving," says he, "the nobles clad in purple, I converse with, and admire, the half-naked Demetrius: and why do I admire him, but because I perceive that in the midst of his poverty he wants nothing!—When I hear this excellent man discoursing from his couch of straw, I perceive in him, not a preceptor only, but a witness of the truth; and I cannot doubt that providence has endued him with such virtues and talents, that he might be an example, and a monitor, to the present age."* Demetrius laid down to himself this prudent maxim, That it is better to have a few precepts of wisdom always at hand for use, than to learn many things which cannot be applied to practice. He attended Thræseas Pætus in his last moments, before his execution, and fortified his mind by conversing with him upon subjects of philosophy.†

Among the Cynics of this period is commonly reckoned, both by ancient and modern writers, CENOMAUS, who wrote a treatise to expose the frauds and impostures of Oracles, and another, to censure the degeneracy of the later Cynics. He flourished under Adrian. His writings are not extant.‡

A distinguished place among the genuine Cynics who were friends to virtue appears to be due to DEMONAX; whose history, though related only by Lucian,§ deserves credit, since it is not probable that the Satirist, who lived at the same period, would have ventured to give a false narrative of a well-known character, or that he would have gone so far out of his usual tack of satire, merely to draw a fictitious portrait of a good man. Demonax, according to Lucian, was born in Cyprus. His parents were possessed of wealth and rank; but he aspired after higher honours in the study of wisdom, and the practice of virtue. Early in life he removed to Athens, where he afterwards continued to reside. In his youth he was intimately conversant with the poets, and committed the most valuable parts of their writings to memory. When he engaged in the study of philosophy, he did not lightly skim over the surface of subjects, but made himself perfect master of the several sects. In his habit and manner of living Demonax resembled Diongenes, and is therefore properly ranked among the Cynics; but he imitated Socrates in making philosophy, not a speculative science, but a rule of life and manners. He never openly espoused the doctrines of any particular sect, but took from each whatever tenets he judged most favourable to moral wisdom. Avoiding all ridiculous singularity, disgusting severity, and forbidding haughtiness, he associated freely with all, and conversed with such graceful ease, that persuasion might be said to dwell upon his lips. He possessed the happy art of rendering even reproof acceptable; like a prudent physician, curing the disease without fretting the patient. His simple manner of living gave him perfect independence; and his virtues procured him such a degree of influence, that he was often employed in settling domestic dissensions. His philanthropy was universal; and he never withdrew his regard from any, but such as would not be persuaded to forsake their vices. So perfect was his equanimity, that nothing ever deeply affected him, except the

* Sen. de Vit. Beat. c. 25.

† Sen. Ep. 20. 62. 67. 91. De Benef. l. vii. c. 1. 8, 9. 11. Qu. Nat. l. iv. Præf. de Prov. c. 4, 5. Tacit. Annal. xv. c. ult.

‡ Suidas. Fabr. B. Gr. v. ii. p. 365. Jul. Orat. vi, vii.

§ In Demonacte, t. ii. p. 560.

sickness or death of a friend. He lived nearly to the age of an hundred years, without suffering pain or disease, or becoming burdensome to any one. In extreme old age he went from house to house wherever he pleased, and was every where received with respect. As he passed along the streets the sellers of bread would beg him to accept of some from their hands; and children would offer him fruits, and call him father. He died with the same placid countenance with which he had been accustomed to meet his friends. The Athenians honoured his body with a public funeral, which was attended by a numerous train of philosophers and others, who all lamented the loss of so excellent a man. If this picture, which is that of Lucian in miniature, was originally taken from real life, the biographer had some reason to speak of Demonax as the best philosopher her ever knew.

From the anecdotes of Demonax, related by Lucian, we shall select the following:—Soon after Demonax came to Athens a public charge was brought against him for neglecting to offer sacrifice to Minerva, and to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Appearing before the assembly in a white garment, he pleaded, that Minerva did not stand in need of his offerings; and that he declined initiation into the mysteries because, if they were bad he ought not to conceal them, and if they were good, his love to mankind would oblige him to disclose them: upon which he was acquitted. One of his companions proposing to go to the temple of Esculapius, to pray for the recovery of his son from sickness, Demonax said, “Do you suppose that Esculapius cannot hear you as well from this place?” Hearing two ignorant pretenders to philosophy conversing, and remarking that the one asked foolish questions, and the other made replies which were nothing to the purpose, he said, “One of these men is milking a he-goat, while the other is holding a sieve under him.” Advising a certain rhetorician, who was a wretched declaimer, to perform frequent exercises; the rhetorician answered, “I frequently practise by myself.” “No wonder,” replied Demonax, “that you are so bad a speaker, when you practise before so foolish an audience.” Seeing a Spartan beating his servant unmercifully, he said to him, “Why do you thus put yourself upon a level with your slave?” When Demonax was informed that the Athenians had thoughts of erecting an amphitheatre for gladiators, in imitation of the Corinthians, he went into the assembly, and cried out, “Athenians, before you make this resolution, go and pull down the Altar of Mercy.”

Of a character very different from that of Demonax was CRESCENS, a Megalopolitan. He even disgraced the name of Cynic by his infamous practices: nevertheless, he declaimed eloquently in praise of abstinence, magnanimity, and contempt of death. Crescens is mentioned by Tatian, Justin Martyr, and Jerom, as a vile calumniator of the Christians. His malicious accusation of Justin for atheism before the magistrate crowned that illustrious ornament of the Christian church with the honours of martyrdom.*

About this period lived PEREGRINUS, of Parium in Pontus. Lucian, relating the particulars of his life,† says, that after having been guilty of many enormities, he became a Christian, and obtained a temporary credit among the Christians in Palestine; but that, returning to his old habits, he was dismissed from their society, and went to Egypt, where, in the

* Tatian. Or. adv. Græc. p. 157. Just. Apol. i. p. 46. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. iv. c. 16. Syncell. p. 351. Phot. Cod. 125. Hieron. Cat. Script. c. 23.

† De Morte Peregrini. t. iv. p. 268. Athenag. legat. c. 23.

character of a mendicant Cynic, he practised the most extravagant exploits of fanaticism; that he afterwards roved about through Italy and Greece, pouring forth the most impudent invectives against men of rank, and even against the emperor himself; and that at last, to procure himself an immortal name, he went to the Olympic games, and, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators, raised a funeral pile, upon which in imitation of Hercules, he devoted himself to voluntary death. It is very probable that in this account the satirist has not given a just representation of the character of Peregrinus; for Aulus Gellius* speaks of him as a philosopher of reputation in Athens, who was admired for his constancy, and whose moral lectures were much frequented. The story of his last mad adventure is probably true.† Eusebius relates that he committed himself to the flames in the year one hundred and sixty-eight.

The last name which remains to be added to the list of ancient Cynics, is that of SALUSTIUS, a Syrian, who flourished about the beginning of the sixth century. After having studied and practised eloquence, he attended upon Proclus at Athens, and was instructed by him in the Alexandrian philosophy. But being disgusted with the futile speculations, and the chaotic confusion of this school, he determined to adopt a kind of philosophy, which he judged to be better suited to the purposes of human life, and addicted himself to the Cynic sect. Leaving Athens, he went with Isidorus to Alexandria, where he freely censured the vices of the times, and inveighed, with great acrimony, against the speculative philosophers of every sect. A treatise "On the Gods," edited by Gale in his *Opuscula Mythologica*, was probably not the work of this Salustius, but of a Platonist of the same name, who lived in the time of Julian.‡

SECTION VII.—OF THE STATE OF THE STOIC SECT UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Stoic philosophy, which had obtained so much authority during the Roman republic, especially among the professors of the law, continued to flourish under the emperors till after the reigns of the Antonines. Its ethical doctrine became the permanent basis of the Roman jurisprudence; and the high tone of wisdom and virtue which it assumed induced many persons of great distinction and eminent merit to declare themselves of the Stoic sect, or at least to prefer its moral system to that of any other school. The prevalence of the Christian doctrine at this period seems to have contributed, in no small degree, to the success of Stoicism, by leading its followers, to whom the language and tenets of Christianity could not be unknown, to soften the extravagancies of their own system, and to clothe its dogmas in a more popular dress. Add to this, that the Stoic sect acquired great credit and authority from the illustrious examples of many persons of both sexes, who, in these times of civil oppression, bravely encountered death in the cause of liberty and virtue. Among the heroines of this age, Tacitus mentions the two Arrias, the wives of Cæcina Pætus and Thræseas, and Fannia the wife of Helvidius. From these and other causes the Stoic sect, in the time of Juvenal, prevailed almost through the whole Roman empire.

* Noct. Att. l. viii. c. 3. l. xii. c. 11.

† Tatian. Or. adv. Gr. c. 41. Philostr. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 13. Euseb. Chron. Ol. 236.

‡ Suidas. Phot. Cod. 242. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 643.

Melius nos
Zenonis præcepta monent, nec enim omnia quædam
Pro vita facienda putat, sed Cantaber unde
Stoicus, antiqui præsertim ætate Metelli?
Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas.* (a)

Under Antoninus Pius schools of Stoicism were supported at the public expense in Athens, Alexandria, and probably too at Rome; for Antoninus, after he came to the purple, visited the house of Apollonius the Stoic to study philosophy.† At Tarsus in Cilicia there was also a Stoic school, which produced several celebrated philosophers, afterwards to be mentioned.

But notwithstanding the general credit which the Stoic doctrine obtained, it met with powerful opposition from several quarters; particularly from the Sceptics, who were ingenious, and indefatigable in their endeavours to overturn every dogmatic system; and from the Alexandrian sect, which, by its destructive plan of coalition, corrupted the genuine doctrine of every other school. From the period when the motley Eclectic system was established Stoicism began to decline; and in the age of Augustine it no longer subsisted as a distinct sect. It was only during the short space of two hundred years that the Roman school of Zeno was adorned with illustrious names which claim a place in the history of philosophy.‡

The first Stoic who merits attention in this period is *ATHENODORUS*,§ of Tarsus in Cilicia. He lived at Rome, and on account of his learning, wisdom, and moderation, was highly esteemed by Augustus. His opinion and advice had great weight with the emperor, and are said to have led him into a milder plan of government than he had at first adopted. He obtained for his fellow-citizens, the inhabitants of Tarsus, relief from a part of the burden of taxes which had been imposed upon them, and was on this account honoured with an annual festival. Athenodorus was entrusted by Augustus with the education of the young prince Claudius; and, that he might the more successfully execute his charge, his illustrious pupil became for a while a resident in his house. This philosopher retired in his old age to Tarsus, where he died in his eighty-second year.

At the beginning of the reign of Nero lived, and taught, at Rome, *ANNÆUS CORNUTUS*,|| an African; a name not without distinction in the family of the Stoics. He excelled in criticism and poetry; but his principal study was philosophy. His merit as a teacher of the Stoic doctrine, sufficiently appears from his having been the preceptor of that honest advocate for virtue, the satirist Persius. How highly the master

* Sat. xv. v. 108.

(a) Zeno indeed has taught us sounder wit,
"Better to die than a vile deed commit."
But how should Spaniards know the Stoic lore?
Which Rome e'en knew not in those days of yore.
Learning indeed is now more widely spread,
And Greek and Latin every where are read.

OWEN.

† Lucian. in Eunuch. t. iv. p. 160. Capitolin. in Anton. P. c. 11. in Aurel. c. 10. Xiphil. in Ant. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. Athen. l. iv. p. 186.

‡ Euseb. Præp. l. xiv. c. 2. Phot. Cod. 124. Aug. adv. Acad. l. iii. c. 18.

§ Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 391. Zosim. l. i. c. 6. Lucian. in Macrob. t. ii. p. 829. Suet. in Claud. c. 4. Suidas.

|| Suidas. Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 6. l. ix. c. 10. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 401.

was esteemed by his pupil may be inferred from the following passage, among many others :*

Cumque iter ambiguum est, et vitæ nescius error
Deducit trepidas ramosa in compita mentes
Me tibi supposui : teneros tu suscipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, sinu, tunc fallere solers
Apposita intortos extendit regula mores :
Et premitur ratione animus, vincique laborat,
Artificemque tuo ducit sub pollice vultum. (a)

Persius, dying before his master, left him his library, with a considerable sum of money ; but Cornutus, accepting only the books, gave the money to the sisters of Persius. The poet Lucan was also one of his pupils. Under Nero, Cornutus was driven into exile for his freedom of speech. The emperor having written several books in verse upon the affairs of Rome, and his flatterers advising him to continue the poem, this honest Stoic had the courage to remark that he doubted whether so large a work would be read ; and when it was urged that Chrysippus had written as much, he replied, "His writings were useful to mankind." After such an unpardonable offence against imperial vanity, the only wonder was that Cornutus escaped with life.†

CAIUS MUSONIUS RUFUS,‡ a Tuscan of equestrian rank, who enjoyed military honours, was a great admirer of the Stoic philosophy, and took much pains to disseminate its principles and precepts among the Roman youth, particularly among the officers of the army. The attempt was ridiculed by some, and offended others. Nero, who perhaps did not himself escape the admonitions of this bold reformer, was displeased at his freedom, and banished him to Gyæra. He was afterwards, however, recalled by Vespasian ; and that emperor was so well pleased with his conduct, particularly in his strenuous opposition to the measures of Egnotius Celer, a man universally detested, that when, at the instigation of Mucian, he banished the philosophers from Rome and Italy, Musonius alone was permitted to remain in the city. His philosophy, like that of Socrates, was adapted to the purposes of life and manners, as may be inferred from a dissertation which he has left "On the Exercise of the Mind," preserved by Stobæus.§

Among the Stoics of this period we must also reckon CHÆREMON,|| an

* Sat. v. ver. 34.

(a) Scarce had I reach'd the slippery point of life,
Where vice and virtue wage a doubtful strife ;
Where inexperience flexile youth betrays,
And leads it devious thro' her mazy ways ;
But lo ! Cornutus, thy directing hand
Sudden I sought, I stoop'd to thy command :
On thy Socratic bosom lay reclined,
While wholesome precepts form'd the list'ning mind.
Thy standard rule with nice address applied,
Corrected every thought that warp'd aside.
My soul by reason's force convicted stood,
Its error saw, and strove to be subdued.
Thy abler skill submissive it obey'd ;
It took the stamp thy forming finger made.

BREWSTER.

† Aul. Gell. l. vi. c. 2. Dio, l. lxii. p. 715. Euseb. Ecc. H. l. vi. c. 19. Suidas. Gale, Opusc. Myth. Præf.

‡ Suidas. Tacit. Ann. l. iv. c. 10. 40. l. xiv. c. 59, 60. Hist. l. iii. c. 81. Philostr. Vit. Apol. l. vii. c. 16. Xiphil. et Zen. in Vesp. Orig. adv. Cels. l. iii. p. 156.

§ Serm. 117.

|| Suidas. Euseb. Præp. l. v. c. 10. l. xi. c. 57. Porph. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. iv. p. 360. Orig. adv. Cels. l. i. p. 46. Sen. Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 5.

Egyptian, who in his youth had the charge of the Alexandrian library, but afterwards removed to Rome, where he was employed, with Alexander Ægeres, as one of the preceptors of Nero. Under his name the epigrammatist Martial* ridicules the whole sect of the Stoics for their contempt of riches; but it is not probable that Chæremon was ever in that state of poverty which the poet describes. This philosopher wrote a book concerning comets, quoted by Origen; and an account of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and priesthood, of which a curious fragment is preserved by Porphyry.

In the whole school of Zeno, there is no name more highly celebrated than that of Seneca; and whether we consider his natural abilities, his extensive erudition, or the number and merit of his writings, this philosopher is certainly entitled to particular attention.

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA was a native of Corduba, an ancient and flourishing Roman settlement in Spain.† His father, Marcus Annæus Seneca, a man of equestrian rank, was a celebrated orator; his mother's name was Helvia. He was born about fifteen years before the death of Augustus, or the year before the commencement of the Christian era,‡ and was brought to Rome while a child, probably for education, by his aunt, who accompanied him on account of the delicate state of his health.§ His first studies were devoted by his father to eloquence; but his mind, naturally disposed towards serious and weighty pursuits, soon passed over from words to things; and he chose rather to reason with the philosophers than to declaim with the rhetoricians. This propensity was displeasing to his father, who, having himself no taste for philosophy, thought it a frivolous study, and had no other object of ambition, either for himself or his children, than eloquence. His son Junius Gallio succeeded in this pursuit, and was celebrated for the melody of his elocution; but Lucius was not to be diverted from his purpose of devoting himself to wisdom. Sotion, a philosopher, who, though of the Pythagorean sect, inclined to the Stoic doctrine concerning morals, was fixed upon as his preceptor. But whether it was that Seneca was disgusted with the severity of the Pythagoric discipline, or that he was dissatisfied with the obscure dogmas of this school, he soon forsook Sotion, and became a disciple of Attalus, a Stoic; at the same time, occasionally conversing with philosophers of other sects, and freely examining the writings, or doctrines, of the several founders of the Grecian schools. Through his father's importunity, he for a short time interrupted his philosophical studies to engage in the business of the courts; and we are assured by so good a judge as Quintilian, that, whilst he continued to plead, his speeches, if deficient in some of the graces of oratory, abounded with that good sense and strength of thought which are the basis of eloquence.||

Thus furnished with plentiful stores of learning, and with a competent skill in the art of speaking, Seneca, as soon as he arrived at the age of manhood, aspired to the honours of the state. The first office with which he was invested was that of questor; but at what time he obtained it is uncertain.¶ From this time his good fortune made rapid advances; and he soon rose to distinction in the court of Claudius: but the particulars of his public life, during this period, are no where preserved. Hence it is

* L. xi. ep. 57.

† Qu. Nat. l. i. c. 1.

‡ Dial. de Causs. Corr. Eloq.

§ Cons. ad Helv. c. 16. Ep. 108.

¶ De Vit. Beat. c. 3. De Benef. l. ii. c. 17. l. iv. c. 7.

De Prov. c. 5. Qu. Nat. l. iii. c. 29. Ep. 9. 18. 21. 33. 41. 45. 48. 58. 65. 75. 89. 94.

97. 100. 107.

¶ Cons. ad Helv. c. 16.

† Plin. Hist. N. l. iii. c. 1. Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 54.

impossible to discover with certainty the cause of the charge, which was publicly brought against him, of adultery with Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, and wife of Venicius. It is probable, however, from the infamous character of Messalina,* who instigated the prosecution, that he was accused without any sufficient ground. The affair, notwithstanding, terminated in his banishment; and Seneca, after having for many years enjoyed the favour of the emperor, and been distinguished among the great, was obliged to remain eight years an exile in the island of Corsica. Here, if we are to credit his own account, he passed his time agreeably, devoting himself entirely to the study of philosophy and elegant learning. In a letter to his mother, he says,† “Be assured that I am as cheerful and happy as in the days of my greatest prosperity; I may indeed call my present days such; since my mind, free from care, is at leisure for its favourite pursuits, and can either amuse itself with lighter studies, or, in its eager search after truth, rise to the contemplation of its own nature and that of the universe.” But it may be questioned whether Stoic ostentation had not some share in dictating this report; for we find him, in another place, expressing much distress on account of his misfortune, and courting the emperor in a strain of servile adulation, little worthy of so eminent a philosopher.

Agrippina, the second wife of Claudius, whose character was the reverse of that of Messalina, employed her interest with the emperor in favour of Seneca; and not only obtained his recall from banishment, but prevailed upon Claudius to confer upon him the honourable office of pretor.‡ Her inducement to this measure appears to have been a desire of engaging a philosopher of so much distinction and merit to undertake the education of her son. Probably, too, she hoped, by attaching Seneca to her family, to strengthen Nero’s interest in the state; for the Roman people would, of course, entertain high expectations from a prince educated under such a master. Afranius Burrhus, a pretorian prefect, was joined with Seneca in this important charge: and these two preceptors, who were intrusted with equal authority, and had each his respective department, executed their trust with perfect harmony, and with some degree of success; Burrhus instructing his pupil in the military art, and inuring him to wholesome discipline; Seneca furnishing him with the principles of philosophy, and the precepts of wisdom and eloquence; and both endeavouring to confine their pupil within the limits of decorum and virtue.§ Whilst these preceptors united their authority, Nero was restrained from indulging his natural propensities; but after the death of Burrhus, the influence of Seneca declined, and the young prince began to disclose that depravity which afterwards stained his character with eternal infamy.||

Still, however, Seneca enjoyed the favour of his prince; and, after Nero was advanced to the empire, he long continued to load his preceptor with honours and riches. Partly from inheritance and marriage, but chiefly through imperial munificence, he possessed a large estate, and lived in great splendour.¶ Juvenal speaks of **

—— Senecæ prædixit hortos. (a)

A superb mansion at Rome, delightful country seats, rich furniture, includ-

* Suet. in Calig. c. 19. in Claud. c. 29. Dio, l. lx. Tacit. Ann. l. xiii. c. 42.

† Consol. ad Hel. c. 4. ad Polyb. c. 21.

‡ Tacit. Ann. l. xii. c. 8.

§ Tacit. Ann. l. xiii. c. 2.

|| Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 52.

¶ Consol. ad Helv. c. 2. Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 53.

** Sat. ix.

(a) The gardens of the wealthy Seneca.

ing, as Dio particularly mentions, five hundred cedar tables with ivory feet, uniform and of excellent workmanship,* were articles of luxury hitherto unusual among philosophers, and were thought by many not very consistent with that high tone of indifference, in which the Stoics, and among the rest Seneca himself, spoke of external good. Suilius, one of his enemies,† asked by what wisdom, or by what precepts of philosophy, Seneca had been able, during four years of imperial favour, to amass the immense sum of three hundred thousand *sestertia*.‡

Seneca perceived the gathering clouds of jealousy and envy, and saw that his sovereign himself, whose vices were now become too imperious to endure restraint, was disposed to listen to the whispers of obloquy. In hopes of escaping the destruction which threatened him, he earnestly requested the emperor's permission to withdraw from the court, and devote the remainder of his days to philosophy; he even offered to refund the immense treasures which royal bounty had lavished upon him, and to retire with a bare competency. Nero rejected his proposal, and assured him of the continuance of his favour; but the philosopher knew the emperor's disposition too well to rely upon his promises. From this time Seneca declined all ceremonious visits, avoided company, and, under the pretence of indisposition, or a desire of prosecuting his studies, confined himself almost entirely to his own house.§

It was not long before Seneca was convinced that in distrusting a tyrant, whose mind was wholly occupied by suspicion, he had acted prudently. Antonius Natalis, who had been concerned in the conspiracy of Piso, upon his examination, in order to court the favour of Nero, or perhaps even at his instigation, mentioned Seneca among the number of the conspirators. This single evidence was by the tyrant deemed sufficient against the man to whom he had been indebted for his education, and whom he had called his friend. To give some colour to the accusation, Natalis pretended that he had been sent by Piso to visit Seneca whilst he was sick, and to complain of his having refused to see Piso, who as a friend might have expected free access to him upon all occasions; and that Seneca, in reply, had said, that frequent conversations could be of no service to either party, but that he considered his own safety as involved in that of Piso. Granius Sylvanus, tribune of the pretorian cohort, was sent to ask Seneca whether he recollected what had passed between himself and Natalis. Seneca, whether by accident or design is uncertain, had that day left Campania, and was at his country seat, about four miles from the city. In the evening, while he was at supper with his wife Paullina and two friends, the tribune, attended by a military band, came to the house, and after giving the soldiers orders to surround it, delivered the emperor's message. Seneca's answer was, that he had received a complaint from Piso, of his having refused to see him; and that the state of his health, which required repose, had been his apology. He added, that he saw no reason why he should prefer the safety of any other individual to his own; and that no one was better acquainted than Nero with his independent spirit.

This reply kindled the emperor's indignation, and he asked the messenger whether Seneca discovered any intention of putting an end to his own life. The tribune assured him that there was no appearance either of terror or of distress in his countenance or language. Upon this the tyrant, who felt his own pusillanimity reproached by the constancy of the philo-

* Dio, l. lx. Ep. 67.

† *Æ*2,421,875.

‡ Tac. Ann. l. xiii. c. 42. 52, 53.

§ Tac. Ann. l. xiv. c. 53. 56. Suet. in Ner. c. 35.

sopher, ordered him to return without delay to Seneca, with his peremptory command immediately to put himself to death. Sylvanus, who had himself been one of the conspirators, had not the courage to meet the face of Seneca upon such an embassy, but sent the fatal message by one of his centurions. The philosopher received it with perfect composure, and asked permission of the officer to alter his will. This indulgence being refused him, he turned to his friends, and requested, that, since he was not allowed to leave them any other legacy, they would preserve in their memory a portrait of his life, as a perpetual monument of friendship. At the same time he restrained their tears, and exhorted them to exercise that fortitude which they had professed to learn in the school of philosophy. "Where are now," said he, "our boasted precepts of wisdom? where the armour, which we have been so many years providing against adverse fate? Who among us has been a stranger to the savage spirit of Nero? After murdering his mother, and his brother, it was not to be expected that he would spare his preceptor."

Having conversed in this manner for some time with his friends, Seneca embraced his wife, and earnestly intreated her to moderate her grief, and after his death to console herself with the recollection of his virtues: but Paullina refused every consolation, except that of dying with her husband, and earnestly solicited the friendly hand of the executioner. Seneca, after expressing his admiration of his wife's fortitude, proceeded to obey the emperors fatal mandate, by opening a vein in each arm: but, through his advanced age, the vital stream flowed so reluctantly, that it was necessary also to open the veins of his legs. Still finding his strength exhausted without any prospect of a speedy release, in order to alleviate, if possible, the anguish of his wife, who was a spectator of the scene, and to save himself the torture of witnessing her distress, he persuaded her to withdraw to another chamber. In this situation, Seneca, with wonderful recollection and self-command, dictated many philosophical reflections to his secretary. After a long interval, his friend Statius Annæus, to whom he complained of the tedious delay of death, administered to him a strong dose of poison; but even this, through the feeble state of his vital powers, produced little effect. At last, he ordered the attendants to convey him into a warm bath; and, as he entered, he sprinkled those who stood near, saying, "I offer this libation to Jupiter the Deliverer." Then, plunging into the bath, he was soon suffocated. His body was consumed, according to his own express order in a will which he had made in the height of his prosperity, without any funeral pomp.*

Such was the end of Seneca, an end not unworthy the purest and best principles of the Stoic philosophy.

The character, the system, and the writings of this philosopher have been subjects of much dispute among the learned. Concerning his character, a candid judge, who considers the virtuous sentiments with which his writings abound, the temperate and abstemious plan of life which he pursued in the midst of a luxurious court,† and the fortitude with which he met his fate, will not hastily pronounce him to have been guilty of adultery, upon the evidence of the infamous Messalina; or conclude his wealth to have been the reward of a servile compliance with the base passions of his prince. It has been questioned whether Seneca ought to be ranked among the Stoic or the Eclectic philosophers; and the freedom of

* Tacit. l. xv. Ann. c. 62.

† Ep. 108. 87. 104. 112. Tacit. Ann. l. xv. c. 45. 63. l. xiii. c. 3. l. xiv. c. 7. Qu. Nat. l. iii. c. 7. Conf. Dio, l. lxi. Xiphilin.

judgment which he expressly claims, together with the respect which he pays to philosophers of different sects, clearly prove that he did not implicitly addict himself to the system of Zeno; nor can the contrary be inferred from his speaking of *our* Chrysippus, and *our* Cleanthes; for he speaks also of *our* Demetrius, and *our* Epicurus. It is evident, however, from the general tenor and spirit of his writings, that he adhered in the main to the Stoic system.* With respect to his writings, as it is not our proper business to examine their literary merit, we shall content ourselves with remarking that, although he is justly censured by Quintilian,† and other critics, as among the Romans the first corrupter of style, his works are, nevertheless, exceedingly valuable, on account of the great number of just and beautiful moral sentiments which they contain, the extensive erudition which they discover, and the happy mixture of freedom and urbanity with which they censure vice, and inculcate good morals. The writings of Seneca, except his Books of "Physical Questions," are chiefly of the moral kind: they consist of one hundred and twenty-four "Epistles," and distinct Treatises, "On Anger; Consolation; Providence; Tranquillity of Mind; Constancy; Clemency; the Shortness of Life; a Happy Life; Retirement; Benefits."‡

Among the more celebrated Stoics, who lived in the time of Nero, we must also reckon DIO of PRUSA in Bithynia, called for his eloquence Chrysostom. Under Nero and Vespasian he followed the profession of a Sophist; and in his juvenile orations he treated light subjects in a declamatory and luxuriant style, and frequently inveighed against the most illustrious poets and philosophers of antiquity. This raised no small degree of ill-will against him, which induced him to leave Rome, and withdraw to Egypt. From this time he assumed the character of a Stoic philosopher; but he retained so much of his former manner, that he embellished his philosophical discourses, which turned chiefly upon moral topics, with the graces of eloquence. Both his doctrine and practice being strictly conformable to the principles of virtue, he was a bold censor of vice, and spared no individual on account of his rank. His freedom of speech offended Domitian; and he went into voluntary exile in Thrace, where he lived in great poverty, and was obliged to support himself by servile labour. After the death of Domitian, he returned to Rome, and remained a short time concealed; but finding the soldiers inclined to sedition, he suddenly brought to their remembrance Dio the orator and philosopher, by haranguing them in a strain of manly eloquence, which soon subdued the tumult. Both Nerva and Trajan admitted him to their confidence, and the former distinguished him by public token of favour. He lived to old age; but the time of his death is uncertain. The "Orations" of Dio are still extant, from which it appears that he was a man of sound judgment and lively fancy, and that he happily united in his style the qualities of animation and sweetness.§

EUPHRATES|| of Alexandria was a friend of Dio and of Apollonius Tyaneus, who introduced him to Vespasian. This emperor on some occasion, preferring the opinion of Euphrates to that of Apollonius, a violent

* Ep. 96. 78. 41. Cons. ad Marc. c. xix. 25.

† Inst. l. x. c. 1. Conf. Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 14. Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 2.

‡ Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 32.

§ Eunap. in Procem. Philostr. Vit. Soph. l. i. c. 7, 8. Vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 31. 40. Synesii Op. p. 35. 37. Petav. Phot. Cod. 209. Dion. Orat. 12, 13, 14, 15. 17. 21, 22. 30, 31. 71, 72. 80.

|| Eunap. in Procem. Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 28. 33. l. vi. c. 7. 13. l. viii. c. 3.

quarrel arose between these two philosophers; whence Philostratus, the panegyrist of the latter, inveighs against Euphrates with great severity; but it appears from the testimony of Epictetus, Pliny the Younger, and Eusebius, that he was universally esteemed for his talents and virtues. Pliny's character of this philosopher is too interesting to be omitted. "If ever polite learning flourished at Rome, it certainly does at present. Of this I could give you many instances; but I will content myself with naming only Euphrates the philosopher. When in my youth I served in the army in Syria, I had an opportunity of conversing familiarly with this excellent man, and took some pains to gain his affection; though that indeed was not difficult; for he is exceedingly open to access, and full of that gentleness of manners which he teaches. Euphrates is possessed of shining talents, which cannot fail to interest even the unlearned. He discourses with great accuracy, dignity, and elegance, and frequently rises into the sublimity and luxuriance of Plato himself. His style is copious and diversified, and so wonderfully sweet, as to captivate even the most reluctant auditor. Add to all this, his graceful form, comely aspect, long hair, and large white beard; circumstances which, though they may probably be thought trifling and accidental, contribute, however, to procure him much reverence. There is no disgusting negligence in his dress; his countenance is grave, but not austere; his approach commands respect, without creating awe. With the strictest sanctity he unites the most perfect politeness of manners. He inveighs against vice, not against men; and, without chastising, reclaims the offender. You listen with fixed attention to his exhortations, and even when convinced, still hang with eagerness upon his lips."*

If this testimony to the uncommon merit of Euphrates be compared with the praises bestowed upon him by Epictetus† and Eusebius,‡ the censures of Philostratus will appear deserving of nothing but contempt. In conformity to the principles of the Stoic philosophy, Euphrates, when he found his strength worn out by disease and old age, voluntarily put a period to his life by drinking hemlock, having first, for some unknown reason, obtained permission from the emperor Adrian.§

Another illustrious ornament of the Stoic school, who claims respectful attention both for his wisdom and virtues, is EPICTETUS.|| This eminent philosopher was born at Hierapolis in Phrygia, in a servile condition, and was sold as a slave to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's domestics. Ancient writers are agreed that Epictetus was lame, but differ with respect to the cause of his lameness. Suidas says that he lost one of his legs when he was young, in consequence of a defluxion; Simplicius asserts that he was born lame; Celsus relates that, when his master, in order to torture him, bended his leg, Epictetus, without discovering any sign of fear, said to him, "You will break it:" and when his tormenter had broken the leg, he only said, "Did I not tell you you would break it?" Others ascribe his lameness to the heavy chains with which his master loaded him.¶

Having at length, by some means which are not related, obtained his manumission, Epictetus retired to a small hut within the city of Rome, where, with nothing more than the bare necessities of life, he devoted himself to the study of philosophy. Here he passed his days entirely alone, till his humanity led him to take the charge of a child, whom a friend of his had through poverty exposed, and to provide it with a nurse. Having

* Plin. Ep. l. i. ep. 10. † Arrian, l. iv. c. 8. p. 427. ‡ Adv. Hierocl. c. 33.

§ Dio, l. lxxix.

|| Simplic Procem. comm. in Enchir. Ep. Suidas. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 259.

¶ Simplic. ib. p. 70. Orig. adv. Cels. l. vii. p. 378. Arrian, l. i. c. 8.

furnished himself, by diligent study, with a competent knowledge of the principles of the Stoic philosophy, and having received instructions in rhetoric from Rufus, who is said to have been himself a bold and successful corrector of public manners, Epictetus, notwithstanding his poverty became a popular moral preceptor. He was an acute and judicious observer of manners. His eloquence was simple, majestic, nervous, and penetrating. His doctrine inculcated the purest morals; and his life was an admirable pattern of sobriety, magnanimity, and the most rigid virtue.*

Neither his humble station, nor his singular merit, could, however, screen Epictetus from the tyranny of the monster Domitian. With the rest of the philosophers he was banished, under a mock decree of the senate from Italy. But he bore his exile with a degree of firmness worthy of a philosopher who called himself a citizen of the world, and could boast that, wherever he went, he carried his best treasures along with him. At Nicopolis, the place which he chose for his residence, he prosecuted his design of correcting vice and folly by the precepts of philosophy. Wherever he could obtain an auditory he discoursed concerning the true way of attaining contentment and happiness; and the wisdom and eloquence of his discourses were so highly admired, that it became a common practice among the more studious of his hearers to commit them to writing.†

It is uncertain whether Epictetus returned to Rome after the death of Domitian; but the respect which Adrian entertained for him renders it probable. The "Conference between Adrian and Epictetus," if the work were authentic, would confirm this probability; but it is impossible to compare it with his genuine remains without pronouncing it spurious.‡

Epictetus flourished from the time of Nero to the latter end of the reign of Adrian; but it is improbable, notwithstanding the assertion of Themistius§ and Suidas,|| that his life was protracted to the reign of the Antonines; for Aulus Gellius,¶ who wrote in their time, speaks of Epictetus as lately dead; and the emperor Marcus Aurelius mentions him only to lament his loss: whereas, had he been living when that prince engaged preceptors of different sects, it is not likely that he would have overlooked the first ornament of the Porch, or preferred his disciple Junius Rusticus. The memory of Epictetus was so highly respected, that, according to Lucian, the earthen lamp by which he used to study was sold for three thousand drachms.** His beautiful Moral Manual, or *Enchiridion*, and his "Dissertations" collected by Arian,†† were drawn up from notes which his disciples took from his lips. Simplicius has left a Commentary upon his doctrine, in the Eclectic manner. There are also various fragments of the wisdom of Epictetus preserved by Antoninus, Gellius, Stobæus, and others.

Although the doctrine of Epictetus is less extravagant than that of any other Stoic, his writings every where breathe the true spirit of Stoicism. The sum of his moral precepts is, ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, Endure and abstain.‡‡ He inculcates contentment upon the principle that all things happen according

* Simplic. p. 70. 180. Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 2. Arrian, l. i. c. 8, 9. 12. l. iii. c. 15. 23. Orig. l. vi. p. 283.

† Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 11. l. xvii. c. 19. Suet. in Domit. c. 10. Lucian. in Peregr. t. iv. p. 283. Arrian, Præf. et Diss.

‡ Spartian. in Hadr. c. 16. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 502. v. xiii. p. 557.

§ Orat. 5. || In Epict. ¶ L. ii. c. 18. l. vii. sect. 19.

** Adv. Indoct. lib. ement. t. ii. p. 767.

†† Phot. Cod. 58. Lucian, Pseudom. t. i. p. 524. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 269. 246.

‡‡ Gell. l. xvii. c. 19.

to the appointment of Providence, that is, as the Stoics understood the term, according to the inevitable order of fate.

SEXTUS, of Chæronea* in Bœotia, must be added to the list of Stoics of this period. His eminence in philosophy may be inferred from the account which Antoninus† gives of the able and faithful manner in which he discharged the duties of a preceptor. Such was the respect which his illustrious pupil continued to entertain for him, that after he was nominated to the succession in the imperial power, he frequently visited Sextus, to converse with him upon philosophical subjects; and after he assumed the purple often consulted him in the administration of justice. Certain "Dissertations against Scepticism," which are commonly annexed to the works of Sextus Empiricus, were probably written by this Sextus of Chæronea.‡

The last ornament of the Stoic school, who remains to be mentioned, is the great and good emperor, MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS; § a man, not less distinguished by his learning, wisdom, and virtue, than by his imperial dignity. We shall here consider him only in the light of a philosopher, and a patron of philosophers.

Aurelius, who was born in the year one hundred and twenty-one, after having been early instructed in languages, eloquence, and liberal arts, followed the natural bias of his genius, in devoting himself to the study of philosophy under Sextus Junius, and other professors of the Stoic school. At the same time he omitted no opportunity of acquainting himself with the tenets of other sects. At twelve years of age he forsook the common pursuits and amusements of childhood, and assumed the habit of a Stoic philosopher. In order to inure himself to the hardiness of the Stoic character, he used to sleep upon the ground, with no other covering than his cloak; and it was with great difficulty that his mother prevailed upon him to make use of a leathern couch. So great was the respect which he always retained for his preceptors, that he honoured their memory with statues, and kept their busts, or portraits, in his domestic temple. ||

The accomplishments and virtues of this excellent youth recommended him to the favour of the emperor Adrian, who conducted him rapidly through the several stages of advancement, and who appointed Antoninus Pius his successor upon the express condition that Aurelius should be next in succession. Aurelius, far from being elated with these honours, upon his removal from his father's house to the emperor's, discovered great reluctance, and expressed strong apprehensions of the difficulties and hazards of government. After his advancement, he continued to treat his parents with the same respect, and to pay the same regard to their advice and authority as he had before always done. Nor did he suffer the engagements or avocations of his high station to divert him from the prosecution of his studies. Under the direction of Apollonius the Chalcedian, a Stoic philosopher, he studied philosophy as the foundation of policy, in order to qualify himself for the offices of government. ¶

During the life of Antoninus Pius, that emperor was greatly assisted in the affairs of government by Aurelius, who gave him every possible proof

* Suidas. Apul. Metam. c. 1. Eutrop. l. viii. Dio, l. lxxi. Themist. Orat. ii.

† De Seipso, l. i. sect. 9. Capitolin. in Marc. c. 3.

‡ Fabr. Bib. Gr. vol. xii. p. 617.

§ Xiphilin. Herodian. Victor. Eutr. Zonar. Capitolin. Suidas.

|| Capitolin. c. 2. 4. De Seipso, l. i. sect. 1—17. Philostr. Vit. Soph. l. ii. c. 1. Dio, l. 69. 71. Macrob. Sat. l. v. c. i.

¶ Capitol. c. 4, 5. Spart. in Hadr. c. 23. Dio, l. 71.

of probity, fidelity, and affection. After the death of the emperor, which happened in the year one hundred and sixty-one, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was, with the unanimous concurrence of the senate and people, advanced to the purple; and through the whole course of his reign he exercised his power under the direction of philosophy, and by his justice and clemency obtained the general love of his subjects.*

It is much to be lamented that the mild and gentle spirit which this emperor unquestionably possessed should, with respect to the Christians, have so far yielded to the importunity of inferior governors, and the tumultuous complaints of the people, that in several provinces, particularly in Gaul, he permitted them to be harassed by persecution. Perhaps too, that false notion of the character and conduct of the Christians, which led him, with many others, to mistake their meritorious perseverance for culpable obstinacy, might have some share in producing those severities which were continued through his whole reign.†

An invasion from the north having been, not without great difficulty, repelled, the emperor devoted his attention to the institution of useful laws, and the correction of civil and moral disorders. He never failed to give encouragement to such as distinguished themselves by their talents or merit, and to recommend the strictest morality by his own example. Whilst he was indefatigable in his attention to public affairs, he filled up every hour of leisure with philosophical studies. He suffered no material incident to pass without writing such reflections upon it as might serve to establish in his mind the habit of virtuous fortitude. This practice produced those *Meditations*, which are deservedly reckoned among the most valuable remains of Stoic philosophy. Modesty and humanity, the fairest fruits of wisdom, were virtues peculiarly conspicuous in the character of this amiable prince. He despised flattery, refused magnificent titles, and would suffer no temples or altars to be erected in honour of his name. When the rebellion in Syria was suppressed, and the head of Aulus Cassius, the leader of the revolt, was brought to Rome, the emperor received it with manifest tokens of regret, and ordered it to be buried.‡

During an interval of peace, Aurelius took a journey to Athens. His rout was marked with actions worthy of his character: and when he arrived at the ancient seat of the Muses, he gave many welcome proofs of his love of learning and philosophy, by appointing public professors, liberally endowing the schools, conferring honours upon persons of distinguished merit, and performing other acts of imperial munificence.§

Returning to Rome, the emperor retired to Lavinium, with the design of devoting himself to his favourite studies. But, after a short interval, an irruption of Scythians, and other Northern people, obliged him to lead his forces against them. From this expedition he returned victorious; but, in his way home, he was seized at Vienna with a mortal disease. Aurelius met his end with great firmness; expressing, in the true spirit of Stoicism indifference to life, and contempt of death. He died in the sixtieth year of his age.||

Through his whole life this illustrious philosopher exhibited a shining example of Stoic equanimity. His countenance remained unaltered by

* Capitol. c. 6, 7, 8.

† Conf. Amm. Marcell. l. xxiv. c. 4. Plin. Ep. l. x. 97. De Seipso, l. xi. sect. 3.

A Rescript, sent to Asia, prohibiting the persecution of the Christians, has been ascribed to this emperor; but it is more probable that it was issued by his predecessor, Antonius Pius. See Lardner's *Heathen Test.* v. ii. p. 159.

‡ Capitol. c. xii. 23. § Capitol. c. 24—26. Philostr. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 12. Dio, l. 71.

|| Capitol. c. 28, 29. Herodian, c. 4, 5.

any emotions of joy or sorrow; he never suffered himself to be elated by victory, or depressed by defeat. The severity, which the philosophical system he espoused was adapted to cherish, was, nevertheless, happily chastised by an innate benevolence of heart; and it is deservedly represented as his highest praise, that he was able, by the united influence of his precepts and example, to make bad citizens good, and the good still better.*

The philosophical Commentaries of Aurelius Antoninus, addressed to himself, *Πρὸς ἑαυτὸν*, are Meditations, or Soliloquies, written for his own use.† In order to form a true judgment of their meaning and spirit, they should be read, not as detached moral maxims, or reflections, but as connected with, and founded upon, the principles of Stoicism. Through inattention to this precaution, a meaning has sometimes been annexed to the words of Aurelius, which is inconsistent with his system, and which he, probably, never conceived.

From the time of the Antonines to that of Alexander Severus, there were public schools of the Stoics in Athens and Alexandria: but their doctrine was corrupted by the prevalence of the Electic philosophy; and where we might expect to find disciples of Zeno, we only meet with followers of Ammonius.‡

SECTION VIII.—OF THE STATE OF THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE Epicurean sect, though degenerated from the simple manners of its founder, continued to flourish through a long course of years under the Roman emperors. This was owing in part to the freedom of manners which it permitted, and in part to the boldness with which it combated superstition; but principally to the strict union which subsisted among the members of this school, and the implicit deference, which they unanimously agreed to pay to the doctrines of their master.§ The succession of disciples in this sect was, as Laertius attests, || uninterrupted, even when other schools began to fail. In many places the doctrine of Epicurus was publicly taught; and at Athens the Epicurean school was endowed with a fixed stipend. There can be no doubt, therefore, that there must have been among the Epicureans eminent teachers of their system; and it may seem

* Capit. l. c. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 12. † Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. iv. p. 21—25.

‡ Vidend. Schilter Manud. Phil. Mor. ad Jurisp. c. 1. Gravina, Orig. Jur. Civ. l. i. sect. 44. Otto de Stoica Vet. Jur. Phil. Lips. Manud. ad Phil. Stoic. Diss. viii. xiv. Werensels, de Met. Orat. Brucker, Diss. de Stoic. subdol. Christ. Imit. Temp. Helv. t. iii. sect. 2. Thomas de Exust. Mund. Stoic. Diss. x. Menag. Hist. mulier. Phil. sect. 75. Voss. de Sect. c. 19. Jons. Scr. H. Ph. l. i. c. 20. l. ii. c. 18. l. iii. c. 7. Cozzand. de Mag. Ant. Ph. l. iii. c. 4. Heum. Act. Ph. v. iii. p. 110. v. i. p. 743. v. iii. p. 486. Gale, Præf. ad Opusc. Mythol. Stoll. Hist. Ph. Mor. sect. 223. 230. 234. 237. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. c. 1. Senec. Vit. a Lipsio ap Sen. Op. Vit. a Schotto, Gen. 1665. Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. iii. p. 496. De Servies Femmes des Douze Césars, p. ii. p. 294. Blount, Cens. Cel. Auth. p. 109. Malebranche, de la Recherche, &c. P. i. l. ii. c. 4. Paschius, de Var. Mod. Trad. Mor. c. iii. sect. 17. Diss. de Secta Elpistika Misc. Berol. t. v. Obs. ult. Morhoff. Polyh. Lit. t. i. l. vi. c. 2. Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. c. 15. Epict. Vit. a Wolfio, Bellegardio, Boileavio. Fabr. Diss. de Eloq. Epict. in Fasciculo. Budd. de Mor. Phil. p. 103. Heins. de Phil. Stoic. Orat. p. 301. Schæffer. de Phil. Ital. c. 10. Crellius de *ὑπερσόφους* et *ἁσόφους*, Epict. Lips. 1716. Vit. Anton. a Daciero et a Wollio. Gataker, Præf. ed. Lond. 1730. Koeler, Diss. de Phil. Aur. Ant. Budd. in Phil. Mor. Anton. Amœn. Lit. t. viii. p. 443.

§ Senecæ, Ep. 33. Themist. Orat. iv. Euseb. Præp. l. xiv. c. 5. || L. x. sect. 9.

strange, that their names should not have been transmitted to posterity: but if the genius of this sect be considered, the difficulty will be obviated; for, such was the superstitious reverence which the disciples of this school paid to the decisions of their master, that they neither ventured to add to his system, nor even to exercise their judgment in writing commentaries upon it; their whole concern was, to transmit the tenets and maxims of Epicurus uncorrupted to posterity. Hence, whatever celebrity any of the preceptors of this sect might have attained during their lives, their names soon fell into oblivion. Among the learned men of this period, there were, however, some who held the memory of Epicurus in high estimation, and in many particulars adopted his doctrine, and who, therefore, may not improperly be ranked in the class of Epicureans. Of these the principal are, Pliny the Elder, Celsus, Lucian, and Diogenes Laertius.

CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS, called Pliny the Elder, to distinguish him from his nephew Caius Plinius Cæcilius, was born in the reign of Tiberius, about the year twenty-three, and is commonly said to have been a native of Verona. In his youth, he took upon him the military character, and served in the army in the German war; but he soon turned the course of his ambition into the channel of learning, and by the indefatigable use of excellent talents acquired extensive and profound erudition. During the life of Nero, his dread of the savage spirit of that tyrant induced him to prosecute his studies in private. Towards the close of the reign of that emperor, he wrote a critical work on ambiguity of expression. Under the more favourable auspices of Vespasian, the superior abilities of Pliny had an opportunity of displaying themselves, not only in literary speculations, but in public affairs; for that emperor admitted him to his confidence, and employed him in important posts. In the midst of innumerable avocations, he prosecuted his studies with a degree of industry and perseverance scarcely to be paralleled. What his nephew relates on this head must not be omitted. After enumerating his writings, he says:*

“ You will wonder how a man of business could find time to write so much, and often upon such difficult subjects. You will be still more surprised when you are informed, that for some time he engaged in the profession of an advocate; that he died in his fifty-sixth year; and that, from the time of his quitting the bar to his death, he was busily occupied in the execution of the highest posts, and in the service of his prince. But he had a quick apprehension, joined to unwearied application. In summer, he always began his studies as soon as it was night; in winter, generally at one in the morning, but never later than two, and sometimes at midnight. He slept little, and this often without retiring to his chamber. After a short and light repast at noon, according to the custom of our ancestors, he would frequently, in summer, if he was disengaged from business, recline in the sun; some author, in the mean time, being read to him, from which he made extracts and observations. This indeed was his constant practice in reading; for he used to say, that no book was so bad, but something might be learned from it. When this was over, he commonly went into the cold bath, and as soon as he came out of it, took a slight refreshment, and then reposed himself for a short time. After which, as if it had been a new day, he resumed his studies till supper time, when a book was again read to him, upon which he made some cursory remarks. In summer, he rose from supper by day-light, and in winter, as soon as it was dark, and this was an invariable rule with him. Such was his manner of life, amidst the noise and hurry of the town. But in the country, his whole time was

* L. iii. ep. 5.

devoted to study. Even in the bath, while he was rubbed and wiped, either some book was read to him, or he dictated himself. When he was travelling, he attended to no other object. A secretary constantly attended him in his chariot. For the same reason he was always, at Rome, conveyed from one place to another in a chair. I remember he once reproved me for walking: "You need not," says he, "lose so much time:" for he thought all time lost, which was not devoted to study. It was this intense application which enabled my uncle to write so many volumes, besides a hundred and sixty, which he left me, containing extracts and observations, written in a very small character."

Out of all the rich fruits of Pliny's industry, one work only has escaped the ravages of time, his "Natural History of the World:* a valuable treasury of ancient knowledge; concerning which, notwithstanding all its errors and extravagancies, we do not scruple, with some allowance for rhetorical decoration, to subscribe to the judgment of the Younger Pliny, who calls it "a comprehensive and learned work, scarcely less various than nature herself." The author, in the dedication to Vespasian, makes this modest apology for the defects of his history:

"The path which I have taken has hitherto been, in a great measure, untrodden; and holds forth to the traveller few enticements. None of our own writers have so much as attempted these subjects; and even among the Greeks no one has treated of them in their full extent. The generality of authors in their pursuits attend chiefly to amusement; and those who have the character of writing with great depth and refinement are involved in impenetrable obscurity. Such is the extent of my undertaking, that it comprehends every topic which the Greeks include under the name of *Encyclopædia*; of which, however, some are as yet utterly unknown, and others have been rendered uncertain by excessive subtlety. Other parts of my subject have been so often handled, that readers are become cloyed with them. Arduous indeed is the task to give what is old an appearance of novelty; to add weight and authority to what is new; to cast a lustre upon subjects which time has obscured; to render acceptable what is become trite and disgusting; to obtain credit to doubtful relations; and, in a word, to represent every thing according to nature, and with all its natural properties. A design like this, even though incompletely executed, will be allowed to be grand and noble." He adds afterwards, "Many defects and errors have, I doubt not, escaped me; for, besides that I partake of the common infirmities of human nature, I have written this work in the midst of engagements, at broken periods which I have stolen from sleep."

It would be unjust to the memory of this great man, not to admit this apology in its full extent; and it would be still more unjust, to judge of the merit of his work, by comparing it with modern productions in natural history, written after the additional observations of seventeen hundred years. Some allowance ought also to be made for the carelessness and ignorance of transcribers, who have so mutilated and corrupted this work, that, in many places, the author's meaning lies almost beyond the reach of conjecture.

With respect to philosophical opinions, Pliny did not rigidly adhere to any sect, but occasionally borrowed such tenets from each, as suited his present inclination or purpose. He reprobates the Epicurean tenet of an infinity of worlds; favours the Pythagorean notion of the harmony of the spheres; speaks of the universe as God, after the manner of the Stoics;

* Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 405. t. ii. p. 562.

and sometimes seems to pass over into the field of the Sceptics. For the most part, however, he yields towards the doctrine of Epicurus.*

The insatiable desire, which this philosopher always discovered to become acquainted with the wonders of nature, at last proved fatal to him. An eruption of the volcano of Mount Vesuvius happening while Pliny lay, with the fleet under his command, at Misenum, his curiosity induced him to approach so near to the mountain, that he was suffocated by the gross and and noxious vapours which it sent forth. An interesting account of the particulars of this tragical event is given by Pliny the Younger:† it happened in the year 79.

CELSUS, the adversary of Christianity to whom Origen replies, though in his attack he sometimes makes use of Platonic and Stoic weapons, is expressly ranked by Lucian,‡ as well as Origen,§ among the followers of Epicurus: and this supposition best accounts for the violence with which he opposed the Christian religion; for an Epicurean would of course reject, without examination, all pretensions to divine communications or powers. The extracts from his writings, preserved by Origen, at the same time that they prove him to have been an inveterate enemy to Christianity, show that he was not destitute of learning and ability. Celsus, besides his book against the Christians, wrote a piece entitled, "Precepts of Living Well," and another "Against Magic;" but no part of his writings are extant, except the quotations made by Origen. Lucian dedicates to him his account of Alexander the impostor. That Lucian's friend was the same Celsus, against whom Origen wrote, appears from this circumstance, that both Lucian and Origen ascribe to him the work against magic. Celsus was born towards the close of Adrian's reign, and was contemporary with Lucian under Aurelius Antoninus.||

LUCIAN,¶ the celebrated satirist, was a native of Samosata, on the borders of the Euphrates, and flourished in the time of the Antonines and Commodus. In his youth, his father, who was of low rank, was desirous to have diverted his attention from letters, and put him under the care of his uncle, who was a statuary; but, being unfortunate in his first attempts, he deserted his art, and fled to Antioch, where he engaged, not without success, in the profession of a pleader. He soon, however, grew tired of this employment, and gave himself up entirely to the practice of eloquence, in the character of a sophist or rhetorician. In this capacity, he travelled through several countries, particularly Spain, Gaul, and Greece. At length, he passed over to the study of philosophy. Without rigorously addicting himself to any sect, he gathered up from each whatever he found useful, and ridiculed, with an easy vein of humour and pleasantry, whatever he thought trifling or absurd. Like Maximus Tyrius, Themistius, and several other eminent men of this age, he united the arts of eloquence, and the graces of fine writing, with the precepts of philosophy.**

Photius,†† and several modern writers, have ranked Lucian among the Sceptics: they might more properly have given him a place among the Socratics. But, in truth, there is no sect which he seems to have been so

* Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. 1. 3. 5. 7.

† L. vi. Ep. 16.

‡ Luc. de Alexandro.

§ Origen cont. Celsum, l. 1. p. 8.

|| Orig. cont. Cels. l. i. p. 52. iii. 136. iv. 204. 206. 215. v. 249. vii. 342. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 809. v. v. p. 219.

¶ Suidas.

** In Revivisc. t. iii. p. 156. Apolog. pro Merced. cond. t. i. 385. Herod. t. iii. p. 219. Luc. Hist. t. ii. p. 379. Conviv. t. iv. p. 366.

†† Cod. 128.

much inclined to favour as the Epicurean. He speaks of Epicurus as the only philosopher who had been acquainted with the nature of things, and of his followers as, in the midst of mad men, alone retaining a sound mind. Himself a sworn enemy to imposture, he preferred the sect which professed to annihilate superstition; and he dedicated his narrative of the impostures of Alexander to Celsus, an Epicurean.*

Whatever credit be allowed to Lucian as a humorous satirist, he is, however, much to be censured for having, in many instances, suffered his propensity towards ridicule to lead him into severe and unjust sarcasms against the whole body of philosophers, and into a credulous, or illiberal, adoption of tales injurious to the most respectable characters of antiquity. His misrepresentation of the doctrine, and his unsupported insinuations against the character of Socrates; the contempt with which he treats Chrysippus and Aristotle, as mere triflers; and the absurd stories which he admits, without adducing any evidence of their authenticity, are violations of candour and truth, for which no apology can be made, unless it be said, that Lucian introduced them for no other purpose than to enliven his satire, without seriously believing them himself, or expecting that they should be believed by his readers.† His ridicule of the Christians was owing to another cause, an entire misapprehension of their character and of the nature of their religion; and is therefore wholly unworthy of notice.

Under Aurelius Antoninus, Lucian was appointed procurator of Egypt, with a liberal salary; but how long he continued there, or where he passed the latter part of his life, does not appear.‡ He lived to the age of eighty, or, as some say, ninety years, and died in the reign of Commodus. His dialogues are still extant: they are written with humour, and discover great erudition.

We must not close our account of eminent men who favoured the Epicurean sect, without mentioning *DIODEGENES LAERTIUS*, a writer, to whom the world is indebted for many facts respecting the history of philosophy. His predilection for Epicureanism is shown in the extraordinary pains he has taken to give an accurate summary of the doctrine of Epicurus, and a full detail of his life: nevertheless, he sometimes seems to favour the doctrine of Divine Providence. Whatever system he espoused, or if he was in reality addicted to none, as a collector of philosophical facts he is entitled to the praise of having cast much light upon the history of the Grecian sects. His *Memoirs of "The Lives, Opinions and Apophthegms of Celebrated Philosophers,"* § as a repository of materials for the history of philosophy no where else to be met with, is exceedingly valuable; but in other respects it is a defective and faulty work. The author has collected from the ancients with little judgment; patched together contradictory accounts; relied upon doubtful authorities; admitted as facts many tales which were produced in the schools of the Sophists; and been inattentive to methodical arrangement. The work appears, on the whole, to have been the production of a credulous and feeble mind, and by no means to deserve implicit credit. Of the author nothing more is known than is to be gathered from his writings. From his surname *Ὁ Λαερτιος*,|| it is probable that he was a native of Laertes, a town in Cilicia. He certainly flourished before the time of Constantine; for Sopater, who lived under that emperor, compiled,

* Hermet. t. ii. p. 170. Alex. t. i. p. 549—51. 569, 570. 576. 581—84.

† Ib. Vit. Auctio, &c. t. iii. 105—128. Piscator.

‡ Quomodo Hist. Scrib. t. ii. p. 343. de Merced. Cond. t. i. p. 382. Tragopodr. t. iii. p. 672. Ocyp. p. 722. Hercul. Gall. t. i. p. 811.

§ Menag. ad Laert.

|| Phot. Cod. 161.

as Photius attests, the sixth book of his *Excerpta* from the writings of Diogenes Laertius. His "Lives" probably appeared about the middle of the third century.*

SECTION IX.—OF THE STATE OF THE SCEPTIC SECT UNDER THE EMPERORS.

AT the period of which we are now treating, the Sceptic philosophy was either overborne by the general prevalence of the Dogmatic systems, or concealed under the less obnoxious form of the Academic doctrine. A few words may therefore suffice concerning the state of Scepticism, or Pyrrhonism, under the Roman emperors.

Contradictory in its first principles to the common notions of mankind, who are inclined to credit their senses; disgraced by the extravagant practices of some of its professors; opposed with violence by the whole body of Platonists and Stoics; and destitute of countenance among the great; it was no wonder that the school of Pyrrho was little frequented, and that few persons were found, who were willing to sacrifice interest, or fame, to the empty profession of the science of knowing nothing.

Pyrrhonism, however, was not at this time entirely without avowed advocates. Diogenes Laertius mentions† a continued succession of learned Sceptics from the time of Cicero, when Oenesidemus reformed the Sceptic school at Alexandria: Zeuxippus, Zeuxis, Antiochus, Menodotus, Herodotus, Sextus, and Saturninus. Of these, as if the medical profession peculiarly disposed the mind to scepticism, several were physicians. Besides these, other Sceptics are mentioned by the ancients. So that when Seneca asks,‡ "Who is there now, who teaches the doctrine of Pyrrho?" he must be understood either to speak of the public professors of Pyrrhonism, or to represent this school as annihilated in comparison with that of the Stoics.

Only one name occurs among the Sceptics of this period, which merits particular notice, that of **SEXTUS EMPIRICUS**,§ a celebrated writer. According to Suidas, he was by birth an African; but Sextus himself distinguishes between his own country and Lesbia; the place of his nativity therefore remains uncertain. His surname, Empiricus, prefixed to the manuscripts of his works, and given him by Diogenes Laertius,|| indicates that he was a physician of that class which was distinguished by the title of Empiric: and this he himself confirms.¶

It has been strenuously maintained, that Sextus Empiricus was the same person with Sextus Chæronensis, preceptor to Aurelius Antoninus: but it appears from the list of Sceptics given by Laertius,** that Sextus Empiricus was the third in succession from Menodotus and Theudes, who

* Vidend. Cozzand. de Magistr. Ant. Phil. l. vi. c. 2. Maïsson. Plin. Vit. Cagalin. de Patr. Plin. ed. Plin. Wechelinn. Palermus de Patr. Pl. Veron. 1608. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. i. c. 29. Blount. Cens. p. 128. Marville Melanges de Liter. t. iii. p. 438. Parker de Deo, Disp. i. p. 63. Reimman. Hist. Ath. c. 28. Stoll. Hist. Ph. Pag. p. 72. Horn. Hist. Ph. l. v. c. 4. Cudworth. c. iv. sect. 36. Jons. l. iv. p. 332. l. iii. c. 10. 12. Voss. de Sect. c. v. sect. 2. c. xiii. sect. 3. c. xiv. sect. 6. c. vi. sect. 24. c. vii. sect. 24. Erasm. l. xxx. Ep. 5. Heuman. Act. Phil. vol. i. p. 323. 328. Laert. Ed. Wetst. Amst. 1693.

† L. ix. sect. 116.

‡ Qu. Nat. l. vii. c. 32.

§ Laert. l. ix. sect. 116. Suidas.

|| L. c.

¶ Conf. adv. Gramm. sect. 161. 260. adv. Log. l. ii. sect. 191. 202. 327, 328.

** L. c. sect. 126.

are mentioned by Galen in a work* which he wrote in the time of Aurelian, as at that time the last of the Empirics; consequently Sextus Empiricus had not then began to flourish, and could not have been the emperor's preceptor. It is probable that Sextus Empiricus appeared towards the close of the life of Galen, who died upwards of thirty years after he wrote the work just mentioned, in the seventh year of the reign of Severus, or in the year two hundred.

Sextus Empiricus was entirely devoted to the Sceptic philosophy; as fully appears from his "Institutes of Pyrrhonism," the work to which we have been almost wholly indebted for the materials of our account of this sect. He also wrote, at large, in refutation of the Dogmatists, in his treatise "Against the Mathematicians." His works discover great erudition, and an extensive acquaintance with the ancient systems of philosophy; and, on this account chiefly, merit an attentive perusal.

After the age of Sextus, there were not wanting persons, who followed the Sceptic method of philosophising,† either under the name of Academics or Pyrrhonists: but the sect, through the spread of the Alexandrian philosophy, and the Christian religion, by degrees disappeared, and remained for many centuries wholly unnoticed.‡

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING completed the history of the Grecian philosophy, during the period of the Roman Republic and Empire, before we pass on to the consideration of the state of philosophy among the Jews, Arabians, and Christians, it will be necessary that we endeavour to trace the remains of Barbaric philosophy in the East.

In our history of the ancient philosophy of the East, it appeared that, from the most remote times, the Oriental philosophers endeavoured to explain the nature and origin of things by the principle of Emanation from an Eternal Fountain of Being. That through succeeding ages this doctrine remained, and was taught in schools of philosophy in the more civilized regions of Asia and Africa, is highly probable from several considerations; which we shall proceed distinctly to lay before the reader, after premising, that we do not undertake to prove, that this species of philosophy existed under any distinct name, or can be referred, with certainty to any single author, or leader, but merely, that a certain metaphysical system, chiefly respecting the derivation of all natures, spiritual and material, by emanation from the First Fountain, was, before the commencement of the Christian era, taught in the East, whence it gradually spread through the Alexandrian, Jewish, and Christian schools.

It is well known, that at the rise of the Grecian sects, the Eastern countries were frequently visited by the sages who travelled in search of wisdom. Clemens Alexandrinus, who was well acquainted with Oriental history, says,§ that the Greeks borrowed what was most valuable in

* De Hypotyposi Emperica.

† Laert. l. c. Agathias, l. ii. p. 67.

‡ Vidend. Huet. de la Foiblesse, &c. l. i. c. 14. Sext. Emp. ed. Lips. 1718. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. iii. p. 591. v. ii. p. 91. Lactant. Inst. l. iii. c. 5. Euseb. Prep. l. xiv. c. 18.

§ Stromat. l. i. p. 303.

philosophy from barbarians; for philosophy was publicly taught by the Brachmans, the Odrysii, the Getæ, the Chaldeans, the inhabitants of Arabia Felix and Palestine, the Persians, and many other nations. Among the Grecian philosophers who travelled into the East was Democritus, who visited Persia after the schools of the Magi had been reformed by Zoroaster, and travelled to Chaldea, and other Eastern countries, for the sake of learning philosophy. From the account which Pliny gives of this expedition, some idea may be formed of the nature of that philosophy which Democritus and others found in these schools. "Democritus," says Pliny, * "undertook what might be more properly called an exile than a journey, for the purpose of learning MAGICAL PHILOSOPHY; and, returning home, taught it, in his mysteries, from the writings of certain Oriental philosophers, which he illustrated." Accordingly, the philosophy which Democritus taught appears to have been of two kinds; public, or that of the Eleatic sect; and secret, in which he followed the mysteries of the Chaldean, Persian, and other Eastern Magi. If these facts be compared with the general history of the barbaric philosophy, and particularly with that of Zoroaster and his doctrine, it will appear exceedingly probable, that the doctrine of Emanation continued to be taught (that is, that the Oriental philosophy subsisted) without interruption in the East, through the period of the Grecian sects.

The uninterrupted continuance of the Oriental philosophy may be further inferred from the sudden rise, and rapid spread, of those numerous heresies, which, under the ostentatious name of Gnosticism, over-ran the churches of the East.

Porphyry, in his preface to a work of Plotinus against the Gnostics, says, "that there were at that time many heretics, among whom were some, who, deriving their heresy from the ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY, were followers of Adelphinus. These," adds he, "circulated many books of Alexander the Lybian, Philocomus, and Demostratus the Lydian, and pretended to teach certain doctrines which they had received from Zoroaster, Zostrianus, Nicotheus, Allogenes, and Mesus, herein, after having been deceived themselves, imposing upon others. These heretics assert that Plato was little able to penetrate into the depths of intelligent natures. Therefore Plotinus frequently refuted them in his public lectures, and wrote a book, which I have entitled "A Treatise against the Gnostics," leaving it to me to manage this business according to my own judgment. Amelius has written forty volumes against the book of Zostrianus; and I, Porphyry, have shown by many arguments, that this book, which they ascribe to Zostrianus, is spurious, and of modern date, and has been forged by the authors of the heresy, that their doctrine might appear to be derived from Zoroaster."†

From this passage, compared with the general design of Plotinus, in his treatise against the Gnostics, it may be inferred, that prior to the appearance of the Gnostic heresies among the Christians, a system well known by the name of the Ancient Philosophy, existed in the East; that this philosophy is not to be sought among the Greeks, not even in Plato himself, but is opposed to the Grecian philosophy, as more ancient, and more consonant to the truth; that this philosophy was commonly understood to have been taught by Zoroaster; and that the Christian Gnostics forged books, under the names of Eastern philosophers, from which they pre-

* Hist. Nat. l. xxx. Proœm.

† Conf. Vit. Plot. c. 3. Plot. En. ii. l. v. p. 204. Pref. Porph.

tended to derive their genealogies of emanations from the First Fountain of Intelligence. Hence, too, the reason appears, why Plotinus determined to spend eleven years in the East, TO EXPLORE THE PHILOSOPHY TAUGHT AMONG THE PERSIANS AND INDIANS.*

That the Gnostic heresies were of Eastern origin may be further concluded from a fragment of Theodotus the Valentinian, commonly annexed to the works of Clemens Alexandrinus, and also preserved by Fabricius, entitled, "An Epitome of the Writings of Theodotus," and τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας, OF THE DOCTRINE CALLED THE EASTERN, in the time of Valentinian.† This title evidently refers the dreams of Valentinian to an Oriental source, and therefore supposes the existence of the Oriental philosophy.

Eunapius, who was himself of the Alexandrian school, relates,‡ that Sosipater was miraculously instructed in philosophy by two strangers, who, after being much importuned, acknowledged that they had been initiated in THE WISDOM CALLED CHALDAIC. The story, like most of those related by this writer, has a fabulous air; but, stripped of its disguise, it seems plainly to intimate, that in the Greek school of Jamblicus, which flourished in Cappadocia, the appellation of the Chaldaic, or Eastern, philosophy was well known, and that the teachers of this philosophy communicated their mystical wisdom to those who were prepared to receive it, and particularly to the disciples of the Alexandrian school.

To these authorities, in proof of the existence of the Oriental philosophy, it may be added, as a consideration of great weight, that, if all the systems of philosophy distinct from the Grecian sects, which became famous in Asia or Egypt, particularly the Egyptian, Cabbalistic, Gnostic, and Eclectic, be compared, there will be found among them a wonderful agreement with the general principles of that system which we call the Oriental philosophy; whence it seems perfectly reasonable to admit the existence of this philosophy as a common source, and to make use of it as a universal key to unlock the mysteries of the rest.

Upon these grounds we conclude, that the Oriental philosophy, as a peculiar system of doctrines concerning the Divine Nature, originated in Chaldea, or Persia; whence it passed through Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt, and, mixing with other systems, formed many different sects. There seems also to be sufficient ground for referring the formation of the leading doctrines of this philosophy into a regular system to Zoroaster,§ whose name the followers of this doctrine prefixed to some of their spurious books, and whose system is fundamentally the same with that afterwards adopted by the Asiatic and Egyptian philosophers.

Among the branches from the Zoroastrian stock we must reckon the Gnostic heresies which arose so early in the Christian church.|| This is the only source to which they can be satisfactorily traced back: for they differ materially from the Platonic doctrine, from which they have been supposed to be derived, as Plotinus has fully shown in his treatise against the Gnostics. The mixture of Platonic notions which we find in the Asiatic philosophy, as well as of Oriental doctrines among the later Platonists, may be easily accounted for, from the intercourse which subsisted between the Alexandrian and Asiatic philosophers, after the schools of Alexandria were established. From that time, many Asiatics who were

* Vit. Plot. † Fabric. Bib. Gr. vol. v. p. 135. Fragm. ed. Ulm. 1704.

‡ In Ædesio, p. 61. § Porphy. Vit. Plot. c. 13. 16. p. 118. ed. Fabr.

|| Iren. l. iii. c. 4. 11. Hieron. Lat. Script. c. 21. Epiph. Hæres. 27. sect. 1. Ph. Castr. Hæres. 33. p. 71. ed. Fabr.

addicted to the study of philosophy, doubtless, visited Alexandria,* and became acquainted with the celebrated doctrines of Plato; and, by blending these with their own, formed an heterogeneous mass of opinions, which in its turn mixed with the system of the Alexandrian schools.† This union of Oriental and Grecian philosophy was further promoted by the dispersion of the philosophers of Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon; many of whom, to escape from tyranny, fled into Asia, and opened schools in various places.

It was, probably, at the time when the Platonic philosophers of Alexandria visited the Eastern schools, that certain professors of the Oriental philosophy, prior to the existence of the Christian heresies, borrowed from the Greeks the name of Gnostics, to express their pretensions to a more perfect knowledge of the Divine Nature than others possessed. That these philosophers assumed this vaunting appellation before their tenets were transferred to the Christians, may be concluded from this circumstance, that we find it, among the Christians, not appropriated as a distinct title to any single sect, but made use of as a general denomination of those sects which, after the example of the Pagan philosophers, professed to have arrived at the perfect knowledge of God. The Pagan origin of this appellation seems also plainly intimated in two passages in St. Paul's epistles; in one of which he cautions Timothy against *ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*, "the opposition of false science;"‡ and in the other, § warns the Colossians not to be imposed upon by a vain and deceitful philosophy, framed according to human tradition and the principles of the world, and not according to the doctrine of Christ.

But, whatever may be thought concerning the name, after what has been advanced, there can be little room left to doubt, that the tenets, at least, of the Gnostics, existed in the Eastern schools, long before the rise of the Gnostic sects in the Christian church under Basilides, Valentine, and others. The Oriental doctrine of emanation seems frequently alluded to in the New Testament, || in terms which cannot so properly be applied to any other dogmas of the Jewish sects. And it appears, from the authorities to which the Gnostic heretics appeal, that this doctrine was taught in the Apostolic age. These heresies seem to have arisen in Egypt, and to have passed thence into Syria, and into Asia Minor, where they infected the church so early as the reign of Nero. ¶

It is much to be regretted that the Greek writers, to whom we are chiefly indebted for our knowledge of the ancient history of philosophy, took so little pains to inform posterity concerning the opinions which, during the time when the Greek sects flourished, were taught in other countries, particularly in Egypt and Asia. In this want of original documents concerning the Oriental philosophy, we can form an idea of its peculiar tenets only by comparing the ancient doctrine of the East with that of those sects which sprang from this stock.

The Gnostics were chiefly employed in supporting the system of Divine Emanation, taught by Zoroaster and his followers.** They maintained, that all natures, both intelligible, intellectual, and material, are derived, by a succession of emanations, from the infinite fountain of Deity. From

* Ammian. Marc. l. xxi. c. ult.

† Jambl. de Myst. Ægypt. Sect. viii. c. 2, 3. Marin. in Vit. Procl. c. 26.

‡ 1 Tim. vi. 20.

§ Coloss. ii. 8.

|| 1 Tim. i. 4—7. iv. 7. Tit. i. 14. iii. 9. Conf. Acts, viii. 9, 10.

¶ Vitringa Obs. Sac. l. v. p. 153. 161. Conf. Tertull. de Prescr. adv. Hær. c. 7. Epiphani. Hæres. 24. sect. 6. Jambl. Myst. Ægypt. S. viii. c. 1.

** Theodot. ap. Fabr. l. c. Plotin. contr. Gnost. et Ennead. 2. l. ix. c. 6.

this secret and inexhaustible abyss, they conceived substantial powers, or natures, of various orders, to flow; till, at the remote extremity of the emanation, evil demons, and matter, with all the natural and moral evils necessarily belonging to it, were produced. This notion was pursued in the Alexandrian philosophy, in the Jewish Cabbala, and in the Gnostic system, through a long course of fanciful conceptions. The Gnostics conceived the emanations from Deity to be divided into two classes; the one comprehending all those substantial powers, which are contained within the Divine essence, and which complete the infinite plentitude of the Divine nature: the other, existing externally with respect to the Divine essence, and including all finite and imperfect natures. Within the Divine essence, they, with wonderful ingenuity, imagined a long series of emanative principles, to which they ascribed a real and substantial existence, connected with the first substance as a branch with its root, or a solar ray with the sun. When they began to unfold the mysteries of this system in the Greek language, these substantial powers, which they conceived to be comprehended within the *πλήρωμα* Divine plentitude, they called *αἰῶνες*, Æons; and they discoursed about them with as much confidence and familiarity, as if they had been objects of sight. The notion which they entertained of these Æons, like the Platonic notion of ideas, was that of *ουσίας ἀντὰς καθ' αὐτὰς*, beings which existed distinctly and substantially. They included within this series the Demiurgus, or maker of the world, whom they supposed to have been an Æon, so far removed from the first Source of Being as to be allied to matter, and capable of acting upon it. Having conceived both the spiritual and material world to have flowed from the same fountain, their system required substantial virtues, or powers, of two kinds, active and passive: hence, in their figurative and emblematical language, they speak of male and female Æons.*

If the reader should think this account of the Gnostic doctrine of emanation obscure, we request him to lay the blame upon the mystical genius of the fabricators of this fanciful edifice. In the midst of thick darkness, it is scarcely possible that the traveller should not sometimes stumble.†

* Plotin. contr. Gnost.

† Vidend. Mosheim. Diss. de Caus. supposit. lib. Brucker. Hist. de Ideis Sect. i. sect. 6. Thomas, Orig. Hist. Phil. et Eccl. sect. 25. Beausobre Hist. des Manich. t. ii. l. v. c. 2. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, l. iii. c. 28. sect. 13. Mosheim. Hist. Christ. Sect. i. p. ii. c. 1. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 4—8. Mosheim. in Hist. Christ. ante Car. M. sect. 31. Walchius in Hist. Hæres. P. i. p. 235. Ernest. Bibl. nov. Theol. p. 430. Vitringa Obs. Sac. l. v. p. 146. Michaelis Intr. N. T. sect. 125.

BOOK IV.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY FROM THE TIME OF THE RETURN FROM THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE state of learning and science among the ancient Hebrews, in the early period of their history, while they resided in their own country, has been already described. From the time of the Babylonish captivity, the Israelites no longer existed as an entire nation. Upon the return of the two tribes of Judah and Ephraim to Palestine, the other ten tribes being almost entirely dispersed, this remnant of the Hebrews lost their ancient name, and were called Jews.* Passing over the subsequent history of the dispersed tribes, as too uncertain to afford any interesting particulars concerning the state of philosophy among them, we shall inquire into the philosophical history of the Jews in Palestine from the time of their return from captivity.

In this part of our work we must extend the meaning of the term philosophy; for, in the strict sense of the word, we find few traces of philosophy in the history of the Jews. There were not wanting, indeed, among this people, men of ability and learning; but their general taste and manners, and particularly their traditionary method of instruction, were so unfavourable to scientific researches, that few philosophers, properly so called, arose in Palestine. Nevertheless, in order to prepare the way for an accurate account of the state of philosophy among the Saracens and Christians, it is necessary that we briefly mark the progress of learning and knowledge among the Jews.

After the revival of the sacred commonwealth of the Jews, though the spirit of prophecy ceased in the person of Malachi, wise men were raised up by Divine Providence to restore their national worship, to explain to them the divine law, and to conduct their affairs, both civil and religious. Among these, were Esdras, Zorobabel, Nehemiah, and Salthiel. Esdras, as a scribe well instructed in the law of Moses, certainly takes the first place among the learned Jews of this period, but he cannot with propriety be ranked among philosophers; nor is there any sufficient ground for considering him as the author of the Cabbalistic doctrine.†

The changes which took place in the Jewish nation, after the Babylonish captivity, produced material alterations in their philosophical and religious tenets. Two events in the Jewish history must be particularly noticed, on account of the great influence which they had upon the state of opinions: the one, the separation of the Samaritans from the Jews, which

* Vid. Basnage, Hist. Jud. l. vii. c. 4. Budd. Hist. Eccl. V. T. t. ii. p. 523.

† D. Knibbe, Hist. Proph. l. ii. c. 6. Budd. Hist. Eccl. V. T. t. ii. p. 942. Esdras, vii. 6, &c. Basnage, l. iii. c. 5. sect. 1, 2. l. vii. c. 2. sect. 7. Buxtorf. Tiberiad. c. 10. Budd. H. E. t. ii. p. 1019.

began in the time of Esdras ; the other, the settling of a colony of Jews in Egypt under Alexander the Great, which was afterwards so increased by his successors, that the Jews in Egypt were little inferior, either in number or consequence, to those in Judea.

About two hundred years before the time of Esdras, when Salmanassar, king of the Assyrians, had carried the ten tribes of Israel captive into Assyria, he repopled Samaria with a colony from Babylon, Chuta, and several other places. The country being soon afterwards harassed with wild beasts, the new settlers concluded that this calamity had befallen them, because they did not worship the God of the land, and sent a complaint to this purpose to the king of Assyria. Upon this, the king sent them one of the priests who had been taken from the country, "to teach them how they should fear the Lord."* Thus the worship of the true God of Israel was restored in Samaria. At the same time, however, the idolaters retained their respective superstitions, and "whilst they feared the Lord, served other gods." Hence the Jews, when they returned to Judea from that captivity by which they had been punished for their former propensity towards idolatry, entertained a rooted aversion against the inhabitants of Samaria, and would not allow them any concern in executing the national design of rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem. The mutual jealousies which arose from this cause were carried to the most violent extremity. Esdras and Zerobabel solemnly denounced an anathema upon the Samaritans: and the Samaritans, in their turn, made use of all their interest with the king of Assyria to obstruct the re-building of the temple.†

At the extinction of the Persian monarchy in consequence of Alexander's conquests, the Samaritans endeavoured to accomplish a union, both civil and ecclesiastical, with the Jews. For this purpose, Sanballat the governor of Samaria, who was of Babylonish extraction, brought about a marriage between his daughter and Menasses, the brother of Jaddus, the Jewish high priest; fully expecting that Menasses would succeed his brother in the priesthood, and that by this means a coalition would be accomplished. The event, however, did not correspond to his wishes. The Jews highly resented this profane alliance, excluded Menasses from the succession, and banished him from the city. Sanballat, on the other hand, took his son-in-law under his protection; obtained permission from Alexander to build a temple upon Mount Garizim similar to that at Jerusalem, and appointed Menasses its high priest. With Menasses a powerful body passed over from the Jews to the Samaritans; and much pains was taken to bring back their doctrine and worship to the pure standard of the law of Moses.‡ But all this was insufficient to subdue the enmity of the Jews, who execrated the Samaritans as heretical and profane, and maintained, that they themselves alone possessed the true religion. Frequent hostilities arose between the two countries; and Hyrcanus at last besieged Samaria, and after a long resistance took the city, and razed it, together with its temple, to the ground. The metropolis of Samaria was afterwards rebuilt by the Roman governor Gibinius, and enlarged and adorned by Herod, who, in honour of Augustus, called the city Sebaste.§

* 2 Kings, xvii. 24. Joseph. Ant. l. ix. c. ult. Beniam. Tudelens. Itin. p. 37. Basnage, l. ii. c. 4. p. 84.

† Eisenmenger. Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 2. Walton. Appar. Bibl. Proleg. xi. sect. 4. Basnage, l. ii. c. 5. sect. 1.

‡ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 4—8. l. xii. c. 1. Basnage, l. ii. c. 6. p. 113.

§ Joseph. Ant. l. xi. c. 8. l. xii. c. 1. l. xiii. c. 18. Reland. Palæst. l. iii. p. 979. Basnage, l. c. p. 99.

It may be concluded from this narrative, that whatever difference at this time subsisted between the Jews and Samaritans, it was only such as might easily have been compromised; else Sanballat would not have thought of attempting to unite the religious institutions of both nations by making his son-in-law their common high-priest. But this necessarily supposes, that the Samaritans had renounced their ancient idolatry, and were now worshippers of the true God, in forms not very different from those appointed by the Mosaic law. Some remains of erroneous opinions concerning the divine nature, and of Pagan superstition, might, it is true, still be retained, sufficient to give occasion to the censure of Jesus, "Ye know not what ye worship." But there can be no doubt that the Jewish writers, from whom we receive most of our information concerning the Samaritans, through their aversion to this nation, have been guilty of much exaggeration and misrepresentation in their account of the Samaritan doctrine and worship. Of this kind, probably, is the tale of their having the idols of four heathen nations concealed under Mount Garizim, and the notion that they denied the existence of angels.* It is not unlikely, however, that they might so far depart from the idea of angels given in the books of Moses (the only sacred scriptures they acknowledged) as to conceive them to be substantial virtues, or powers derived by emanation† from the divine nature, according to the Oriental philosophy.‡ This may be inferred from the history of Simon Magus, Dositheus, and Menander, whose doctrines appear to have obtained much credit and authority among the Samaritans.

SIMON MAGUS, § who is commonly understood to have been the person mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, was by birth a Samaritan, and in his native country practised magical arts, which procured him many followers. According to the usual practice of the Asiatics at this time, he visited Egypt, and there, probably, became acquainted with the sublime mysteries taught in the Alexandrian school, and learned those theurgic or magical operations, by means of which it was believed that men might be delivered from the power of evil demons. Upon his return into his own country, the author of the "Clementine Recognitions"|| relates, that he imposed upon his countrymen by his pretensions to supernatural powers. And St. Luke attests, that this artful fanatic, using sorcery, had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that he was some Great One; and that he obtained such general attention and reverence in Samaria, that the people all gave heed to him from the least to the greatest, saying, "This man is the Great Power of God."¶

* Epiph. Hæres. ix. t. 1. op. p. 25. Her. xiii. p. 30. Her. xiv. p. 31. Reland. Diss. Misc. p. ii. p. 57.

† Seldon is of opinion, (a) that the Cuthæi, by whom Samaria was in part colonized, were Persians, who dwelt on the borders of the river Cuth, and conjectures, that Nergal, the idol which they worshipped, was the sacred fire of the Persians. If this be admitted, we may reasonably conjecture, that the religion of the Persian Magi, the worship of fire, brought by this people into Samaria, was united with the worship of the God of Israel; that with this worship was introduced the Oriental doctrine of divine emanations, taught by the Persian Zoroaster; and that, in this manner, the Gnostic fictions concerning divine virtues and powers spread among the Samaritans.

‡ Reland. l. c. p. 29. Cellar. Gent. Sam. Diss. Ac. p. 109.

§ Just. Mart. Apol. ii. p. 69. 91. Iren. Hær. l. i. c. 23. sect. 4.

|| L. ii. c. 21.

¶ Acts viii. 9. Iren. adv. Hær. l. i. c. 23. sect. 4. p. 100. Theodoret. Hæret. Fabr. l. i. c. 1. Aug. de Hær. c. 1. Epiph. Hær. 21—24. Euseb. H. E. l. iii. c. 26.

It has been said, that Simon Magus was worshipped by the Romans as a god; and a

(a) De Diis Syriis, Synt. ii. c. 8. p. 312.

From the nature of the philosophy which, at this period, was taught both in Asia and Egypt, and in which Simon had, doubtless, been instructed, it may be reasonably concluded that he pretended to be an *Æon* of the first order, or one of the most exalted of those substantial powers, or divine immortal natures, which were supposed to have emanated from the eternal fountain of the Supreme Deity. He boasted, that he was sent down from heaven among men, to chastise and subdue those evil demons, by whose malignant influence the disorders and miseries of human nature were produced, and to conduct them to the highest felicity. To his wife Helena he also ascribed a similar kind of divine nature, pretending that a female *Æon* inhabited the body of this woman, to whom he gave the name of *Ἐννοια*, Wisdom; whence some Christian fathers have said, that he called her the Holy Spirit.*

The sum of his fanatical doctrine, divested of allegory, was, that from the Divine Being, as a fountain of light, emanate various orders of *Æons*, or Eternal Natures; subsisting within the plenitude of the divine essence; that beyond these, in the order of emanation, are different classes of intelligences, among the lowest of which are human souls; that matter is the most remote production of the emanative power, which, on account of its infinite distance from the Fountain of Light, possesses sluggish and malignant qualities, which oppose the divine operations, and are the cause of evil; that it is the great design of philosophy to deliver the soul from its imprisonment in matter, and restore it to that divine light from which it was derived; and that for this purpose God had sent one of the first *Æons* among men. He also taught, that human souls migrate into other bodies, as a punishment for their sins; and he denied the resurrection of the body.†

Simon Magus, having taught these and other similar doctrines of the Oriental philosophy, may perhaps be considered as the founder of a philosophical sect of Gnostics; but it is a mistake to suppose, as many writers, implicitly following Irenæus,‡ have done, that he was the head of the Christian Gnostics; for, whereas these heretics thought Christ to be one of the *Æons* sent down in a human form to deliver the world from the dominion of evil demons, Simon Magus claimed this very character to himself; and consequently, notwithstanding his temporary assumption of the Christian name, must be ranked among the enemies of Christ.

DOSITHEUS was one of those fanatics who arose from the rigorous discipline of that Jewish sect, which, as we shall afterwards see, was devoted to solitude and abstinence. Failing in his attempt to pass among the Jews for their Messiah, he went over to the Samaritans, and endeavoured to persuade them that he was the prophet predicted by Moses, and practised among them various kinds of austerities. The author of the

passage in Justin Martyr, (a) where he says that, between two bridges on the Tiber, he saw a statue with this inscription, *SIMONI SANCTO DEO*, has been quoted in support of this assertion. But besides the great improbability that the Romans would rank a Samaritan among their divinities, it has since appeared that Justin Martyr read this inscription inaccurately; (b) for in the year 1574, a statue was dug up in Rome, in the very situation mentioned by Justin, with this inscription, *SEMONI SANCTO DEO FIDIO*.

* Recog. Clem. l. ii. c. 22, &c. Hom. xix. sect. 14. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. ii. p. 383. August. de Hæres. c. 1. Tertull. de Anim. c. 34.

† Recog. Clem. l. ii. c. 21. p. 522. l. iii. p. 528. Epiph. Hær. p. 58, 59. Iren. l. i. c. 23, 28. Clem. Hom. iii. p. 648. xviii. p. 744. xix. p. 954. Plotin. En. vi. l. ix. c. 9.

‡ L. c.

(a) Apol. ii. p. 69. 91.

(b) Ant. Van Dale ad calc. lib. de Orac. Deyling. Obs. Sac. l. i. Ob. 36.

"Clementine Recognitions" speaks of Dositheus as a disciple of Simon; others make him his preceptor; but both without proof.*

MENANDER, a Samaritan, trod in the footsteps of Simon Magus, boasting himself to be a Great Power of God, sent to deliver the world, by magical operations, from the tyranny of evil spirits. To those who partook of his baptism he promised, that their bodies should be purified from the dregs of materiality, and be raised to a spiritual and immortal existence within the *Pleroma*, or Plenitude, of the divine nature.†

From this time the affairs of the Samaritans declined, and their history affords nothing which requires our attention.

The SECOND great EVENT, in this period of the Jewish history, which affects the state of philosophy, is the settling of a Jewish colony in Egypt. Notwithstanding the hereditary hatred which, from the most ancient times, had subsisted between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, necessity had obliged the two nations, as we learn from the Sacred History, to unite more than once against the assaults of the kings of Assyria. In process of time, the enmity between them was so far subdued, that the posterity of Israel migrated to the country from which their ancestors had been expelled.

The first certain record of the settling of a Jewish colony in Egypt is that of the prophet Jeremiah,‡ from which we learn, that during the Babylonish captivity (about five hundred and eighty years before Christ) after Ishmael had treacherously cut off Gedaliah, the governor of Judea, appointed by Nebuchadnezzar king of Assyria, the Jews who still remained in Judea, fearing the resentment of the king, first took up their abode near the borders of Egypt, and then, contrary to the remonstrance of the prophet Jeremiah, removed into Egypt, and settled at Tahpanhes. According to the prediction of the prophet, in a successful attack soon afterwards made upon Amasis, king of Egypt, by Nebuchadonozor, they were carried captive, with a body of Egyptians, into Babylon. A few of their number, however, who had escaped into solitary places, remained in Egypt, and their posterity greatly increased.

When Alexander, in order to people his new city, Alexandria, invited strangers from different countries; among the rest a considerable body of Jews left their native country, and put themselves under the protection of the conqueror, who granted them the same privileges which he had conferred upon his own countrymen.§ This Jewish colony was afterwards enlarged by Ptolemy Lagus, who invaded Syria and Judea, besieged and took Jerusalem, and carried a hundred thousand Jews and Samaritans in captivity to Egypt.|| Under the protection of Alexander and his successors, this numerous body of Jews long continued to flourish, and occasionally to receive new accessions from Judea. Ptolemy Philadelphus treated them with great liberality, and put them on the footing of equality with the rest of his subjects; allowing them the free exercise of their religion, according to the precepts of their law, and the traditions of their fathers.¶

It was at this time that the Alexandrian Jews, who now commonly spoke the Greek language, wrote their celebrated Greek Translation of their Sacred Scriptures, known by the name of the Septuagint Version. This translation has been said to have been made by order of the king, through

* Epiphani. Hær. xiii. p. 30.

† Irenæus, Hær. l. ii. c. 31. Theodor. Hæret. Fabr. l. i. c. 2. Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. iii. c. 26. Epiph. Hær. xxii. Tertull. de Resur. c. 5. 19. de An. c. 50.

‡ Ch. xlii. ver. 15. xliii. 10. xliv. 11.

§ Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 8.

|| Id. l. xii. c. 1.

¶ Joseph. ib. c. 2.

the solicitation of Demetrius Phalereus his librarian;* but† it is improbable that a Peripatetic philosopher should have paid so much respect to the books of the Jews, as to request such an exertion of the royal authority; and the story is inconsistent, as we have already shown, with well known facts, in the life of Demetrius Phalereus. The truth seems to be, that the translation was reluctantly undertaken by the Jews themselves, for the convenience of that numerous body, among whom Greek was now the common language; but that, when the Alexandrian Jews found that this public exposure of their sacred oracles was displeasing to their brethren in Palestine, they invented this story, to give their version the sanction of royal authority. On similar grounds, the story of another version,‡ more ancient than the Septuagint, of the Pentateuch, from which Pythagoras and Plato borrowed some of their doctrines, is to be rejected as fabulous; for the fact rests wholly upon the testimony of Aristobulus, whom there is reason, as we shall see, to suspect of having, through national vanity, invented this story, in order to transfer the credit of the Greek philosophy to the Hebrews.

From this period, there can be no doubt that the doctrine of the Jews was known to the Egyptians; and, on the other hand, that Pagan philosophy was known to the Jews. Grecian wisdom, corrupted by being mixed with the Egyptian and Oriental philosophy, assumed a new form in the Platonic school of Alexandria. This school, by pretending to teach a sublimer doctrine concerning God and divine things, enticed men of different countries and religions, and among the rest the Jews, to study its mysteries, and to incorporate them with their own. The symbolical method of instruction, which had been in use from the most ancient times among the Egyptians, was adopted by the Jews; and it became a common practice among them to put an allegorical interpretation upon their sacred writings. Hence, under the cloak of symbols, Pagan philosophy gradually crept into the Jewish schools; and the Platonic doctrines, mixed first with the Pythagoric, and afterwards with the Egyptian and Oriental, were blended with their ancient faith in their explanations of the law and the traditions.§ The society of the Therapeutæ (of which we shall presently speak more fully) was formed after the model of the Pythagorean discipline: Aristobulus, Philo, and others, studied the Grecian philosophy, and the Cabbalists formed their mystical system upon the foundation of the tenets taught in the Alexandrian schools. The practice of clothing the precepts of the Mosaic law in a Platonic dress, and mixing Platonic notions with the doctrine of the Jewish religion, seems to have given birth to the ancient Jewish book, improperly called, *The Wisdom of Solomon*,|| a work which abounds with Platonic language, and was probably written after the Cabbalistic philosophy was introduced among the Jews.

The preceding narrative of facts clearly shows in what manner the purity of divine doctrine became corrupted among the Jews in Egypt. Enticed by the promise of new and hidden treasures of wisdom concerning God and divine things, they admitted, under the disguise of allegory, doctrines never

* Joseph. l. c.

† Conf. Van Dale, Diss. super Aristeæ. Hody Diss. contr. Aristeæ. Ox. 1684. 8vo. et de Bibl. Text. 1705. fol.

‡ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 305. 342. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. xiii. c. 12. Joseph. Ant. l. xii. p. 391.

§ Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. viii. c. 9, 10.

|| Among many other passages of this book, in which both the sentiments and language are borrowed from the Greek philosophy, the reader may consult c. i. 7. c. vii. 17—22. In ch. v. ver. 25. the Oriental doctrine of emanation is clearly expressed.

dreamed of by their ancient lawgivers and prophets, and adopted a mystical interpretation of the law, which converted its plain meaning into a thousand idle fancies. This corruption, which begun in Egypt about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, soon spread into Palestine, and every where disseminated among the Jews a taste for metaphysical subtleties and mysteries.*

ARISTOBULUS, an Alexandrian Jew, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philometer, was an admirer of the Greek philosophy, and united with the study of the Mosaic law, in the mystical and allegorical method at this time introduced, some knowledge of the Aristotelian system. Eusebius speaks of him as a favourite of Ptolemy, and quotes, from a work of his inscribed to that prince, sundry verses of Orpheus, in which mention is made of Moses and Abraham. These verses are also found in the works of Justin Martyr; but with so much variation as to afford ground for suspecting their authenticity. It is not improbable that Aristobulus himself, who, as Clemens Alexandrinus relates,† ascribes the Grecian philosophy to a Hebrew origin, was the author of this fraud, as well as of the tales respecting the Greek versions of the Hebrew scriptures. On these accounts, we cannot hesitate to rank Aristobulus among the first corruptors of Jewish wisdom.‡

From Egypt we shall now pass over into Judea, to inquire into the state of philosophy among its inhabitants. Soon after their return from the Babylonish captivity, they forsook the ancient simplicity of their sacred doctrine, and listened to the fictions of human fancy. This change happened, not through any intercourse which the Jews had, during their captivity, with the Chaldean Magi, (for it does not appear that they borrowed any tenets from these,) but in consequence of the conquests of Alexander and his successors, which obliged them, contrary to their ancient habits, to mingle with foreigners. A circumstance which, left to its natural operation, would have led them imperceptibly into the adoption of foreign opinions and customs. But their conquerors hastened this change by compulsion; for we are informed that Antiochus Epiphanes commanded them to forsake their ancient religious ceremonies; and, although the greater part of the nation bravely resisted this unjust and tyrannical command, there were some among them so unfaithful to their country, and their God, as to show an inclination to court the favour of the conqueror by mixing Pagan tenets and superstitions with their own sacred doctrines and ceremonies.§ The influence of example in their Alexandrian brethren, who had already caught the infection of Gentilism, doubtless, concurred with the circumstances of the times, to introduce corruption into the schools of Judea. Accordingly we find, in fact, that a taste for Grecian philosophy and Egyptian mysteries so far prevailed in the joint reign of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, that some of the zealous advocates for the purity of the Jewish faith and worship thought it necessary to denounce *anathema* upon any one who should teach the Grecian wisdom to his children.|| No *anathema*, however, could prevent the spread of Grecian learning among the Jews.

In the time of Alexander Jannæus, about one hundred years before Christ, Simon ben Shetach, a learned Jewish doctor, who had for some political offence been banished Judea, was recalled, with his disciples, from Alexandria, "and with him," as Jehuda Levi relates,¶ "the Cabbala, or

* Joseph. Procem. Ant. Jud. p. 3.

† Strom. l. i. 305.

‡ Maccab. l. ii. c. i. v. 10. Euseb. Præp. l. viii. c. 9. l. xiii. c. 5. Justin. Cohort. ad. Gent. et Apol. ii.

§ Maccab. Hist. Joseph. Ant. J. l. xii.

|| Gemar. Bab. in Menachoth. f. 64. Lightfoot Hor. Heb. Math. viii. 30.

¶ Lib. Cosrî, p. iii. p. 240. Conf. R. Mardochai de Karæis, c. 3.

oral tradition, recovered its pristine vigour." And there can be little doubt that this Cabbala included the theoretical as well as preceptive doctrines received by the Alexandrian Jews under the notion of traditions; especially since we have so many proofs of the early prevalence of these doctrines among the Jews, in the writings of Philo and others.

The result of the facts already related is, that the mystical, or cabbalistic doctrine of the Jews arose in the time of the first Ptolemies. The Jewish mystics, indeed, pretend to trace back their fanciful system even to Adam in Paradise, and boast that their oldest cabbalistic books were written by the patriarch Abraham.* But it will be evident to any one, who compares these books with the system compounded of Oriental, Pythagoric, and Platonic doctrines, which the Jews at this time began, as we have seen, to mix with the Mosaic law, that the leading tenets of the Cabbala and the Alexandrian philosophy are the same. The ancient book entitled *Cosri*, written by Jehuda Levi before the compilation of the Talmud, describes in allegorical and mystical language the philosophy which passed over from the Alexandrian schools into Judea. The same philosophy is found in the cabbalistic books of the *Jezirah*, mentioned in the Talmud; in the *Sohar*, ascribed to Simeon ben Jochai, a disciple of Akibha, who lived in the time of Vespasian; and in the *Bakir*, said to be of still greater antiquity. Although the age of these books is not certainly known, there is great reason to conclude from their contents, that the seeds of the cabbalistic doctrine were first sown under the Ptolemies, when the Jews began to learn the Egyptian and Oriental theology, and to incorporate these foreign dogmas with their ancient creed.

Having said thus much concerning the introduction of Gentile philosophy among the Jews both in Egypt and Palestine, the way is prepared for inquiring into the rise and progress of their DOMESTIC SECTS. After all the learned labour which has been bestowed upon this subject, the origin of these sects still remains involved in obscurity. Some eminent writers, on the authority of several passages in the history of the Maccabees, and in Josephus, have said,† that many of the Jews, after their return from captivity, expressed their religious zeal, not only by a strict observance of the law, according to its literal meaning, but by introducing certain religious ceremonies, and other services, not prescribed in the written law, as voluntary expressions of extraordinary sanctity; that a large body of these zealots formed themselves into a fraternity, or sacred college, under the name of Hasidæi, who, under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, joined the Maccabees; that, in process of time, the institutions of this body were digested into a regular canon, which created innumerable disputes, and produced parties among the Jews, of whom those who adhered strictly to the letter of the Mosaic law were called Karæites; while the advocates for the new institutions retained the name of Hasidæi: and that from the former sprung the Sadducees, and from the latter the Pharisees and Essenes. This account of the rise of the Jewish sect is plausible, but destitute of sufficient evidence from antiquity. For, the Hasidæi, mentioned by the author of the history of the Maccabees,‡ were not a religious sect, but a civil party, which arose during the wars. Upon this matter nothing further is certain, than that, soon after the termination of the prophetic age, the Jews began to corrupt the law of Moses, by introducing certain precepts and

* R. Gedalias Shalshel. Hakkabal. p. 28.

† Scaliger. Elench. Trihæres. c. 22. Drusius et Serrarius de Hasidæis. edit. a Trigland. in Syntagm. de Trib. Sect. Jud. Delph. 1704. Goodwin's Moses and Aaron. l. i. c. 9.

‡ L. i. c. vii. 13. l. ii. c. xiv. 6.

institutions, which they professed to have received by oral tradition from the most ancient times. This traditionary law, which chiefly respected religious ceremonies, fastings, and other practices distinct from the moral duties of life, at length obtained, with the greater part of the Jewish nation, a degree of authority equal to that of the Mosaic law; whilst the rest rejecting these innovations, adhered strictly to the institutions of their sacred oracles. These two general classes, which do not appear to have been distinguished, on this single ground, by any peculiar appellation, gradually adopted other tenets and customs, and formed several distinct sects, of which the principal were the Sadducees, the Karæites, the Pharisees and the Essenes.

Without paying any attention to the extravagant fiction of the Jewish writers, who pretend to refer the origin of the Sadducean doctrine to Pagan atheists, among whom they reckon Aristotle; who, by the way, was, they affirm, afterwards converted, and made a proselyte of righteousness, by Simeon the Just;* we shall confine ourselves to those events, in the history of the Jewish church, which seem to have gradually given existence to the sect of the SADDUCEES.

It is exceedingly probable that, as soon as the oral, or traditionary, law above mentioned was introduced, multitudes reprobated the innovation, and determined to adhere to the written law, in its obvious and literal meaning. This dispute might naturally occasion a controversy concerning the doctrine of the Hebrew scriptures upon the subject of a future state; and the speculations of the Alexandrian Jews, which about this time began to be known in Judea, might furnish fresh matter of debate. These conjectures are confirmed by facts.

ANTIGONUS SOCHÆUS,† a native of Socho on the borders of Judea, who flourished in the time of Eleazer the high priest (or about three hundred years before Christ) and was a disciple of Simeon the Just, offended at the innovations which were introduced by the patrons of the traditionary institutions, and particularly at the pretensions which were made to meritorious works of supererogation, by means of which men hoped to entitle themselves to extraordinary temporal rewards, strenuously maintained and taught, that men ought to serve God, not like slaves for hire, but from a pure and disinterested principle of piety. This refined doctrine, which Antigonus only opposed to the expectation of a temporal recompence for works of religion and charity, his followers misinterpreted, and extended to the rewards of a future life. Sadoc and Baithosus, two of his disciples, taught that no future recompence was to be expected, and consequently that there would be no resurrection of the dead. This doctrine they taught to their followers; and hence arose, about two hundred years before Christ, the sect of the Baithosæi, or Sadducees. These appellations, derived from the names of the founders of the sect, seem to have been at first used promiscuously; but by degrees the former fell into disuse; which accounts for the silence of the sacred history, and of Josephus, concerning the Baithosæi.‡

The sect of the Sadducees long continued to flourish in Judea, and to possess great authority. Although they differed in fundamental points of faith from the rest of the nation, they were admitted to sacred privileges

* Shalsheth Hakkabalah, p. 83.

† Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* iii. 7. t. ii. p. 273. Reland *Palæst.* l. iii. p. 1018. Basnage, l. ii. c. 14.

‡ Parke Abboth, c. 5. R. Nathan. ad l. c. apud Lightfoot, t. ii. p. 737.

and offices, and even to the highest dignity of the priesthood.* And notwithstanding the enmity which subsisted between this sect and that of the Pharisees, on account of the contempt with which the Sadducees treated the traditionary law, these sects frequently united in public councils, and in defence of the common cause of religion. Under the reign of Hyrcanus, who, about one hundred and thirty years before Christ, possessed the supreme civil and sacerdotal power in Judea, the Sadducees were the leading sect; for that prince, being opposed by the Pharisees in the execution of the office of high priest, treated them with great severity, and espoused the Sadducean party, requiring the whole nation, on pain of death, to profess the doctrine of this sect. After the death of Hyrcanus, the persecution of the Pharisees was, for some time, continued by his son, Alexander Jannæus; but Alexandra, the wife of Jannæus, who succeeded him in the government, finding that the Pharisaic sect, was more popular than the Sadducean, espoused the interest of the Pharisees, and restored their power and influence. The Sadducees, however, afterwards regained a considerable share of political and ecclesiastical consequence; for we find, that Caiaphas and Ananus, who were both of this sect, possessed in succession the office of high priest.† After the destruction of Jerusalem, the sect of the Sadducees fell into contempt among their countrymen, and even incurred the hatred of the Christians: the emperor Justinian issued a severe edict against them,‡ inflicting banishment, and, in case of obstinate perseverance, even death, upon those who should teach their doctrines.

The chief heads of the Sadducean tenets were these:§

All laws and traditions, not comprehended in the written law, are to be rejected as merely human inventions. Neither angels nor spirits have a distinct existence, separate from their corporeal vestment. The soul of man, therefore, does not remain after this life, but expires with the body. There will be no resurrection of the dead, nor any rewards or punishments after this life. Man is not subject to irresistible fate, but has the framing of his condition chiefly in his own power. Polygamy ought not to be practised.

It has been asserted,|| that the Sadducees only received, as of sacred authority, the five books of Moses. But the contrary clearly appears from their controversy with the Pharisees, in which the latter appeal to the prophets and other sacred writings, as well as the law, which they could not have done with any propriety or effect, had not the Sadducees admitted their authority. To this we may add, that had this been the case, it is very improbable that such heresy would have passed without censure.

The Sadducees are sometimes ranked with the Epicureans; but improperly: for, though they agreed with them in denying the doctrine of a future state, they differed from them essentially in their ideas of God and Providence. Whilst the Epicureans admitted no supreme intelligent ruler of the world, and supposed the gods wholly unconcerned in human affairs, the Sadducees acknowledged the existence of the one true God, the Jehovah of the Jews, and admitted his universal providence, only rejecting the notion of an absolute and uncontrollable influence over the volitions and actions of men: they admitted, too, the reasonableness and obligation of

* Acts, v. 17. Joseph. Ant. l. xx. c. 15.

† Joseph. Ant. l. xiii. c. 18. 24. Megallath. Taanith, c. 4. Basnage, l. ii. c. 15.

‡ Novell. 146.

§ Joseph. Ant. l. xiii. c. 18. l. xviii. c. 2. de Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12. Acts, xxiii. 6. 8. Matt. xxii. 23. Mark, xii. 18. Luke, xx. 27.

|| Tertull. de Præscript. l. i. c. 14. Orig. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 39.

religious worship. Their denial of a future state of rewards and punishments may perhaps be in part ascribed to their belief in the homogeneous nature of man; for Josephus expressly says,* that they took away the distinct and permanent nature of the soul: *ψυχῆς τὴν διαμονὴν ἀναιροῦσι*. This was, probably, the chief ground of their opposition to Christianity, whose distinguishing doctrine is that of the resurrection from the dead.

The sect of the KARÆITES,† though its history be exceedingly obscure, is not to be confounded with that of the Sadducees. The name Karæite denotes a textuary, or scripturist, and seems intended to distinguish those who followed the written law alone, from those who admitted the authority of traditionary precepts. The origin of this sect is, therefore, to be referred to the time when the traditionary, or oral, law was introduced, and with it the allegorical interpretation of the written law. It may be collected from the Jewish records, that this sect existed in the time of Hyrcanus, and that the followers of Shammai were addicted to it.‡ The fact seems to have been, that the traditionary law was opposed, as a corruption of the true religion, by a numerous body, who strenuously asserted the sufficiency and perfection of the ancient written law, explained in its literal sense. Among these, as we have already seen, were the Sadducees. But it is exceedingly probable, that the Sadducean tenets were highly offensive to many pious men, who, nevertheless, were not disposed to join those who received the traditionary institutions. These adhering simply to the letter of the Mosaic law, but at the same time refusing to adopt the doctrine of the Sadducees, would of course become a separate sect, which would be distinguished by some name expressive of their leading principle. It is not improbable that the opposite party gave them, in derision, the name of Scripturists, or Karæites. In this manner we conceive that this sect arose at the same time with those of the Sadducees and Pharisees.

The continuance of the sect of the Karæites through several subsequent ages may be learned from the *Cosri* of Jehuda Levi, above quoted, which intimates, that, in the time of the Rabbies Jehuda ben Tabbai and Simeon ben Shetach, when the traditionary precepts obtained increasing authority, the followers of the letter of the law were a separate body. Perhaps the class of *νόμους*, lawyers, mentioned by the Evangelists as distinct from the Scribes and Pharisees,§ were the Karæites. This conjecture is favoured by a tradition preserved in the Jerusalem Talmud,|| that there were in Jerusalem four hundred and eighty synagogues, each of which had a separate apartment for the law, and another for the Talmud, or traditionary records; whence it seems probable, that the Scripturists were a party distinct from the Traditionaries. The scribes, whose office it was to expound the law, from the manner in which they are usually mentioned in the New Testament, in conjunction with the Pharisees, may be concluded to have adopted, in their interpretations, the allegorical method of the Traditionaries and Cabbalists, and therefore to have commonly belonged to their party.

After the destruction of Jerusalem, the interest of the traditionary party greatly increased, and that of the Scripturists proportionally declined: so that the Karæites are from this time little heard of, except when they are mentioned by the pharisaical rabbies in terms of reproach, till the eighth century, when we find the sect revived by the Rabbi Anari ben David,

* De Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Conf. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 2. l. xx. c. 8.

† R. Mardochai de Karæis, Trigland. Shupart. et Wolf. de Kar.

‡ R. Mose. Bethshitshi ap. Trigland. de Kar. c. 6.

§ Luc. xi. 45, 46.

|| Megillat. f. 73.

whose heresy brought upon him a heavy load of obloquy. The history of this Rabbi clearly shows, that he was not, as some have supposed, the author, but the restorer of the Karæite sect.* From this time, this sect continued to produce men well skilled in the Jewish law; among whom, in the twelfth century, was Abu-Alphareus, who lived in Palestine, and wrote a commentary upon the Pentateuch, which added so much strength to the interest of the Karæites, that the traditionary party thought it necessary to implore the assistance of the civil magistrate.† Notwithstanding this, however, the Karæites continued to hold their assemblies; and they are, at this day, found as a distinct body in Turkey, Russia, and Lithuania, but are oppressed by the jealousy of their countrymen, to whom a Karæite is more hateful than a Christian or a Turk.‡

The distinguishing tenets of the sect of the Karæites are: that there is no other rule of faith and worship than the writings of Moses and the prophets; that all oral traditions, and allegorical and mystical interpretations of the law are to be rejected; that all material beings were created by an uncreated Deity, of whom no resemblance can be found in any thing which he has made; that he knows all things, and exercises a constant providence over all his works; that the human mind is subject to divine influence, but at the same time remains free in its volitions; that true penitence takes away guilt; that, after death, the soul, if it be worthy, ascends to the intellectual world to live there for ever, but if it be guilty, it is consigned to a state of pain and ignominy; that God alone is to be worshipped; and that fasts are to be strictly observed.§ The present adherents of this sect are said to observe the moral precepts of their law more strictly than their brethren, the pharisaic Rabbinites, with whom, nevertheless, they are thought unworthy of ecclesiastical communion.

The most celebrated of the Jewish sects was that of the PHARISEES. Its origin, as well as that of the other sects, is involved in some obscurity. The prophet Isaiah, indeed, found among the Jews, in his time, several appearances of the spirit and character which afterwards distinguished the sect of the Pharisees.|| But we have no proof that they existed as a distinct body in the prophetic age; nor do we find any traces of this sect prior to the time when oral traditions, together with the allegorical interpretations of the written law, were introduced in the manner already explained. Although we meet with no satisfactory evidence of the existence of the sect of the Hasidæi, which Scaliger¶ supposes to have been the foundation of the Pharisaic sect, we think there can be little reason to doubt that this sect arose soon after the return from the Babylonish captivity, in consequence of the introduction of traditionary institutions and allegorical interpretations. That it was established, and had acquired great authority in the time of Hyrcanus, and of his sons, Aristobulus and Alexander, has been already hinted, and may be seen more at large in Josephus's account of their affairs.** Josephus, who was himself of this sect, speaks of it as flourishing in the time of Jonathan the high priest, together with those of the Sadducees and Essenes; which invalidates the conjecture of Basnage,†† that the Pharisaic sect owed its rise to the separation which

* Abr. Ben Dior. Kabb. Hist. sect. 66. † Buddæi Hist. Ph. Heb. sect. 30.

‡ Tenzel. Colloq. Menstr. 1691. Basnage, l. ii. c. 6.

§ R. Japhet. Lev. Conf. Wolf. Bib. Heb. p. i. p. 671. Trigland. l. i. c. 10, 11. Schudt. Memor. Jud. p. ii. l. vi. c. 27. || Isa. lviii. 2, 3. lxx. 5.

¶ Elench. Trihæres. c. 22. p. 170. Reland. Antiq. Sac. p. 2. c. ix. sect. 13.

** Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9. 24.

†† Hist. des Juifs, l. ii. c. 17. sect. 2. Conf. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. p. 816—824. Natal. Alex. Hist. Eccl. c. i. art. 5. sect. 3.

took place between the schools of Hillel and Shammai; for the Jewish writers agree, that these celebrated doctors did not flourish earlier than an hundred years before the Christian era.

Although the exact time of the first appearance of the Pharisaic sect cannot be ascertained, its origin may be easily traced back to the same period in which the Sadducean heresy arose. From the time that the notion of supernumerary acts of self-denial, devotion, and charity, was introduced under the sanction of the traditionary law, a wide door was opened for superstition, religious pride, and hypocrisy. Whilst, on the one hand, some would despise the weakness, or the affectation, of professing to be pious and holy beyond the prescription of the written law, others, through a fanatical spirit, or that they might provide themselves with a convenient cloak for their vices, would become scrupulous observers of the traditionary institutions. And when these pretenders to extraordinary sanctity saw that many of those who observed only the written law, not only disclaimed all works of supererogation, but even renounced the hope of future rewards, they would think it necessary to separate themselves into a distinct body, that they might the more successfully display their sanctity and piety. These conjectures are confirmed by the name of the sect, which is derived from the word פָּרָשׁ *to separate*.* Their separation consisted chiefly in certain distinctions respecting food, clothing, and religious ceremonies: it does not seem to have interrupted the uniformity of religious worship, in which the Jews of every sect appear to have always united.

The peculiar character and spirit of Pharisaism consisted in the strict observance of the oral law, which they believed to have been delivered to Moses by an archangel, during his forty days residence on Mount Sinai, and to have been by him committed to Seventy Elders, who transmitted it to posterity.† Their superstitious reverence for this law, and the apparent sanctity of manners which it produced, rendered them exceedingly popular. The multitude, for the most part, espoused their interest; and the great, who feared their artifice, were frequently obliged to court their favour. Hence they obtained the highest offices both in the state and the priesthood, and had great weight both in public and private affairs: in some instances they proved so troublesome to the reigning powers as to subject themselves to severe penalties. Hyrcanus and Alexander restrained their increasing influence, and treated them with great rigour. Under Alexandra, however, they regained their consequence; the dissensions between the schools of Hillel and Shammai,‡ a little before the Christian era, increased their number and power; and they continued, till the destruction of Jerusalem, to enjoy the chief sway in the sanhedrim and in the synagogue. After that period, when the other sects were dispersed, the Pharisees retained their authority; and, though the name has been dropped, their tenets and customs have ever since prevailed among the Jewish Rabbinites; so that at this day, except the Karæites, scarcely any Jews are to be found who are not, in reality, of the Pharisaic sect.§

The principal dogmas of the Pharisees were these:

The oral law, delivered from God to Moses on Mount Sinai, by the angel Metraton, and transmitted to posterity by tradition, is of equal au-

* Suidas in Pharis.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 18. 23, 24. l. xvii. c. 3. De Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Eisenmenger Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 8. Hornbeck de Jud. Conv. l. i. c. 3.

‡ Gieger. de Hill. et Shamm.

§ Menass. ben Israel de Termino Vit. l. i. sect. 3. Schudt. Mem. Jud. p. 2. l. vi. c. 27. sect. 11. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. p. 846.

thority with the written law. By observing both these laws, a man may not only obtain justification with God, but perform meritorious works of supererogation. Fasting, alms-giving, ablutions, confessions, are sufficient atonements for sin. Thoughts and desires are not sinful, unless they are carried into action. God is the creator of heaven and earth, and governs all things, even the actions of men, by his providence. Man can do nothing without divine influence; which does not, however, destroy the freedom of the human will. The soul of man is spiritual and immortal. In the invisible world beneath the earth, rewards and punishments will be dispensed to the virtuous and vicious. The wicked shall be confined in an eternal prison; but the good shall obtain an easy return to life. Besides the soul of man, there are other spirits, or angels, both good and bad. The resurrection of the body is to be expected.*

It appears from many passages in the writings of the Jewish rabbis, that they held the doctrine of the migration of souls from one body to another: and it is probable that they derived it from the ancient Pharisees, and these from the Oriental philosophers. This *Metempsychosis* is, however, to be understood in the Pythagoric and not in the Stoic sense. The Jews, probably, borrowed this error from the Egyptians. There is no reason, as some writers have done, to consider the sect of the Pharisees as a branch from the Stoic school.† For, though the Pharisees resembled the Stoics in their affectation of peculiar sanctity, their notion of Divine Providence was essentially different from the Stoical doctrine of Fate: and their cast of manners arose from a different source; that of the Stoics being derived from their idea of the nature of the soul, as a particle of the divine nature; that of the Pharisees, from a false persuasion that the law might be fulfilled, and justification with God obtained, by ceremonial observances.

The peculiar manners of this sect are strongly marked in the writings of the Evangelists;‡ particularly, their exactness in observing the rites and ceremonies of the law, both written and traditionary; the rigour of their discipline, in watchings, fastings, and ablutions; their scrupulous care to avoid every kind of ritual impurity; their long and frequent prayers, made not only in the synagogues and temple, but in the public streets; their broad phylacteries on the borders of their garments, in which were written sentences of the law; their assiduity in making proselytes; their ostentatious charities; and, under all this show of zeal and piety, their vanity, avarice, licentiousness, and inhumanity. This account is confirmed by the testimony of the Jewish writers themselves.§ The Talmudic books|| mention several distinct classes of Pharisees, under characters which show them to have been deeply immersed in the idlest and most ridiculous superstitions. Among these were, the Truncated Pharisee, who, that he might appear in profound meditation, as if destitute of feet, scarcely lifted them from the ground; the Mortar Pharisee, who, that his contemplations might not be disturbed, wore a deep cap, in the shape of a mortar, which would only permit him to look upon the ground at his feet; and the Striking Pharisee, who, shutting his eyes as he walked, to avoid the sight of women, often struck his head against the wall. Such wretched expedients did

* Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9. l. xviii. c. 2. Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12.

† Joseph. in Vita sua, p. 999. Budd. Hist. Ph. Heb. sect. 19. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. n. 508. Budd. Hist. Eccl. Vet. T. t. ii. p. 1217.

‡ Matt. vi. ix. xv. xxiii. Luke vii. &c.

§ Lightfoot ad loc. cit. Goodwin Mos. and Aaron, p. 180. 202. Pirke Abboth. c. ii. n. 5. Bava Bathra, f. viii. 2. Basnage, H. J. l. ii. p. 499.

|| Lightfoot in Math. ii. 7. Goodwin, p. 205. Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. p. 1852. Hottinger, Thesaur. Phil. l. i. c. 1.

some of these hypocrites make use of to captivate the admiration of the vulgar. The political influence which their popularity gave them appears in almost every part of the Jewish history; particularly in the reigns of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, Jannæus Alexander, Alexandra, and Herod.* Among the followers of Pharisaism were women, who, after the example of the men, under the cloak of singular piety and sanctity, disguised the most licentious manners.†

Another Jewish sect was that of the *ESSENES*, concerning the origin of which the learned are much divided in opinion. It is certain, from the testimony of Josephus,‡ that it flourished in the time of Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabæus, that is, one hundred and sixty years before Christ. It also appears from the account which Josephus gives of the institutions of this sect, that they were borrowed from the Pythagoreans. It may therefore be conjectured, with a high degree of probability, that at the time when the great body of the Jews were carried captive into Babylon, the small remainder of this oppressed people, after their temple was demolished, their city laid waste, and their religious worship interrupted, were driven by the cruel oppression of Gedaliah, the prefect set over them by the king of Assyria, to take refuge in Egypt; that here, for want of the public rites of religion, these fugitives, who had a settled aversion to the idolatries of the Egyptians, withdrew into solitary places, where they endeavoured to supply the place of sacrifices by devoting themselves in private, to a religious life; and that, when they became acquainted with the Pythagoreans, who in the same country adopted a plan of life somewhat similar to their own, they borrowed from them such of their opinions and practices, as, by the help of the Egyptian method of allegorising, they could incorporate with the doctrines and institutions of Moses. Afterwards, when new colonies of Jews were brought into Egypt by Alexander and Ptolemy Lagus, and were allowed the free exercise of their religion, it is probable that these Jewish hermits, having been long accustomed to solitude, persisted in their ascetic life and peculiar institutions, and formed a distinct society; that some of these, with others of their countrymen, embracing the indulgence granted them by Ptolemy Lagus, returned to Judea; and that here, through the power of habit, they continued their former manner of life, and, retiring to the desert parts of the country, established and propagated that peculiar sect, which, from their extraordinary sanctity were called *Essenes*, a name probably derived from the word *חַסִּדִּים*, which signifies *holy*. These conjectures, though not supported by any direct authority, perfectly agree with the subsequent history of this sect, and account for its existence more satisfactorily than any other which have been suggested.§

The *Essenes* formed themselves into a friendly fraternity, for the purpose of subduing their passions, and leading a holy life. They commonly lived in a state of celibacy, and adopted the children of other men, to educate them in their own principles and customs. They despised riches, and had a perfect community of goods; every one, who was admitted into their society, lodging his whole property in a common treasury, whence the wants of all were equally supplied. They clothed themselves in plain garments, chiefly white, and held oil and unguents of every kind in abomination. Their daily religious exercises they performed with great exactness. Before

* Jos. Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 18. 24, 25. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. Vitringa de Vet. Synag. p. 191. Reland. Ant. Heb. p. 132. Selden de Syned. p. 736.

† Lightfoot in Matt. iii. 5.

‡ Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9. 24.

§ Conf. Jos. Ant. l. xviii. 2. Bell. J. l. ii. c. 11. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. v. c. 17. Pliny was too little acquainted with Jewish affairs to deserve credit on this subject.

the rising of the sun, they suffered no common language to pass their lips, but recited certain prayers, that it might rise upon them fortunately; at the same time looking towards the sun, which they regarded as a symbol of the Deity. From this time to the fifth hour every one was employed in his proper occupation; then, washing themselves, and putting on their white garments, they went into their public hall, or refectory, to dinner, and received their portion of food from the hand of the servitor in silence. After their evening labours, they supped together in the same manner; and every meal was begun and closed with prayer. No noise or confusion was ever heard or seen in their assemblies; but conversation was carried on with such quietness, that a spectator would have imagined the silence and tranquillity of the scene intended to express some sacred mystery. They were temperate, peaceable, and honest; true to their word, without the obligation of an oath, to which they were averse, except on the most solemn occasions; and prompt to deeds of kindness, which they performed at pleasure, without the authority of the master of the fraternity, whose instructions they were in all other things obliged to follow. The virtues of plants and minerals were much studied among them, and applied to the cure of diseases. They honoured the name of Moses next to that of God; and he who blasphemed it was punished with death. So rigorous were they in the observance of the sabbath, that they would neither kindle a fire, nor remove a vessel, nor ease themselves on that day. To be touched by any one not belonging to their sect, or for an old man of their order to be touched by a young person, they held to be an impurity which required ablution. Some among them undertook to predict future events from their sacred books. They offered no sacrifices, but on the seventh day repaired to the synagogue, where the elder brethren explained the law to the younger. Through the simplicity of their manner of living, it commonly happened, that they lived to an extreme old age. They were capable of enduring pain with great fortitude; as appeared in the firmness with which they bore the tortures inflicted upon them by the Romans, rather than blaspheme their lawgiver, or violate any of his precepts. They held, that the body is perishable, but the soul immortal; that the soul, formed of a subtle ether, is imprisoned in the body, and is never happy till it is released from its prison; that the good will, after death, be removed to a tranquil and delightful region beyond the ocean, but the bad to a dark habitation, which resounds with never-ceasing lamentations; and that all things are under the direction of Divine Providence.*

The body of the Essenes was not a single community, but consisted of many distinct societies, formed in the country, where they practised agriculture, or at a small distance from a town, where they might exercise their manual occupations: they had, however, one common interest; and when any one of their number happened to travel, wherever he found an Essene fraternity, he was sure of being supplied with necessary provision and clothing. All domination they held to be unjust, and inconsistent with the law of nature, who has produced all her sons in a state of equality. So averse were they to war, that they would not suffer any of their body to be employed in manufacturing military weapons, or instruments of any kind. No one was admitted as a member of this fraternity, without passing through a course of preparatory discipline out of the society, for one year, and afterwards approving his constancy, by two years regular attendance within the college. After this, if he was judged worthy, he was received as a brother,

* Joseph. de Bell. J. l. ii. c. 12. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 2. l. xiii. c. 9. Philo de Essen. Op. p. 876, &c.

with a solemn oath to conform to the discipline, and observe the rules of the society, to guard its sacred books, and the names of its angels, and not to divulge its mysteries. Josephus computes the number of Essenes in his time, to have been about four thousand.

What was meant, in the oath administered to the novicates, by "guarding the names of the angels," may be conjectured from the notion, which commonly prevailed in the East, and in Egypt, concerning the power of demons, or angels, over the affairs of this world. It is probable that the Essenes, having adopted the visionary fancies of their Pagan neighbours concerning these superior natures, imagined themselves able, by the magical use of the names of angels, to perform supernatural wonders; and that the due observance of these mystical rites was the charge, which they bound themselves by oath to take, of the sacred names of the angels.*

From the silence of the Evangelists concerning this sect, and from several tenets and customs in which they differed from the rest of the Jews, some have supposed that they were a sect of Pagan philosophers, who adopted in part the Jewish manners. But this opinion is contrary to the express testimony of Philo and Josephus, who both speak of three sects of Jews; Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes. There can be no doubt however, that this sect borrowed many things from the heathen philosophers, and particularly from the Pythagoreans, whom they nearly resembled in their manner of living. The truth seems to be, as we have already intimated, that they became acquainted with the doctrines and institutions of the Pythagoreans in Egypt; and that, adopting these as far as their reverence for the law of Moses would permit, they formed a distinct sect which subsisted after their return into Judea.

Philo mentions two classes of Essenes, of whom one followed a practical institution, the other professed a theoretical system. The latter he distinguishes by the name of the *THERAPEUTÆ*. According to this writer,† who is here our only authority, the Therapeutæ, so called, as it seems, from the extraordinary purity of their religious worship, were a contemplative sect, who, with a kind of religious frenzy, placed their whole felicity in the contemplation of the divine nature. Detaching themselves wholly from secular affairs, they transferred their property to their relations or friends, and withdrew into solitary places, where they devoted themselves to a holy life. The principal society of this kind was formed near Alexandria, where they lived, not far from each other, in separate cottages, each of which had its own sacred apartment, to which the inhabitant retired for the purposes of devotion. After their morning prayers, they spent the day in studying the law and the prophets, endeavouring, by the help of the commentaries of their ancestors, to discover some allegorical meaning in every part. Besides this, they entertained themselves with composing sacred hymns in various kinds of metre. Six days of the week were, in this manner, passed in solitude. On the seventh day they met, clothed in a decent habit, in a public assembly; where taking their places according to their age, they sat, with the right hand between the breast and the chin, and the left at the side. Then, some one of the elders, stepping forth into the middle of the assembly, discoursed, with a grave countenance and a calm tone of voice, on the doctrines of the sect; the audience, in the mean time, remaining in perfect silence, and occasionally expressing their attention and approbation by a nod. The chapel where they met was divided

* Vitring. de Vet. Synag. l. c. Goodwin Mos. et Aar. l. i. c. 12. sect. 23. Hottinger, l. c. Coloss. ii. 18.

† De Vit. Contempl. Op. p. 891.

into two apartments, one for the men, the other for the women. So strict a regard was paid to silence in these assemblies, that no one was permitted to whisper, or even to breathe aloud; but when the discourse was finished, if the question which had been proposed for solution had been treated to the satisfaction of the audience, they expressed their approbation by a murmur of applause. Then the speaker, rising, sung a hymn of praise to God, in the last verse of which the whole assembly joined. On great festivals, the meeting was closed with a vigil, in which sacred music was performed, accompanied with solemn dancing: and these vigils were continued till morning, when the assembly, after a morning prayer, in which their faces were directed towards the rising sun, was broken up. So abstemious were these ascetics, that they commonly ate nothing before the setting sun, and often fasted two or three days. They abstained from wine, and their ordinary food was bread and herbs.

Much dispute has arisen among the learned concerning this sect. Some have imagined them to have been Judaizing Gentiles;* but Philo supposes them to be Jews, by speaking of them as a branch of the sect of Essenes, and expressly classes them among the followers of Moses. Others have maintained, that the Therapeutæ were an Alexandrian sect of Jewish converts to the Christian faith, who devoted themselves to a monastic life.† But this is impossible, for Philo, who wrote before Christianity appeared in Egypt, speaks of this as an established sect. From comparing Philo's account of this sect with the state of philosophy in the country where it flourished, we conclude, that the Therapeutæ were a body of Jewish fanatics, who suffered themselves to be drawn aside from the simplicity of their ancient religion by the example of the Egyptians and Pythagoreans. How long this sect continued is uncertain; but it is not improbable, that, after the appearance of Christianity in Egypt, it soon became extinct.

Besides the four principal sects of the Jews, the Karæites, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes, several others are mentioned by ancient writers; but they are either wholly fictitious, or of little consequence.

Among these sects there were, doubtless, many ingenious and able men, who, had their attention been turned towards philosophy, might have been eminent philosophers. But they were too deeply engaged in the study of their written and traditionary law, to pay much attention to science; and their history affords few particulars which can be brought within the design of this work. We must not, however, overlook the elegant moralist, Jeshua ben Sirach; the celebrated doctors of the law, Hillel and Sham-mai; the learned Philo; and the useful historian, Josephus.

JESHUA, the son of SIRACH,‡ appears from his own testimony to have been a native of Jerusalem, and to have lived in the time of the high priest Eleazer, about three hundred years before Christ. The last high priest whom he mentions is Simeon, the son of Onias, who was immediately succeeded by Eleazer, whom he would doubtless have added to the rest, had he not been still living when Jeshua wrote. We are indebted to this Jeshua for a Moral Manual, which contains a summary of the ethics received among the Jews after the period of the prophets. It was originally written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by his grandson, at the

* Langii Diss. Hal. 1721.

† Montefalcon Trad. Phil. de la Vie cont. Par. 1709. 8vo. Lettres, &c. sur les Therapeutes, Paris, 1712.

‡ Ch. l. v. 29. Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 2. Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 256.

beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes.* This piece, called the book of Ecclesiasticus was formerly read by the Jews; but, after suffering much interpolation, it was at length prohibited. Passages extracted from this book are, however, still in the hands of the Jews, under the title of *The Sentences of Ben Sira*.†

HILLEL, surnamed Hassaken, was born, at Babylon, of poor parents, but of the royal stock of David, in the year one hundred and twelve before Christ. After residing forty years in Babylon, where he married, and had a son, he removed with his family to Jerusalem, for the purpose of studying the law. Shemaiah and Abdalion were at that time eminent doctors in Jerusalem. Hillel, unable on account of his poverty to gain a regular admission to their lectures, spent a considerable part of the profits of his daily labour in bribing the attendants to allow him a place at the door of the public hall, where he might gather up the doctrine of these eminent masters by stealth; and when this expedient failed him, he found means to place himself at the top of the building near one of the windows. By unwearyed perseverance, Hillel acquired a profound knowledge of the most difficult points of the law; in consequence of which his reputation gradually rose to such a height, that he became the master of the chief school in Jerusalem. In this station he was universally regarded as an oracle of wisdom scarcely inferior to Solomon, and had many thousand followers. He had such command of his temper, that no one ever saw him angry. The name of Hillel is in the highest esteem among the Jews, for the pains which he took to perpetuate the knowledge of the traditionary law. He arranged its precepts under six general classes; and thus laid the foundation of that digest of the Jewish law, which is called the Talmud. Hillel is said to have lived to the great age of one hundred and twenty years.‡

SHAMMAI, § one of the disciples of Hillel, deserted his school, and formed a college of his own, in which he taught dogmas contrary to those of his master. He rejected the oral law, and followed the written law only, in its literal sense. Hence he has been ranked among the Karæites. The schools of Hillel and Shammai long disturbed the peace of the Jewish church by violent contests, in which however the party of Hillel was at last victorious.

Among the Jews who inhabited Egypt was born, at Alexandria, of a noble and sacred family, PHILO, a writer deservedly celebrated for his erudition. The exact time of his birth is not known; but, as he speaks of himself as old and grey-headed in the time of Caligula, when he was sent upon an embassy from his countrymen in Egypt to the emperor, which happened in the year 40, it is probable that he was born at least twenty years before the commencement of the Christian era.||

Whilst he was young, Philo diligently applied himself to the study of Grecian eloquence and wisdom in the schools of the Sophists and philosophers. He was intimately conversant with the writings of Plato, whose philosophy was at this time highly esteemed in Alexandria, and made himself so perfectly master both of his doctrine and language, that it became a proverbial observation, "Either Plato philonised, or Philo platonised." After what manner Philo studied philosophy, will appear from a compari-

* Conf. Hieron. *Præf. in Prov.* Huet. *Dem. Ev. Pr. ii.* p. 253. Fabric. *Bib. Gr. v. ii.* p. 728, 729.

† Bartolocc. *Bib. Rab. t. i.* p. 680.

‡ Bartolocc. *Bib. Rab. t. i.* p. 784. Geiger. *Comment. de Hill. et Sham.* Altdorf. 1707. Matt. Lightfoot *Hor. Heb. 4to.* p. 373.

§ Geiger. *l. c.*

|| Hieron. *Cat. Scr. Eccl. c. ii.* Suidas. Phot. *Cod.* 105.

son of the nature of Jewish learning with the spirit of the Alexandrian schools. We have seen, that, from the time of the Ptolemies, the use of allegories had been borrowed by the Jews from their Egyptian neighbours; and that by the help of these, Platonic and Pythagorean dogmas were introduced among them, as the concealed and symbolical sense of their own law. In this manner they were able, without seeming to be indebted to heathen philosophers, to make any use they pleased of their systems. We have also seen, that in Egypt these systems were adulterated with many dogmas from the Oriental philosophy, particularly on the subject of the Divine nature. This philosophy, which had been so well received in Alexandria, Philo eagerly embraced; and, either for want of a perfect acquaintance with Jewish learning, or through a distaste for the simple doctrine of the Mosaic law literally understood, he, by the help of allegory, boldly interwove the Platonic dogmas with the doctrines of the sacred oracles, and ascribed them to Moses. It is, moreover, exceedingly probable, that he was herein, in some measure, influenced by the example of the Essenes and Therapeutæ; and that, though he did not adopt their manner of living, he imitated their method of philosophising; for he always speaks of them in the highest terms of commendation; and he describes his youthful studies and contemplations in language which perfectly agrees with the spirit of these sects.*

Whatever inclination Philo had towards the fanatical philosophy of the Essenes, his love of eloquence drew him off from contemplative pursuits, and immersed him in civil affairs. He visited Rome, at the request of his countrymen, to vindicate them from the calumnies with which they had been loaded by the Alexandrians. Though his embassy proved fruitless, he committed the substance of his Apology for the Jews to writing, and herein gave a favourable specimen of his learning, ability, and integrity. Eusebius relates, that after the death of Caligula this Apology was read in the Roman senate.†

That Philo was acquainted with Grecian literature and philosophy sufficiently appears from his writings; but his fondness for allegorical interpretations is no proof of the solidity of his judgment. At the same time that he greatly admired, and closely followed, the Platonic system, in the adulterated state in which it was taught in the Alexandrian schools, he professed to derive the tenets of Platonism from the sacred writings, and even represented Plato as a disciple of Moses. Of this strange combination of Platonic refinements with the simple doctrine of the Hebrew scriptures, innumerable examples occur in his works.

In his book upon the creation of the world, Philo every where supposes the prior existence of Plato's world of ideas; and represents the Deity as constructing visible nature after a model which he had first formed. He attributes to Moses all the metaphysical subtleties of Plato upon this subject, and maintains, that the philosopher received them from the holy prophet; "God," says he,‡ "when he foresaw, in his divine wisdom, that no fair imitation could possibly exist without a fair pattern, nor any sensible object be faultless, which did not correspond to the archetype of some intelligible idea, after he had decreed to make this sensible world, first formed an intelligible and incorporeal model, after which he might frame the material world; the latter containing as many kinds of sensible, as the former of intelligible natures. The ideal world must neither be represented

* Jos. Ant. J. l. xviii. c. 18. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. ii. c. 4. Pr. Ev. l. vii. c. 12. Phil. de Special. Leg. Op. p. 769. † Jos. et Euseb. l. c. ‡ De Opif. Mundi, p. 3.

nor conceived, as circumscribed by space." Again,* "This intelligible world is, according to the Mosaic doctrine, no other than the Word, or Reason (*Λόγος*) of God now forming the world; and this Reason in the beginning produced Heaven, which consists in pure essence, and is the destined habitation of gods both visible and invisible." "The Creator," adds he,† "framed, in the intelligible world, first of all, an incorporeal heaven, an invisible earth, and the image of air and space, and afterwards the incorporeal essence of water and light, and the intelligible pattern of the sun and all the stars."

After the example of the Alexandrian school, which combined the Pythagorean doctrine with the Platonic, Philo supposes the order of the visible world to have been adapted to the Pythagorean proportions and numbers. He maintains the immutability of the material world upon the principle universally adopted by the ancients, that as from nothing nothing can be produced, so nothing which exists can be annihilated; whence it may be inferred, that he conceived matter to be coeval with Deity.‡ He held the human soul to consist of three natures, the rational, the irascible, and the concupiscible.§

Concerning the Deity, Philo every where makes use of the language of Plato rather than of Moses. He speaks of God as containing all things, but contained by none; as embracing all things within his bosom, and pervading every part of the universe. His language concerning the Divine Nature is so obscure and inconsistent, that it is difficult to discover, with accuracy, his real meaning. But, if those parts of his writings, in which he drops the popular language, and expresses his philosophical notions on this subject, be diligently compared, it will perhaps be found, that Philo supposed a quaternon of principles in the Divine Nature; the first fountain of divinity, and three emanations from this fountain, each possessing a distinct, substantial existence, but all united in essence with the First Principle. The first of these emanations, which he called The *Logos*, he conceived to have been the divine intellect, the seat of those ideas which form the intelligible world; and the second and third, to have been the substantial principles or powers by which the sensible world was created and governed. This doctrine of substantial emanations within the Divine Nature was at this time received among the Platonists from the Oriental schools; and we shall afterwards find that it was the doctrine of the Jewish Cabbala. It is therefore probable, that this was the doctrine concerning the divine nature embraced by this pupil of the Egyptian schools.

Philo, and other Egyptian Jews, who adopted the Oriental and Platonic philosophy, seem neither to have conceived of the *Logos*, and other primary emanations from the first fountain of Deity, as beings separate in nature and essence from God, nor merely as simple attributes, but as substantial virtues or powers radically united in the Divine Essence, and distinct from the First Principle only in their peculiar mode of existing and acting; that is, they conceived, or imagined they conceived, a kind of middle nature, between beings who enjoy a separate existence and mere attributes or properties. This hypothesis may serve to cast a feeble ray of light upon those obscure passages, in which Philo speaks of God as the Being *who is*, and who has two most ancient powers nearest him, one on each side, of whom one is called the Maker, the other the Governor. || Again, "The Middle Divinity, attended on each side by his powers, presents to the enlightened

* De Opif. Mundi, p. 5.

† P. 6. 9.

‡ De Mundo incorrupt. p. 939, &c.

§ De Confus. Ling. p. 322. De Legis Alleg. p. 53.

|| De Abrahamo, p. 367.

mind, sometimes one image, sometimes three: *one*, when the soul, perfectly purified, passes beyond not only other numbers, but even that which is next to unity, the binary, and hastens to that which is strictly simple; *three*, when, not yet initiated into the great mysteries, it is employed upon the less, and is unable to comprehend Him Who Is, by himself alone without another, but sees him in his operations as the former or governor of all."

After what has been advanced, the Platonism of Philo cannot, on any solid ground of argument, be called in question. It must, however, be remembered, that his Platonism was of that adulterated kind, which at this time prevailed in Alexandria.

The works of Philo abound with proofs of genius and erudition, and may serve to cast great light upon the state of the Platonic philosophy at that period; but they discover, in every page, a want of sound and accurate judgment: and the allegorical style which he borrowed from the Egyptians has cast such a veil of obscurity over his writings, that it is, perhaps, in vain to attempt to explain them throughout: some have even presumed to question, whether Philo himself always clearly understood what he wrote.

JOSEPHUS,* the historian, was a native of Jerusalem, and a descendant of the illustrious Asmonean family: he was born in the year 37. At the age of fourteen, he made great proficiency in the knowledge of the Jewish law. For the purpose of studying the history and tenets of the several Jewish sects, he became for three years, a pupil of Banun, a hermit, who had acquired great fame for wisdom, and with him lived a recluse and abstemious life. After this, he addicted himself to the sect of the Pharisees, and engaged in civil affairs. Visiting Rome, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, he obtained access to Nero, and procured liberty for some of his countrymen. On his return home, he in vain attempted to persuade his fellow-citizens to submit quietly to the Roman yoke. At length, in the war of Vespasian, after an unsuccessful defence of the citadel of Jotapata, he was taken prisoner. After a short time, however, when Vespasian and Titus, according to a prediction which he is said to have delivered, came to the empire, he was restored to liberty. He now visited Egypt, and took up his residence at Alexandria, where he, doubtless, studied the Grecian and Egyptian philosophy.

Josephus accompanied Titus in the siege of Jerusalem, the memorable particulars of which he accurately minuted as they passed, and afterwards related at large in his Annals. He spent the latter part of his life at Rome, under the protection of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and there wrote his Jewish Antiquities. He lived till after the thirteenth year of Domitian, when he wrote against Apion; but in what year he died is uncertain. His writings, at the same time that they discover an accurate knowledge of the affairs of his own country, show an extensive acquaintance with Grecian learning and philosophy; but national vanity and partiality led him to imagine that all knowledge and wisdom had originated in Judea, and had flowed thence through all the nations of the earth; a notion which gave rise to many errors and misrepresentations in his writings, and which has since been too implicitly adopted by many Christian writers.†

* Vit. Op. p. 998, &c. Ant. J. l. xx. c. 9.

† Vidend. passim Reimann. Intr. in Hist. Theol. Jud. Carpzov. Int. in Theol. Jud. Eisenmenger, Jud. Detect. Maii Theol. Jud. Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. Buddæi Introd. ad Hist. Ph. Heb. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs. Reland. Diss. de Samaritan. Cellarius de Samar. Gent. Hist. Horbius de Orig. Simon Mag. Huntington, Epist. Lond. 1704.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO MODERN TIMES.

AFTER the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dissolution of the Jewish state, the history of the dispersed Jews has little connection with the history of philosophy. From this time to the Middle Age, we meet with nothing among them which claims our attention, except an excessive and absurd fondness for their traditionary institutions; and a kind of enthusiastic philosophy, called the Cabbalistic, which sprung from the Alexandrian schools, and mixed Oriental, Egyptian, Pythagoric and Platonic notions with the simple doctrine of the Hebrew scriptures. In process of time, when the Jews passed from the Eastern to the Western world, the Aristotelian philosophy, which became predominant among the Arabians, found its way into the Jewish schools.

In order to trace with precision the progress of the Jewish philosophy, it will be necessary to take a general survey of the state of Jewish learning at this period. Without this it would be impossible to discern, how far their Talmudic and Cabbalistic doctrines were grounded upon authority, and derived from their domestic sources; and how far they were borrowed from Gentile philosophy.

The devastation and ruin which fell upon the Jewish nation after the conquest of Vespasian and Titus, reduced them to so low and wretched a condition, that only a small number of learned men were left among them, to transmit their ancient doctrines and institutions to posterity. Of these, part escaped into Egypt, where a Jewish colony had resided from the time of Alexander; and part withdrew to Babylon, where also many Jews had remained from the time of the captivity. In both these countries, these Jewish refugees were humanely received.* An inconsiderable body of this unfortunate people still remained behind, in the desolated country of Palestine. These collected the scattered fragments of Jewish learning from the general wreck, into a school at Jafna† (frequently called by the

Antiq. Eccl. Or. Lond. 1682. Vossius de Septuag. Interp. Hag. Com. 1661. Van Dale, Diss. de Aristeia. Hody contra Hist. Arist. Ox. 1684. et de Bibl. Text. Orig. et Vers. 1705. Nourry Apparat. Bibl. Diss. xii. Engelbach Diss. de Vers. Græc. Sept. antiquiore. Viteb. 1706. Diss. de Vestig. Phil. Alex. in Libro Sapientiæ, Misc. Berolin. t. vi. p. 150. Bartolocci Bibl. Rabbin. Buddæi Hist. Ecc. Vet. T. Zeltner de erud. Feminis Heb. Schudt. Memorab. Judaic. R. Mardochai de Karæis. Trigland, Syntagma trium. Script. de Trib. Jud. Sectis. Delph. 1704. Drusii Tract. de Hasidæis. Serarii in Trihæresin contra Drus. Scaligeri Elench. Trihæresii Serarii. Shupart. de Sect. Karæor. Jenæ, 1701. Goodwin's Moses and Aaron. Willmer, Diss. de Sadduceis. Reland. Ant. Sac. Geiger. de Hillele et Shammai. Lightfoot Horæ Hebr. &c. Vitringa de Vet. Synag. Deyling, Diss. de Ascet. Obs. S. p. iii. Langii Diss. de Essæis, Ital. 1721. Wachter de Essenis. Clerici Epist. Crit. viii. Fabric. Diss. de Platon. Phil. Lips. 1693. in Sylloge Diss. Vander Wayen de Λόγφ. Got. Olear. Diss. de Vaticinio Josephi, Lips. 1699. Pfeiffer, Theolog. Jud. Schoetgen. Jesus verus Mass. ex Theolog. Jud. dem. Lips. 1748. Wachter de Primordiis Chr. Rel.

* Joseph. Bell. J. l. vi. Conf. Basnage, l. iii. c. 1.

† Joseph. Ant. J. l. xiv. c. 8. Bell. J. l. i. c. 5. Reland. Palæst. l. iii. p. 823. Lightfoot, Cent. Chorogr. Matt. Procem. c. xv. t. ii. p. 181. R. D. Ganz in Zemach David. p. 39. Buxtorf. Tib. c. 5. Lightf. Op. p. 87. Basnage, l. vi. c. 5. sect. 8.

Greek writers Jamnia) where they also revived their forms of worship. The Rabbi Jochanan was the founder of this school; and the good design which he begun was completed, as far as the state of the times would permit, by the Rabbi Gamaliel, who is from this circumstance called GEMALIEL JAFNIENSIS. The success which attended this school induced many of the dispersed Jews to return to Palestine: and another school was formed at Tiberias, which soon became the chief seat of Jewish learning in its native country. This school obtained immunities and privileges from the emperor Antoninus Pius; and it produced that curious record of Jewish wisdom, the Jerusalem Talmud. Other schools, after the example of Jafna and Tiberias, were erected at Bitterah, near Jerusalem, at Lydda or Diospolis, at Cæsarea, and (which became more celebrated than the rest) at Zippora, or Sephora, in Galilee.*

From this time, there was not wanting a succession of Jewish doctors to transmit their religion and philosophy to posterity. They are arranged in a series of seven classes,† the last of which brings down the succession to the time when the Jews, enticed by the example of the Saracens and Christians, engaged in the study of the Aristotelian philosophy. In each of these classes there were, doubtless, men of ability; but the talents which nature bestowed upon them were wasted upon the trifling and absurd study of tradition, which, as tares choke the wheat, suppressed every manly exertion of reason: or, if any among them attempted a superior kind of wisdom, they soon lost themselves in the mysteries of Cabbalistic metaphysics. It is therefore wholly unnecessary, in this work, to enter into a minute detail of their history. Only it must be remembered, that these Jewish doctors flourished not only in Palestine, but in the Babylonish schools which were established at Sora, Pumbedithena, and other places near the Euphrates: and we must not omit particularly to mention the Rabbi JEHUDA HAKKADOSH,‡ who adorned the school of Tiberias, and whose memory is so highly revered by the Jews, that they compare him with the Messiah. He was born about the year 120. The Jews relate many extravagant stories of this Rabbi: among the rest, they assert, that he made the emperor Marcus Antoninus a proselyte to Judaism, and that it was by his order that Jehuda compiled the Mishna.

The history of the Mishna is briefly this: the sect of the Pharisees, after the destruction of Jerusalem, prevailing over the rest, the study of traditions became the chief object of attention in all the Jewish schools. The number of these traditions had, in a long course of time, so greatly increased, that the doctors, whose principal employment it was to illustrate them by new explanations, and to confirm their authority, found it necessary to assist their recollection by committing them, under distinct heads, to writing. At the same time, their disciples took minutes of the explanations of their preceptors, many of which were preserved, and grew up into voluminous commentaries. The confusion which arose from these causes was now become so troublesome, that, notwithstanding what Hillel had before done in arranging the traditions, Jehuda found it necessary to attempt a new digest of the oral law, and of the commentaries of their most famous doctors. This arduous undertaking is said to have employed him forty years. It was completed, according to the unanimous testimony of

* Lightf. Cent. Ch. c. 81. 52. 16. 82. 76. 96. Reland. l. c. p. 409. 679. 877.

† Pirke Abhoth. Maimonid. in Præf. Jad. Hassakah. R. Abr. B. Dior. in Cabbala. R. Zackhuth, in Juchasin. K. Gedalia in Shalsheth Hakkabala. Conf. Hen. Othon. Hist. Mishnic. cum Relandi Notis. Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. ii. p. 924.

‡ Bartolocc. Bibl. Rab. t. iii. p. 79. Basnage, l. iii. c. 3. sect. 2—6.

the Jews, which in this case there is no sufficient reason to dispute, about the close of the second century. This Mishna, or first Talmud, comprehends all the laws, institutions, and rules of life, which, besides the ancient Hebrew scriptures, the Jews supposed themselves bound to observe. Notwithstanding the obscurities, inconsistencies, and absurdities with which this collection abounds, it soon obtained credit among the Jews as a sacred book.*

After all, however, the Mishna did not completely provide for many cases which arose in the practice of ecclesiastical law, and many of its prescriptions and decisions were found to require further comments and illustrations. The task of supplying these defects was undertaken by the Rabbis Chiam and Oscaim, and others, disciples of Jehuda; who not only wrote explanations of the Mishna, but made material additions to that voluminous compilation. These commentaries and additions were collected by the Rabbi Jochanan ben Eliezer, probably in the fifth century, under the name of the Gemara, because it completed the Mishna. This collection was afterwards called the Jerusalem Gemara, to distinguish it from another of the same kind made in Babylon, at the beginning of the sixth century. To these collections we must add the Mishnic treatise called, *Capitalia Patrum*, "A Compendium of the Moral Maxims and Sentiments of the Jewish Fathers:" it is an ancient compilation, probably made by Nathan a Babylonian Rabbi, who flourished about the year 120.†

With the ritual and ecclesiastical precepts of the law, there was also taught in the Jewish schools a mystical kind of traditionary doctrine, which was called the Cabbala. In this metaphysical system we find the Jews, while they profess to follow the footsteps of Moses, turning aside into the paths of Gentile philosophy. The Jews pretend to derive their Cabbala from Esdras, Moses, Abraham, and Adam: but it is very evident from the Cabbalistic doctrine concerning divine emanations, of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel, that it originated in Egypt, where the Jews learned, by the help of allegory, to mix Oriental, Pythagoric, and Platonic dogmas with Hebrew wisdom. These doctrines soon found their way into Palestine; and, though at first the number of Mystics does not appear to have been great, after the dissolution of the republic, multitudes were wonderfully captivated with this sublime method of philosophising upon divine subjects. Under the sanction of ancient names, many fictitious writings were produced, which greatly contributed to the spread of this mystical system. Among these were *Sepher Happeliah*, The Book of Wonders; *Sepher Hakkaneh*, The Book of the Pen; and *Sepher Habbahir*, the Book of Light. The first unfolds many doctrines said to have been delivered by Elias to the Rabbi Elkanah; the second contains mystical commentaries on the divine commands; the third illustrates the most sublime mysteries.‡

Among the profound doctors, who besides the study of tradition, cultivated with great industry the Cabbalistic philosophy, the most celebrated names are the Rabbis Akibha and Simeon ben Jochai. To the former is ascribed the book entitled *Jezirah*, Concerning the Creation; to the latter, the book *Sohar*, or Brightness; which are the principal sources whence we derive our knowledge of the Cabbala.

* Maimon. Præf. ad. Seder Saraim, et. at Jad. Chassaka. Morini Exerc. Bibl. l. i. c. 6. l. ii. ex. 6. c. 2. Basnage, l. iii. c. 6. sect. 6. Ottho Hist. D. Mishnic.

† Vid. Hist. Lit. Scriptores Jud. R. Zachuth, R. David Ganz, R. Gedalia. Conf. Basnage, p. 139. Lightfoot Op. t. ii. p. 221. Morini Exerc. Bib. l. ii. ex. 10. c. i. Wolf, Bib. Heb. t. ii. p. 139.

‡ Wolf, Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 196. 905. P. iii. p. 126, 127.

AKIBHA, who lived soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, and had a school at Lydda, or Diospolis, was so famous a teacher that, if we may credit the Jewish accounts, he had twenty-four thousand disciples. In such high estimation was he held among the Jews of Palestine, that they did not scruple to say, that God revealed to Akibha what he had concealed from Moses. His book *Jezirah* was quoted as of divine authority; an undoubted proof of the ignorance and superstition of the Jews at this period; for it is impossible to take the most cursory survey of its contents without perceiving that it abounds with trifles and absurdities.*

At the time when Akibha was far advanced in life, and had established extensive authority, appeared the famous impostor, Bar Cóchbas, under the character of the Messiah, promising to deliver his countrymen from the power of the emperor Adrian. Akibha espoused his cause, and afforded him the protection and support of his name; and an army of two hundred thousand men repaired to his standard. The Romans at first slighted the insurrection; but, when they found that the insurgents spread slaughter and rapine wherever they came, they sent out a military force against them. At first, the issue of the contest was doubtful. After a short time, however, this pretended Messiah was blocked up, with his army, in the city of Bitterah; and after a siege of three years and a half, he was made prisoner, and with his followers put to the sword. In this carnage, Akibha, with his son Pappus, was flayed alive. This happened, according to the Jewish chronologists, in the year 120: Basnage places the event in the year 138.† Akibha, after his death, was honoured by the Jews as an eminent doctor of their law; and his tomb, which they supposed to be at Tiberias, was visited with great solemnity. The Jewish writers assert, that Akibha received the *Jezirah* from Abraham;‡ but there can be little doubt that its doctrines flowed from the Cabbalistic fountain of the Jewish schools in Egypt. The work, whether written by Akibha or one of his followers, has probably undergone interpolation.

SIMEON BEN JOCHAI, § who flourished in the second century, and was a disciple of Akibha, is called by the Jews the prince of the Cabbalists. After the suppression of the sedition, in which his master had been so unsuccessful, he concealed himself in a cave, where, according to the Jewish historians, he received revelations, which he afterwards delivered to his disciples, and which they carefully preserved in the book called *Sohar*. This book contains a summary of the Cabbalistic philosophy, expressed in obscure hieroglyphics and allegories. As this book has not been mentioned by any Jewish writer prior to the thirteenth century, its authenticity has been doubted; but its doctrine and method bear evident marks of antiquity, and render it exceedingly probable, that it is, in the main, a true repre-

* Zemach. David. ad. An. Mund. 3760. Bayle. Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. t. ii. p. 449. E. g. Dixit R. Akibha: (a) "Ingressus sum aliquando post R. Josuam in sedis secretæ locum, et tria ab eo didici: didici primo, quod non versus orientem et occidentem, sed versus septentrionem et austrum nos convertere debeamus. Didici secundo, quod non in pedes erectum, sed jam cidentem se retgere liceat. Didici tertio, quod podex non dextra sed sinistra manu abstergendus sit. Ad hæc objecit ibi Ben Hassai: usve adeo vero perfricuisti frontem ergo magistrum tuum ut cacantem observares? Respondit ille: legis hæc arcana sunt, ad quæ discenda id necessario mihi agendum fuit."—EN VERO EGREGIAM DOCTRINAM MORALEM!

† Basnage, l. vii. c. 12. Lightfoot, t. ii. p. 280.

‡ R. Gedaliah, Hakkab. p. 28.

§ Wolf. Bib. Heb. P. i. p. 702. Knorr. Præf. Cabb. Denud. p. ii.

sentation of the doctrine which the Cabbalistic Jews derived from the Egyptian schools.*

From the third century to the tenth few traces of the Cabbalistic philosophy are to be met with in the writings of the Jews. The probable reason is, that these mysteries, which differ materially from the ancient doctrine of the Jewish church, were entrusted only to the initiated, and this under a solemn oath of secrecy; whence few persons would venture to commit them to writing. If any such books were written, they would, doubtless, be with great industry concealed from public inspection; or if they happened to fall into the hands of an uninitiated Jew, their enigmatic language would be a seal upon their meaning, not to be broken by a vulgar hand. Add to this, that the Jews were for many centuries deeply involved in controversy concerning their traditionary law, and if they were possessed of Talmudical erudition, thought themselves sufficiently learned; and that the whole nation was oppressed and harassed by persecution.

Jewish learning, which, from the time of the dispersion of this unfortunate people, had declined, began to revive at the period when the Saracens became the patrons of philosophy. In the tenth century, the schools of Sora and Pumbeditha again flourished under new preceptors.† The Rabbi SAADIAS GAON,‡ a native of Egypt, in the year 927, took the charge of the school of Sora, where he restored the study of literature and philosophy. He wrote a work entitled, "The Philosopher's Stone," which is not, as might be expected, Alchymic, but Cabbalistic; he also wrote "A Compendium of Jewish Theology," in which he not unskilfully illustrates its principal heads by philosophical reasoning. In the eleventh century, a school was instituted at Pheres Skibber, in which the Rabbis SHERIRA GAON, and his son HAI, presided. The former wrote notes upon the Mishna and Gemara; the latter illustrated the Cabbalistic philosophy by a treatise concerning divine names, and a comment upon the book Jezirah. With them expired the Jewish learning in the East.

The Jews, being now violently persecuted by the Saracens, fled from the Eastern to the Western world, and found an asylum in Spain, where they boast that the family of David is preserved. Here they opened new schools, and cultivated Talmudic learning and Cabbalistic philosophy. About the beginning of the twelfth century, the Talmud was translated into Arabic, and a Talmudic lexicon was published; after which, many commentators upon the Talmud, and many Cabbalistic writers, appeared.§

The attention which was now paid to the writings of Aristotle, both by Arabians and Christians, among whom the Stagirite was every where extolled as the oracle of truth, excited the emulation of the Jews; and they, from this time, addicted themselves to the study of the Peripatetic philosophy. This innovation, so inconsistent with the reverence which they professed to entertain for the law, and the traditions of their fathers, was exceedingly displeasing to the zealous advocates for Talmudic learning; who easily perceived, that as the one gained credit the other must decline. The ancient curse denounced upon the Jew who should instruct his son in Grecian learning was revived; and in the year 1280, the Rabbi who presided in the synagogue of Barsina, SOLOMON BEN ABRAHAM BEN

* Knorr. ed. Solibach. 1684. Amst. 1714.

† Basnage, l. ix. c. 4. sect. 2.

‡ Ganzii Zemach David. p. 51. Zachuthi Juchasin. p. 119, &c. Gedalia Shalsheth Hakkabala, p. 38. Basnage, ib.

§ Basnage, l. ix. c. 10. l. vii. c. 9. Schudt. Mem. Jud. l. iv. c. 9.

ADRATH (called by way of contraction Rashba) prohibited the study of Gentile philosophy.* Notwithstanding all this, however, the Jews persevered in their philosophical pursuits, and, from the twelfth century, distinguished themselves by their knowledge of mathematics and physics. ISAAC BEN SAID constructed astronomical tables;† and ISAAC ISRAEL TOLETANUS, was an eminent astronomer and chronologer.‡

To facilitate the study of Aristotle among the Jews, his writings were translated (it may be presumed, not very accurately) from the Arabic (for the Greek was at this time little read) into the Hebrew tongue. Several other ancient works, particularly the Elements of Euclid, and the medical writings of the Greeks, towards the close of the thirteenth century appeared in a Hebrew dress. So highly was the name of Aristotle now respected among the Jews, that they not only called him the prince of philosophers, but maintained that his philosophy was the perfection of human science, and could only be excelled by the doctrine of Divine Revelation. In order to screen themselves from censure for submitting to receive wisdom from a heathen philosopher, they pretended that Aristotle was himself a proselyte to Judaism, and was indebted to Solomon for a great part of his philosophy.§ The Rabbi CHANANIA BEN ISAAC wrote “Institutes of the Philosophers;” a collection of moral precepts and apophthegms from the ancients. In the work already mentioned, written about this time under the title of COSRI, or, more accurately, *Hachosari*,|| Aristotelian principles were employed in demonstrating the truth of the Jewish religion: it may be considered as a specimen of Jewish philosophy in the Middle Age.

The most celebrated names among the learned Jews of this period are ABRAHAM BEN MUIR ABEN ESRA, and MOSES BEN MAIMON, or MAIMONIDES.

ABEN ESRA was born at Toledo, in Spain, and flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. On account of his profound erudition, he was not only called the Wise, but the Great, and the Wonderful. He travelled for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, and far surpassed his brethren both in sacred and profane learning. He wrote theological, grammatical, mathematical, and astrological works, many of which remain in ancient libraries, not yet edited.¶

MAIMONIDES, who holds a distinguished place among the learned of this age, was born at Cordova, in Spain, in the year 1131. Among his preceptors was Averroës the Arabian. Through his superior genius and industry, he acquired a degree of learning which excited the jealousy and envy of his countrymen: perhaps, too, his connection with Averroës might lead him to adopt obnoxious opinions. It has been asserted, that he became a convert to Mahometanism; but this wants proof. Whatever was the cause, which it is not now easy to discover, it is certain that Maimonides found his residence in Spain troublesome and hazardous, and removed into Egypt, where he settled at Cairo: here his learning and talents engaged the notice of the Sultan of Egypt, Malch El Hadul, who employed him as his physician. Maimonides instituted a school at Alexandria, where he had many followers, who were, however, soon afterwards dispersed by persecution. Some say, that he died in

* Shalshleth. p. 58. Wolf. p. 1033.

† Juchasin. p. 132.

‡ Wolf. p. 663.

§ Wolf. p. 383. 655. 217. Maimon. Ep. ad. R. A. Tibbon.

|| Shalshleth. p. 40. Wolf. p. 440.

¶ Shalshleth. p. 41. Juchasin, p. 131. Zemach D. ad. A. 4934. Wolf. p. 146. 764.

Egypt, in the year 1201; others, that he died in Palestine, in the year 1205.*

This learned Jew was not only master of many Eastern languages, but, which was a rare accomplishment at that time, was well acquainted with the Greek tongue; in which he seems to have read the works of Plato, Aristotle, Themistius, Galen, and others: he confesses, that he had been much conversant with the writings of philosophers. As a physician he possessed high reputation: he was a good logician, and had a competent knowledge of mathematics. In Talmudic learning, he excelled all his contemporaries. Besides many other works,† he wrote a treatise “On Idolatry;” another, “On the Theology of the Gentiles;” and a third, “On Allegorical Language;” which discovered great learning, but leaned towards Gentile philosophy more than his countrymen approved. A singular proof of his fondness for the Aristotelian doctrines, and, at the same time, a curious specimen of the absurd method of allegorising, adopted even by the more intelligent among the Jews, we meet with in his explanation of the sapphire stone, which Moses saw under the feet of the God of Israel, the whiteness of which he understood to denote the ὕλη πρώτη, the first matter, of Aristotle.‡

CHAPTER III.

OF THE JEWISH PHILOSOPHY, EXOTERIC AND CABBALISTIC.

THE philosophy of the Jews, which is inseparably connected with their theology, differed essentially from that of the Greeks, in the sources from which it was derived. Whilst the several Grecian sects of philosophers applied the powers of the human understanding to every subject of speculation, and attempted to establish all their tenets upon the ground of rational argument, the Jews professed to derive all their knowledge from Divine Revelation, either in the Mosaic law, or in the traditions and decisions of their Fathers. Although the Jewish doctors distinguished between such doctrines as may be known from the principles of reason, and such as rest upon tradition, oral or written, they in fact made little use of this distinction, and were satisfied with nothing which could not be supported by authority. Even in maintaining those doctrines which might have been established by rational arguments, they relied more upon tradition than reason, and, by the help of allegorical interpretations, found in their sacred books whatever tenets they had either borrowed from others, or framed in

* Juchasin. p. 131. 'Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 296. Shalsheth, p. 43. Basnage, l. ix. c. 10. Wolf. p. 865.

† Ed. Basil. 1629. Epist. Venet. 1545.

‡ Conf. Budd. Intr. Hist. Heb. p. 167. Basnage, l. ix. p. 277.

Vidend. passim Zeltner. Diss. de Beruria. Altdorf. 1714. R. Moses Mikkozi, lib. Præcept. Maimonid. Præf. ad Sedar Saraim. Buxtorf. Recensio Op. Talm. Z. Græpius in Idea Talmud. Hier. Lips. 1695. Jo. A. Lent. Mod. Theol. Jud. Wagenseil ad Sota. Morini Exerc. Bibl. Leo. African. Maimon. in Præf. Jad. Hassakah. Dior. in Cabbala. Zachuth in Juchasin. Gedalia in Shalsheth Kakkabala Gantz. Zemach David Otthon. Hist. Mishnic. Wolf. Basnage, Reland, Lightfoot, Hottinger, Buddæus, Prideaux, &c.

their own imaginations. In the writings of men, who thus forsook the pure doctrine of revelation in search of fictions, and who, nevertheless, had no confidence in the natural powers of the human mind, it is in vain to expect much that can deserve the name of philosophy.

Two methods of instruction were in use among the Jews; the one, public or exoteric; the other, secret or esoteric. The exoteric doctrine was that which was openly taught the people from the law of Moses, and the traditions of the fathers. The esoteric was that which treated of the mysteries of the divine nature, and other sublime subjects, and was known by the name of the Cabbala. The latter was, after the manner of the Pythagorean and Egyptian mysteries, taught only to certain persons, who were bound, under the most solemn *anathema*, not to divulge it.

The exoteric doctrine comprehended the popular articles of faith and rules of manners. These were not reduced into a systematic form till the middle of the tenth century; when the Rabbi Saadiah Gaon, the master of the school at Sora, wrote a book in the Arabic language concerning the Faith,* which Jehuda Tibbon translated into Hebrew. The articles of the Jewish faith were afterwards reduced by Maimonides to thirteen, which were generally received, though not without some opposition, in the Jewish church.† Ethics were so little studied among the Jews, that, in their whole compilation called the Talmud, there is only one treatise on moral subjects. After the Peripatetic doctrine was received among them, some attention was paid to Aristotle's doctrine of morals; and, among the Jews in the Western world, we find, from the eleventh century, many writers, who treat upon the practical rules of life and manners, not however without a mixture of allegory and mysticism. Their books of morals chiefly consisted in a minute enumeration of duties. From the law of Moses were deduced six hundred and thirteen precepts, which were divided into two classes, affirmative and negative; two hundred and forty-eight in the former, and three hundred and sixty-five in the latter. These may be seen in the Jewish catechism, and in a Talmudic treatise, entitled *Maccoth*.‡ It may serve to give the reader some idea of the low state of moral philosophy among the Jews in the Middle Age, to add, that of the two hundred and forty-eight affirmative precepts, only *three* were considered as obligatory upon women; and that, in order to obtain salvation, it was judged sufficient to fulfil any one single law in the hour of death; the observance of the rest being deemed necessary, only to increase the felicity of the future life.§ What a wretched depravity of sentiment and manners must have prevailed before such corrupt maxims could have obtained credit! It is impossible to collect from these writings any thing like a consistent series of moral doctrine. Of their POPULAR THEORETICAL TENETS the following is a brief summary.

The Creator is One; there is none like him, and he alone has been, is, and will be. The existence of God is nothing but his essence and truth. The foundation of wisdom is to know, that God is the First Being, and that he gives existence to all others. The essence of God cannot be comprehended by the human understanding; he can only be known by his attributes and name. In the name of יהוה Jehovah there is great power; and it is unlawful for any man to utter it, except the priest when he pro-

* Budd. Intr. Hist. Ph. Heb. sect. 32.

† Wolf. p. 867. Basnage, l. iv. c. 1. sect. 1. Schudt. Mem. J. p. ii. l. vi. c. 27. sect. 18. Maimon. Ed. Vorstii. Amst. 1638.

‡ Edit. Cantab. 1597.

§ Wolf. ib. p. 744. 221. 571. Jo. A. Lent. Theol. Jud. c. xiv. sect. 3. Lev. Mutinens de Carim. Jud. p. v. c. 4.

nounces the holy benediction. The nature of God is incorporeal and spiritual; simple essence, without composition or accident; intellect, in perpetual act. His duration, both past and future, is infinite. God is not so properly said to be in place, as to be himself place, for all space is full of his glory. God is the omniscient and sovereign Lord of the universe; he foresees and ordains all things; but all evil is to be ascribed to the free will of man.

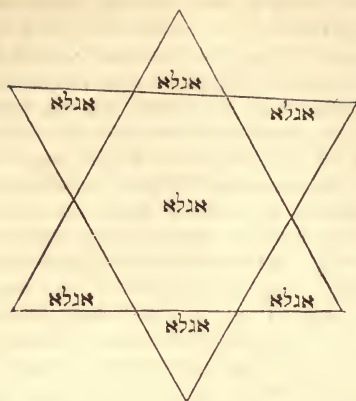
The world was created from nothing, had a beginning, and will have an end. All human souls were created at the beginning of the world, and existed in a happy state before they were sent down into the body. Besides these, there are other created spirits, good and bad, of various names and classes. The bad angels are corporeal, their bodies consisting of the two elements of air and fire. The heavens are animated; and the stars are rational beings, endued with the powers of intelligence and volition; they have an influence upon human affairs, and even upon inferior animals, plants, and minerals, and communicate to men the knowledge of future events. Different regions of the earth, and even individual men, have their ministring angels. Two archangels were the leaders of a rebellion against God; and the rebels were cast out of heaven. The fallen angels, procreating with the daughters of men, produced giants and devils. The cause of natural death, and of all the calamities of mankind, is the fall of our first parents. No human being can attain to perfection; but good works are entitled to reward; and the pardon of sin may be obtained by fastings, prayers, confessions, and bodily sufferings. All the laws of Moses are eternal and immutable. The soul of man is a thinking substance, having three faculties; the vegetative, the sensitive, and the rational: it is possessed of liberty, and is immortal. After death, it is not immediately admitted to celestial joys, but wanders in this world, chiefly about its body, during which time it is tormented by evil demons: in this purgatory it is cleansed from its stains; after which it passes into other bodies of men, or inferior animals. There will be a resurrection of the bodies of dead men, and an universal judgment, which will be succeeded by a state of retribution. The good will enjoy eternal life in Paradise, and the wicked will be consigned to the infernal regions; the Jew for a time, but the infidel for ever. The world will be destroyed; but the materials of which it is composed will remain.*

Many of the most valuable parts of these tenets, the Jews unquestionably derived from their sacred scriptures; the rest they borrowed from their Gentile neighbours. They first suffered their doctrine to be corrupted by the Egyptian philosophy; and afterwards, learned from the Saracens to reason after the Peripatetic manner, upon metaphysical subjects: examples of which may be seen in the writings of Maimonides, and in the book Cosri.

The superstitious notions and practices of the Jews, in the Middle Age, concerning the names of God, were singular. Of these they reckoned seventy-two; from which, by different arrangements in sevens, they produced seven hundred and twenty. The principal of these was אגלא *Agla*; † which they disposed in the following figure.

* Maimond. Moreh Nebhochim, et Jesode Thora. R. Jos. Albo Fund. Fid. Basnage, l. iv. c. 6. Lightfoot, Hor. Heb.

† Contracted from ארתה גבר לעולם ארני; thou art strong in the eternal God.



This they called *The Shield of David*, and pretended that it was security against wounds, would extinguish fires, and was able to perform other wonders.*

The Esoteric or concealed doctrine of the Jews was called the CABBALA, from the word כָּבַל which signifies, *to receive*, because it had been received by tradition. Concerning the miraculous origin and preservation of the Cabbala, the Jews relate many marvellous tales. They derive these mysteries from Adam; and assert, that whilst the first man was in Paradise, the angel Rasiel brought him a book from heaven, which contained the doctrines of heavenly wisdom; and that when Adam received this book, angels came down to him to learn its contents, but that he refused to admit them to the knowledge of sacred things, entrusted to him alone; that after the Fall, this book was taken back into heaven; that, after many prayers and tears, God restored it to Adam; and that it passed from Adam to Seth.† The Jewish fables go on to relate, that the book being lost, and the mysteries it contained almost forgotten, in the degenerate age before the flood, they were restored, by special revelation, to Abraham, who committed them to writing in the book *Jezirah*; that the revelation was renewed to Moses, who received a traditionary and mystical, as well as a written and preceptive, law from God; that being again lost amidst the calamities of the Babylonish captivity, it was once more revealed to Esdras; that it was preserved in Egypt, and has been transmitted to posterity through the hands of Simeon ben Setach, Elkanah, Akibha, Simeon ben Jochai, and others.‡

All that can be inferred from these accounts, which bear the evident marks of fiction, is, that the Cabbalistic doctrine obtained early credit among the Jews as a part of their sacred tradition, and was transmitted, under this notion, by the Jews in Egypt to their brethren in Palestine. That this system was not of Hebrew origin may be concluded, with a great degree of probability, from the total dissimilarity of its abstruse and mys-

* Fabric. Cod. Apoc. V. T. ii. p. 1006. t. iii. p. 143.

† Eisenmenger, Jud. Detect. p. i. c. 8. p. ii. c. 13. Basnage, l. iii. c. 10. Wachter. Euclid. Cabbal. c. 1. sect. 1. Lib. Sohar. par Berasheith. col. 171.

‡ Buxtorf. Bib. Rabb. p. 184. Renschlin. de arte Cabb. l. i. p. 622. Wolf. Bib. H. p. i. p. 112. Reimann. Hist. Th. Jud. l. i. c. 15. Budd. Intr. p. 424. Cosri. p. iii. sect. 65.

terious doctrines to the simple principles of religion taught in the Mosaic law; and that it was borrowed from the Egyptian schools will presently appear, from a comparison of its tenets with those of the Oriental and Alexandrian philosophy. Many writers have indeed imagined, that they have found, in the Cabbalistic dogmas, a near resemblance of the doctrines of Christianity, and have been of opinion that the fundamental principles of this mystical system were derived from Divine revelation. But this opinion is to be traced up to a prejudice, which began with the Jews, and passed from them to the Christian Fathers, by which they were led to ascribe all Pagan wisdom to an Hebrew origin; a notion which, there can be little room to doubt, took its rise in Egypt, where Pagan tenets first crept in among the Jews. When they first embraced the doctrines of Heathen philosophy, neither their national vanity, nor their reverence for the law of Moses, would suffer them to acknowledge themselves indebted to Pagans for their wisdom: they had, therefore, nothing left, but to profess to derive these new opinions from their sacred writings, and, by the help of the allegorical method of interpretation taught them by the Egyptians, to reconcile them, as well as they were able, with the ancient doctrines of their religion. In support of this pretence, they supposed that the stream of wisdom, which they professed to derive from their own sacred fountain, had formerly flowed out of their enclosure into the neighbouring countries; and that the Oriental, Egyptian, and Grecian schools had been at first indebted to the land of Israel for their knowledge. Philo, Josephus, and other learned Jews, to flatter their own vanity, and that of their countrymen, industriously propagated this opinion; and the more learned Fathers of the Christian church, who thought highly of the Grecian, particularly of the Platonic philosophy, hastily adopted it, imagining that if they could trace back the most valuable doctrines of Paganism to an Hebrew origin, this could not fail to recommend the Jewish and Christian religions to the attention of Gentile philosophers. Many learned moderns, relying implicitly upon these authorities, have maintained the same opinion, and have hence been inclined to credit the report of the divine original of the Jewish Cabbala: but both these opinions are equally without foundation. In tracing the ancient Barbaric and Grecian philosophy to their sources, it has sufficiently appeared, that they were not of Hebrew extraction: * and we shall soon see that the Cabbalistic system is fundamentally inconsistent with the pure doctrine of Divine revelation.

The truth, as far as we have been able to develope it, after a careful comparison of the various opinions which have been advanced with the ancient records which remain upon this subject, may be thus briefly stated:

* In further confirmation of what has been already advanced upon this point, it may be remarked, that those who have supposed the Chaldean and Egyptian philosophy to have originated with the Hebrews, have not considered that Thoth, Hermes Trismegistus, the Chaldean Zoroaster, and other founders of the ancient Barbaric philosophy, were prior in time to Moses, and even to Abraham. Besides, if it were granted that there were, among the Hebrews, patriarchs coeval with the first Chaldean or Egyptian sages, it still remains, to show by what means the former could have prevailed upon the latter to become their disciples, and to adduce some plausible evidence that this was in fact the case. It is wonderful, that any learned men should have maintained, that the Egyptians were indebted to the Israelites for their wisdom, when it appears from the sacred history, that the Egyptians treated the Israelites with contempt, as a race of foreign slaves; and that the descendants of Jacob inhabited a separate region, where they had little intercourse with the natives of Egypt. Is there a shadow of probability, that the Egyptians would borrow from such a people any part of their sacred mysteries? But, if even this were allowed to be probable, still the difference between the ancient Hebrew religion, and that of the Egyptians and other nations, is too great to leave any room for admitting the fact. If then it be wholly inconceivable that the ancient Eryp-

The Jews, as their own writers attest, like other Oriental nations, from the most remote period, had secret doctrines or mysteries. During the prophetic ages, these, probably, consisted in a simple explanation of those Divine truths which the prophets delivered under the veil of emblems. After this period, when the sects of the Essenes and Therapeutæ were formed, as we have seen, in Egypt, foreign tenets and institutions were borrowed from the Egyptians and Greeks, and, in the form of allegorical interpretations of the law, were admitted into the Jewish mysteries. These innovations chiefly consisted in certain dogmas concerning God and divine things, at this time received in the Egyptian schools, particularly at Alexandria, where the Platonic and Pythagorean doctrines on these subjects had undergone a material alteration, by being mixed with the Oriental philosophy. For the Alexandrian Platonists, having rejected the Dualistic system, had now, from the Orientalists, adopted the Emanative, and admitted the doctrine of various orders of divine emanation. This doctrine, which by the help of allegory was easily accommodated to the sacred writings, was embraced, under the notion of traditional mystery, by Aristobulus, and other founders of the sect of the Therapeutæ, and admitted into their writings, as may be seen in the works of Philo. The Jewish mysteries, thus enlarged by the accession of Pagan dogmas, were conveyed from Egypt to Palestine, at the time when the Pharisees, who had been driven into Egypt under Hyrcanus, returned, and with them many other Jews, into their own country. From this time the Cabbalistic mysteries continued to be taught in the Jewish schools; till, at length, they were adulterated by the mixture of Peripatetic doctrines, and other tenets, which sprang up in the Middle Age. These mysteries were not, probably, reduced to any systematic form in writing, till after the dispersion of the Jews, when, in consequence of their national calamities, they became apprehensive that these sacred treasures would be corrupted, or lost. In succeeding periods, the Cabbalistic doctrines underwent various corruptions, particularly from the prevalence of the Aristotelian philosophy.*

This account of the rise and progress of the Jewish Cabbala agrees with the facts before recited, and is confirmed by the resemblance observable between the features of the Oriental and Cabbalistic systems, as far as the veil of metaphor and allegory, with which they are covered will permit us to compare them. The obscurity of the Cabbalistic philosophy is indeed such, that there is some reason to question, whether the authors themselves clearly understood what they wrote: a suspicion which may always arise, where metaphysical ideas, which are only to be understood by mental abstraction, are represented under sensible images. It is probable, however, that the writers supposed themselves to have some meaning, in works upon which they bestowed much time and ingenuity; and it becomes a matter of curiosity, to inquire what meaning lies concealed under the apparent jargon. Perhaps more pains have been taken to make this discovery than the subject deserves: but as others have laboured with indefatigable industry, and not without some degree of success, in exploring the mazes of

tians should have received their dogmas from the Hebrews, it must be admitted as highly probable, that when, in later times, a wonderful agreement appears between the Jewish and Egyptian tenets, the Jews borrowed their Cabbalistic dogmas from the Alexandrians, among whom they resided. (a)

* Wachter. Euclid. Cabb. c. ii. p. 19. Knorr. Cabb. Denud. t. ii. p. 389. 181. Philo. Op. p. 877. 893. Maimon. Mor. Nebh. l. iii. c. 4. Wolf. Bibl. Heb. p. ii. l. vii. c. 1.

(a) Conf. Reuchlin. de Art. Cabb. l. ii. p. 642. Wachter. Spinoz. Jud. p. ii. p. 221. Burnet Arch. l. i. c. 7.

this labyrinth,* we must not fly from the undertaking as desperate; and we may, possibly, find in the result, that it is not wholly unprofitable. It will be necessary, however, before we proceed, to premise, that our inquiry only respects the theoretical part of the Cabbala; and that we pay no attention, either to the Enigmatical Cabbala, which consists in certain symbolical transpositions of the words or letters of the scriptures, fit only for the amusement of children, and those who delight in anagrams and acrostics, or to the Practical Cabbala, which professed to teach the art of curing diseases, and performing other wonders, by means of certain arrangements of sacred letters and words.†

The chief heads of the CABBALISTIC DOCTRINE are these:—

From nothing, nothing can be produced; since the distance between existence and non-entity is infinite. Matter is too imperfect in its nature, and approaches too near to non-entity, to be self-existent. The Being from whom all things proceed is a Spirit, uncreated, eternal, intelligent, percipient, having within itself the principles of life and motion existing by the necessity of its nature, and filling the immensity of space. This spirit is EN-SOPH, the Infinite Deity. This Eternal Fountain of existence sends forth from himself natures of various orders, which, nevertheless, are still united to their source. The world is a permanent emanation from the Deity, in which his attributes and properties are unfolded, and variously modified. The nearer any emanation is to the First Fountain, the more perfect and divine is its nature; and the reverse.

Before the creation of the world, all space was filled with the OR HAEN-SOPH, or Infinite Intellectual Light. But when the volition for the production of nature was formed in the Divine Mind, the Eternal Light, hitherto equally diffused through the infinite expanse, withdrew itself to an equal distance, in every direction, from a certain point, and thus left, about this centre, a spherical portion of empty space, as a field for the operations of emanation, by which all things were to be produced. In the space from which the Divine Light was thus withdrawn, there were still, however, some portions, or traces, left of the divine essence, which were to become the receptacle of rays sent forth from the Eternal Fountain, or the basis of future worlds. From a certain part of the concavity of Infinite Light which surrounded the opaque sphere, the energy of emanation was first exerted, and rays were sent forth, in right lines, into the dark abyss. The beam of light, thus produced, formed a channel, through which streams were to flow for the production of worlds. This beam was united to the Concave of Light, and was directed towards the centre of the opaque sphere. From this luminous channel streams of light flowed, at different distances from the centre, in a circular path, and formed distinct circles of light, separated from the Concave of Light, or from each other, by portions of dark or empty space. Of these circles of light, ten were produced, which may be called SEPHIRÆ, or SPLENDORS.

The reader's imagination may perhaps be assisted by the following diagram:—

* Budd. Intr. sect. 35. 46. Hist. Ph. H. l. i. c. 10. Wachter. Spinoz. p. i. p. 22. p. ii. c. 17. Eluc. Cabb. Præf. p. vi. c. 3. sect. 1—13. Knorr. Cab. Den. t. i. p. ii. p. 79. t. ii. p. 390. Basnage, l. iii. c. 14. 16. 19. H. Mori Quæst. t. i. p. 62.

† Schudt. Mem. J. p. ii. l. vi. c. 31. Hackspan. Miscell. S. p. 290. Glassii. Philol. S. l. ii. p. i. tr. 2. s. 3. art. 2.



The rectilinear beam of light, which is the First Emanation from the Eternal Fountain, and is itself the source of all other emanations, may be distinguished by the name ADAM KADMAN, the First Man, the first production of Divine Energy, or, the Son of God. The Sefhiræ are fountains of emanation subordinate to Adam Kadman, which send forth rays of divine light, or communicate essence and life to inferior beings. The ten Sefhiræ are known, according to the order of emanation, by the names, Intelligence or the Crown, Knowledge, Wisdom, Strength, Beauty, Greatness, Glory, Stability, Victory, Dominion. These are not the instruments of the divine operations, but *media*, through which the Deity diffuses himself through the sphere of the universe, and produces whatever exists. They are not beings detached from the Deity, but substantial virtues or powers, distinctly, but dependently, sent forth from the eternal source of existence through the mediation of Adam Kadman, the first emaning power, and becoming the immediate source of existence to subordinate emanations. They are dependent upon the first fountain, as rays upon a luminary, which is conceived to have sent them forth with a power of drawing them back, at pleasure, into itself.

The first Infinite Source of Being is the Ensophic World, or world of infinity, within which, after the manner above described, four worlds are produced by the law of emanation, according to which the superior is the immediate source of the inferior: these are, AZILUTH, or the world of emanation, including the Sefhiræ; BRISH, or the world of creation, containing certain spiritual natures, which derive their essence from the Sefhiræ; JEZIRAH, or the world of forms, composed of substantial natures, derived from the superior spiritual substances, and placed within ethereal vehicles, which they inform and animate; and ASTAH, or the material and visible world, comprehending all those substances which are capable of motion, composition, division, and dissolution.

These derived worlds are different evolutions, or expansions, of the divine essence, or distinct classes of beings, in which the infinite light of the divine nature is exhibited with continually decreasing splendour, as they recede from the first fountain. The last and most distant production of the divine energy of emanation is matter; which is produced when the divine light, by its recession from the fountain, becomes so attenuated as

to be lost in darkness, leaving nothing but an opaque substance,* which is only one degree above non-entity. Matter has no separate and independent existence, but is merely a modification, and permanent effect, of the emanative energy of the divine nature.

The Sephiræ, or first order of emanative being, existing in Axiluth, are superior to spirits, and are called *Parzuphim*, PERSONS, to denote that they have a substantial existence. The inhabitants of the second world are called THRONES, on account of the dominion which they possess over the various orders of ANGELS, which inhabit the third world. The fourth, or material world, is the region of evil spirits, called *Klippoth*, the dregs of emanation. These are the authors of the evil which is found in the material world; but they are continually aspiring towards the Sephiræ, and will, in the great revolution of nature, return into the inexhaustible fountain of Deity. Spirits of all orders have a material vehicle, less pure and subtle, in proportion to their distance from En-soph; and this vehicle is of the nature of the world next below that to which they belong. Metraton is the prince of Jezirah, or the angelic world, in which there are ten distinct orders; Sandalphon, of Asiah, or the material world: these, together with the hosts over which they preside, animate aerial vehicles, capable of impression from corporeal objects, and in different ways requiring renovation.

The human soul, proceeding by emanation from the Deity, is an incorporeal substance, of the same nature with the divine intellect. Being united to the body, one complex nature is produced, endued with reason, and capable of action. The human soul consists of four parts, *Nephesh*, or the principle of vitality; *Ruach*, or the principle of motion; *Neschamah*, or the power of intelligence; and *Fechidah*, a divine principle, by means of which it contemplates superior natures, and even ascends to the Ensophic world. All souls were produced at once, and pre-existed in Adam. Every human soul has two guardian angels, produced by emanation, at the time of the production of souls. The mind of man is united to the Divine mind, as the radius of a circle to its centre. The souls of good men ascend above the mansion of the angels, and are delighted with the vision of the first light, which illuminates all the worlds.

The universe continues to exist by the divine energy of emanation. Whilst this energy is exerted, different forms and orders of beings remain: when it is withheld, all the streams of existence return into their fountain. The En-soph, or Deity, contains all things within himself; and there is always the same quantity of existence, either in a created or an uncreated state. When it is in an uncreated state, God is all; when worlds are created, the Deity is unfolded, or evolved, by various degrees of emanation, which constitute the several forms and orders of created nature.†

Such is the general outline of the Cabbalistic philosophy, as far as we are able to discover it through the thick cloud of words by which it is concealed; and we shall be readily excused from entering into any further detail of so fanciful and mystical a system.

It is impossible to review the mass of conjectures and fictions, called the Jewish Cabbala, without perceiving that it could not be derived from the pure source of Divine Revelation; or to compare the Cabbalistic doctrine

* Carbo ignis divinæ.

† Lorriæ lib. Druschim. et Iriræ Porta Cœlar. ed. a Knorrio in Cabb. Denud. Menasseh B. Israel de Creat. p. 27. Moses Corduer. Pard. Rimmonim. tr. iv. p. 23.

with the Oriental and Egyptian philosophy, without discovering that they are the same system. The Cabbalistic notion of Deity as a pure intellectual fire, and of the production of nature as an emanation from this fountain, was taught, as we have already seen, in all the Eastern nations, particularly the Chaldean and Persian. Change the names, and for Mithras substitute Ensoph; for Oromasdes, Adam Kadman; and for Arimanius, Klippoth; and then compare the dogmas advanced concerning each, and it will be sufficiently evident from what source the Jews derived their Cabbala. The Gnostic doctrine of Æons subsisting in the plenitude of the divine nature, which sprang from the same stock, is perfectly similar to that of the Cabbalistic Sēphiræ: both appear to have been known to Philo. The Alexandrian philosophers of the Eclectic sect adopted the same notions, and pursued them into a variety of extravagant and absurd fancies, in many particulars nearly resembling those of the Jewish school. The common tenets, in which the Oriental, the Alexandrian, and the Cabbalistic philosophers were agreed, may be thus briefly stated.

All things are derived, by emanation, from one principle: this principle is God. From him a substantial power immediately proceeds, which is the image of God, and the source of all subsequent emanations. This second principle sends forth, by the energy of emanation, other natures, which are more or less perfect, according to their different degrees of distance, in the scale of emanation, from the first source of existence, and which constitute different worlds, or orders of being, all united to the eternal power from which they proceed. Matter is nothing more than the most remote effect of the emanative energy of the Deity. The material world receives its form from the immediate agency of powers far beneath the First Source of Being. Evil is the necessary effect of the imperfection of matter. Human souls are distant emanations from Deity, and after they are liberated from their material vehicles, will return, through various stages of purification, to the fountain whence they first proceeded.

On the whole, the similarity, or rather the coincidence of the Cabbalistic, Alexandrian, and Oriental philosophy, leaves us little room to hesitate in pronouncing the latter the parent of the two former. With respect to the Cabbalistic system in particular, it cannot be difficult, after the survey we have taken of its leading tenets, to form a judgment of its merit. It is unquestionably a fanatical kind of philosophy, which originates in defect of judgment and eccentricity of imagination, and which tends to produce a wild and pernicious enthusiasm. The Cabbalistic system can by no means be reconciled with just ideas of the Divine nature; since, in supposing all things to flow from God, it makes all beings not only dependent upon him, but a part of his essence. In this system all spiritual and even material substances are so intimately united with their origin, that they do not differ from it in their nature, but merely in their mode of existence: the universe is an evolution of the Divine essence, and is, in fact, God. To this we must add, that the idea, which this system affords, of the mode of divine operation, by an expansion or retraction of his essence, is too gross to be applied to the first intelligent cause of all things. Nothing can be more visionary, than the fundamental hypothesis, that God is an infinite light, which has withdrawn itself from a portion of infinite space, in order to unfold itself in sundry emanations, which constitute the universe; nor can any thing be more fanciful than the numerous fictions which fill up the system. Its tendency to encourage fanaticism cannot be doubted. The first principle of this philosophy is the ground upon which the whole structure of enthusiasm is erected. From the notion that all things emanate from

God, and will flow back to him, it naturally follows, that it is the great end of philosophy to prepare the human mind for its return to its source, when it will be absorbed in the Divine plenitude from which it flowed; a doctrine which is the very soul of enthusiasm, both theological and philosophical.

But it is high time that we retreat out of this fairy land, where we should not have remained so long, had it not been necessary to ascertain distinctly the place of the Jewish Cabbala in the history of philosophy, in order to discover its connexion with the preceding, and its influence upon contemporary or subsequent, systems; for it must be confessed, that the history of this system is chiefly valuable, as it furnishes an example of the folly of permitting reason, in its search after truth, to follow the wild reveries of an unbridled imagination.*

BOOK V.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SARACENS.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY AMONG THE SARACENS, OR ARABIANS.

AT the period when ignorance and barbarism prevailed through every part of the Roman empire, Philosophy found an asylum among the Saracens, or Arabians; a people, who, for several centuries after the appearance of Mahomet, were scarcely less celebrated in their literary and philosophical, than in their civil and military character. Before we proceed to describe the state of philosophy in the Christian world, from the birth of Christ to the revival of letters, we must, therefore, briefly relate the history, and delineate the features, of the Arabian or Saracenic philosophy.

Concerning the ancient state of philosophy in Arabia, we have already seen that little is known. The Arabian writers, as far as we are acquainted with them, leave the philosophical and literary history of their country, prior to the time of Mahomet, in almost total obscurity. Abulfaragius, one of the principal Arabian annalists, confesses,† that there are no certain records of the ancient Arabian nations, nor any means of investigating

* Vidend. Jo. A. Lent. Theol. Jud. Reimann. Hist. Theol. Jud. Budd. Intr. Ph. Heb. Menasse ben Israel ap. Cromayer. Scrutin. Relig. Diss. Leo Mutin. de Cærem. et Consuetud. Jud. R. Jos. Albo. Fundam. Fid. R. Moses ad Jezirah. Lib. Cosri. Menasse ben Israel de Term. Vitæ, de Creat. &c. Abarbanel de Cap. Fid. Saubert. Palestra Theol. Diss. 1. Windet de Vit. Funct. Statu. Bartolocc. Bibl. Rabb. Hartman. loc. paral. Talm. Gressæ. 1708. Otton. Hist. Doct. Mishn. Reuchlin. de Art. Cabb. Schrammii Intr. in Dialect. Cabb. Hackspan. de Cabbala Carpzov. Intr. in Theol. Jud. Pici. Apol. Op. Præf. Basil. 1601. Compend. ap Budd. Intr. sect. 34. Pestorii Arrs Cabb. Bas. 1581. Rittengel de Lib. Jezirah. Amstel. 1675. Knorrii a Rosenroth Cabbala denudata. Solisbaci, 1677. Contin. lib. Sohar, Jezirah, &c. Hen. More ad lib. Druschim. Watcher. Spinozizm. in Jud. Ejusd. Elucidarium Cabb. Rom. 1706. Mayer. de Trinit. Harder. 1712. Burgonovo select. Cabb. Dogm. Basnage, Eisenmenger. Wolf. Burnet. Arch. c. 7.

† Dynast. ix. p. 100.

their history. Of this deficiency it is wholly unnecessary to search for any other cause, than the barbarism which at that time prevailed almost universally through this country. The Arabian writers themselves oppose the state of Islamism to the state of ignorance which preceded.* Ebn Chalikan,† an Arabian historian, mentions it as an acknowledged fact, that the first inventor of Arabic writing was Moramer, an Arabian, who lived not long before the time of Mahomet; and relates,‡ that at the time when the Koran was published, there was not a single person to be found in the whole district of Yamen, who could write or read Arabic. The Jews and Christians who resided in Medina were, for their learning, distinguished by the appellation of The People of the Book, whilst the Arabians were almost universally illiterate. Mahomet himself was wholly destitute of learning. The Arabians themselves call him, The Illiterate Prophet; and boast, that God chose out of the unlearned the messenger whom he sent to the unlearned.§ It is no wonder, therefore, that this prophet, in framing his new religion, found it necessary to call in assistance from the Jews and Christians. He could not have accomplished his great design without the help of Warakan, the kinsman of his wife Chadijja, who had been conversant with the Jews and Christians, and could write Hebrew as well as Arabic.||

The appearance of Mahomet, and the promulgation of his religion, in themselves contributed nothing towards the progress of knowledge and philosophy. This impostor thought it necessary to keep his followers as ignorant as himself. That he might, at one stroke, cut off impertinent contradiction, he issued an edict, which made the study of the liberal sciences and arts a capital offence. At the same time, to captivate the imaginations of his ignorant followers, and hereby establish his authority, he sent forth, in separate portions, a sacred book, to which he gave the name of the Koran, containing the doctrines and precepts of his religion. This book, which was chiefly a compilation, sufficiently injudicious and incoherent, from the books of the Nestorian Christians and of the Jews then resident in Arabia, and from the ancient superstitions of the Arabians, long continued the only object of study among the Mahometans. Their reverence for this holy book, the leaves of which they were taught to believe were communicated to the prophet by an angel from heaven, long superseded every philosophical and literary pursuit. Imagining that the Koran contained every thing necessary, or useful, to be known, whatever was contrary to its dogmas was immediately condemned as erroneous; and whatever was not to be found in this sacred volume was dismissed as superfluous.¶ Deterred by the fear of punishment from examining the founda-

* Dynast. ix. p. 101. † Ap. Pococke Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 153. ‡ Ib. l. c.

§ Pococke ib. p. 156. || Elmacini Hist. Saracen. l. i. c. i. p. 10.

¶ This was the principle upon which the caliph Omar consigned the Alexandrian libraries to the flames. Abulfaragius relates, (a) that when Alexandria was taken by Amrus, the Mahometan commander, Philoponus requested that he might be allowed to rescue the philosophical books in the royal libraries from destruction. Amrus wrote to Omar, informing him of the request of Philoponus; to which Omar replied: "As to the books you mention, if they accord with the book of God, there is without them in that book all that is sufficient; but if there be any thing in them repugnant to that book, we have no need of them: order them therefore to be all destroyed." Amrus upon this gave orders that they should be dispersed through the baths of Alexandria, and burned in heating them. (b) After this manner, in the space of six months, they were all consumed. The historian adds, "Hear what was done, and wonder!"

The authenticity of this story has lately been called in question by Mr. Gibbon, who

(a) Dyn. p. 114. Oxon. 1663.

(b) That is, probably in kindling the fires.

tion of their law, or opening their minds to the light of philosophy, the followers of Mahomet quietly submitted their reason to the yoke of authority. Add to this, that the violent spirit and military character of Islamism was in itself inimical to philosophy and science. A prophet, who propagated and established his religion, not by reasoning, but the sword, would keep his followers too busily employed in war and conquest, to leave them leisure for literary pursuits.*

From these causes, philosophy, during the first ages of Mahometanism, found no protection in Arabia. But, in this period of thick darkness, when, among Christians, true science was lost in the thorny controversies of theology; and when, among the Saracens, it was trampled under foot by ignorance and bigotry; after the extinction of the dynasty of the Ommiadæ, who trod in the footsteps of Mahomet,† the accession of the family of the Abbasidæ, or Hashemidæ, to the Caliphate, (which happened in the one hundred and twenty-seventh year of the Hegira, or the seven hundred and forty-ninth of the Christian era,) proved the dawning of philosophy in Arabia.‡

The first princes of the Abbasidean dynasty were, indeed, chiefly occupied in establishing and extending the new empire: but they were in one respect wiser than their predecessors; they paid little regard to the absurd edict, by which arts and sciences had been banished out of the realms of Mahomet. The second prince of this family, Abug Iaafer Al-Mansor, possessed dispositions and talents, which inclined and enabled him to favour the progress of knowledge among his subjects. His gentle temper contributed towards subduing the ferocity of the times; his natural good sense taught him the value of learning, and qualified him to detect the erroneous maxims upon which the Mahometan system of policy was founded; and his liberal and candid spirit rendered him easy of access to learned men of all countries and professions.§

The first circumstance, which seems to have led to the introduction of science and philosophy into the courts of the Caliphs, was the necessity which the ignorant Arabians were under of calling in the more enlightened Christians, who resided at this time in great numbers at Bagdat, the seat of the empire, and in other parts of the Mahometan dominions, to superintend and regulate the practice of the medical art. Al-Mansor had

thinks the report of a solitary stranger, who wrote at the end of six hundred years, on the confines of Media, over-balanced by the silence of two annalists of a more early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt, and the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply described the conquest of Alexandria. But the positive evidence of an historian, of such unquestionable credit, as Abulfaragius cannot be set aside by an argument merely negative. Mr. G. also pleads the repugnancy of the rigid sentence of Omar to the precepts of the Mahometan casuists, which declared it unlawful to burn the religious books of Jews and Christians, and allowed the use of profane writers: but he seems himself aware of the weakness of this argument; for he imputes the protection granted to the religious books of Jews and Christians to reverence for the *name* of God, and acknowledges, that "a more destructive zeal may perhaps be attributed to the *first* successors of Mahomet." His reference to Aul. Gellius (Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 17.) Amm. Marcellinus (l. xxii. c. 16.) and Orosius (l. vi. c. 15.) as speaking of the Alexandrian libraries in the *past* tense, are foreign from the purpose: for these writers only refer to the destruction of books at Alexandria in the time of Julius Cæsar; after which, large libraries must have been continually accumulating, during the long period in which the schools of philosophy flourished in that city.

* Abulfar. Dyn. p. 99. 104. 110. Pococke, l. c. p. 121. 136. 162. 165, 166. Thophail Ep. de Hai Ebn Yockdan. p. 14. R. Jehudæ lib. Cosri, p. 1. sect. 5. Elmacin. Hist. Sar. l. i. c. 1.

† Elmacin. Hist. Sar. l. i. c. 7.

‡ Ib. l. ii. c. 1. Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 123.

§ Elmacin. Hist. Saracen. l. ii. c. 3. Abulf. ib. p. 129.

two Christian physicians in his court, who, on account of their skill in medicine, stood high in his esteem, and who, being men of letters, inspired the prince with the love of literature and philosophy. The Caliph himself, under their direction, studied astronomy. He paid great respect to learned men, and offered liberal rewards to those who would undertake the translation of the Greek writers in philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and other branches of learning. These exertions on the part of the prince were not without their effect on his subjects. But, the Arabians not understanding Greek, the translation of ancient authors was entirely executed by the Christians then resident in Bagdat; and, because the vernacular tongue of that city was the Syriac, these versions were made in that language; from which many of them were afterwards translated into Arabic. Hence most of the Arabic translations of the ancients, still extant, are exceedingly defective.*

After Al-Mansor, the fifth Caliph of the Abbasidean dynasty, Haron Rashid,† who assumed the government in the year 786, cherished the rising plants of science and literature. He was a liberal patron of genius and learning of every kind; but was particularly fond of those who possessed poetical talents. He never travelled without a retinue of learned men. Rashid was at first, through bigotry, disinclined to encourage the learned Christians; but their superior skill in medicine soon introduced them to his favour. It happened, that a young Egyptian female, of great beauty, who was a favourite with the Caliph, was attacked with a severe illness, which baffled the skill of the Arabian physicians; upon which Rashid sent a messenger into Egypt, to invite Balatian, the patriarch of Alexandria, eminent for his skill in medicine, to visit Bagdat. Balatian obeyed the summons, and soon accomplished the cure of his fair patient. For this acceptable service he received from the Caliph ample rewards; and he obtained a mandate in favour of his Christian brethren in Egypt, for the restoration of certain lands, of which they had been unjustly deprived. Afterwards, when Rashid himself was seized with an apoplexy, a Christian physician, in opposition to the judgment of the Arabian practitioners, bled him, and hereby effected his recovery. These and other fortunate circumstances established the credit of the Christian physicians in the court of Bagdat, and enabled them, with the knowledge of medicine, to introduce an acquaintance with other branches of science among the Arabians.‡

The light of philosophy, which, at first, under Al-Mansor, and afterwards under Rashid, dawned upon Arabia, in the Caliphate of the younger son of Rashid, ABUL-ABBAS AL-MAMON,§ shone forth in meridian splendour. Endued with a good understanding and a liberal spirit, this prince soon outstripped his predecessors in the zealous and successful patronage of science and learning. Whilst Rashid was living, he nominated his eldest son, Al-Mamin, to the inheritance of the Caliphate, and gave Al-Mamon the government of Chorazan. Here this excellent youth applied himself to study under learned men, whom he collected from various countries: these he formed into a society, or college, appointing for their president John Messue, of Damascus, a Christian physician, who had resided at

* Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 94. 99. 148. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 814. Friend. Hist. Med. p. ii. p. 5.

† Elmacin. l. ii. c. 6.

‡ Eutychie Alex. Origen. Eccl. Al. (ed. Selden. Lond. 1642.) t. ii. p. 407. Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 114. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 17. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 6.

§ Elmacin. l. ii. c. 8. Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 160. Leo Afric. de Vir. Arab. c. 1. Zonaras, l. iii. Pococke, p. 166.

Bagdat, and with whose abilities and merit he had long been acquainted. Rashid, when he was informed of this appointment, expressed great displeasure that his son should confer so distinguished an honour upon a Christian. Al-Mamon, in his own justification, replied, "I have made choice of Messue, not as a teacher of religion, but as an able preceptor in useful sciences and arts; and my father well knows, that the most learned men, and the most skilful artists, in his dominions, are Jews and Christians." After the death of Rashid, and the short and disgraceful reign of his elder son Al-Mamin, the Caliphate passed into the hands of the enlightened and liberal Al-Mamon, who soon made Bagdat the first seat of the muses.*

Having collected many valuable books, written in the Greek, Persian, Chaldean, and Egyptian or Coptic languages, Al-Mamon employed learned men to translate them into Arabic.† Among the Greek writings, which now appeared in an Arabic dress, were the works of Galen and Aristotle; and from this epoch we are to date the commencement of the long reign of the Aristotelian philosophy among the Arabians. The Caliph appointed Messue to superintend these translations. Under his auspices this learned preceptor also instituted and conducted a school, in which he instructed a numerous train of pupils in philosophy, and other branches of learning. Among other disciples of Messue was Honain, an eminent Christian physician, who translated the elements of Euclid, the *Almagestus* of Ptolemy, and the writings of Hippocrates and other Greek authors. He may justly be ranked among the fathers of the Arabian philosophy.‡

Al-Mamon was not only an illustrious patron of the learned, but was himself no mean adept in several branches of science. He was well acquainted with astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy; and was frequently present at the conferences of learned men, entering with great spirit into the subjects of their debates. In the midst of the praise which is due to this Caliph, it must, however, be mentioned with regret, that, through an ill-judged partiality for his vernacular tongue, he gave orders that, after the Arabic versions were finished, the original Greek manuscripts should be burned.§ A similar folly seized the Caliphs of Africa: and to this cause we are, doubtless, to ascribe the entire loss of many ancient writings. The diligence, however, with which this Caliph cultivated and encouraged learning, cancels in some measure this disgrace, and leaves him entitled to an honourable station among philosophers.|| It was no inconsi-

* Leo. Afr. l. c.

† Renaudot. de Vers. Arab. et. Syr. ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 814.

‡ Leo. Afr. l. c.

Of Honain, Abulfarius relates (a) the following anecdote:—one day, after some medical conversation, the Caliph said to him, "Teach me a prescription by which I may take off any enemy I please, without being discovered." Honain declining to give an answer, and pleading ignorance, was imprisoned. Being brought again, after a year's interval, into the Caliph's presence, and still persisting in ignorance, though threatened with death, the Caliph smiled upon him, and said, "Be of good cheer, we were only trying thee, that we might have the greater confidence in thee." As Honain upon this bowed down and kissed the earth, "What hindered thee," says the Caliph, "from granting our request, when thou sawest us appear so ready to perform what we had threatened?" "Two things," replied Honain: "my Religion and my Profession. My religion which commands me to do good to my enemies; and my profession which was purely instituted for the benefit of mankind." "Two noble laws," said the Caliph; and immediately presented him, according to the Eastern usage, with rich garments and a sum of money.

§ Leo. Afric. l. c.

|| Abulf. ap. Pococke, p. 160.

(a) Abulf. p. 172. ap. Harris Philol. Inq. p. 378.

derable proof of the great service which Al-Mamon rendered to philosophy, that superstition and barbarism bitterly complained of the encroachments which, during his reign, were made upon their territories; and that Takiddin,* a bigotted Mahometan, said, that God would assuredly punish Al-Mamon for daring to interrupt the devotions of the Mahometans by introducing philosophy among them. No wonder that the zealous advocates for the religion of Mahomet began to be alarmed, when they saw that the wretched poverty of their Koran was discovered, and the gross absurdity of their superstitions exposed, by the light of philosophy. During the reign of Al-Mamon, the love of science became so prevalent among the Saracens, that scarcely a mosque was erected without annexing to it a school, in which philosophy and literature were to be taught.

After the death of Al-Mamon, which happened in the year 833, philosophy continued its progress among the Saracens. Some of his successors were, indeed, too busily occupied in war, or of too indolent a disposition, to pay much attention to science; but there were others who fostered the rising plant, and took much pains to bring it to maturity. Among these, the prince, whose name is most memorable, is Aaron Wacic, or Wathek, who was advanced to the Caliphate in the year 841.† He liberally encouraged learned men of every class, particularly mathematicians and astronomers. His reign produced the celebrated astronomer Al-Hasan, who wrote a treatise on the Lunar Irregularities.‡ The schools, which in the times of Rashid and Al-Mamon had been instituted under the direction of John of Damascus, Honain, and others, long flourished, and sent forth, in great abundance, philosophers and learned men, several of whom will be distinctly noticed in the sequel.

Science continued to enjoy the protection of the Saracen princes, after the empire was divided into several Caliphates, in Asia, Africa, and Europe, and was, by means of their conquests, disseminated through a great part of the world. In the tenth century, under the Caliph Abulfadli Murtadir, and others, who distinguished themselves as patrons of learning, poetry and philosophy were equally encouraged; and they continued to flourish among the Saracens till the thirteenth century, when, the power of the Saracens yielding to that of the Turks, learning fled for refuge to the Persians, Tartars, and Scythians.§

From the beginning of the ninth to the end of the thirteenth century, eminent schools of learning flourished in the Saracen empire, among which the principal were those at Bagdat, Bassora, and Bochara, in the East; at Alexandria and Cairo, in Egypt; at Morocco and Fez, in Barbary; and in several cities of Spain. The college at Bagdat was so flourishing at the beginning of the twelfth century, that it contained six thousand men, including masters and scholars. In that of Bassora, the members of the society formed a sect for correcting the corruptions which had crept into Islamism, which they acknowledged could not be purged away without the aid of philosophy. At Cairo, where, about the year 1000, twenty schools were instituted, the philosophy of Aristotle was taught to great crowds of pupils from all parts of the world. The schools of Africa and Spain were distinguished by the names of Averroës, Avicenna, and other eminent philosophers, at a period when barbarism universally prevailed among the Western Christians. Many of these col-

* Abulf. ap. Pococke, p. 166. Bayle.

† Elmacin. l. ii. c. 10, 11.

‡ Abulf. p. 258.

§ Abulf. p. 179. 200. 208. 217. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 9. 16. l. iii. c. 1. 4. 8.

leges were large and magnificent buildings, liberally endowed, furnished with valuable libraries, and adorned with learned professors of languages, mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy.*

It was a necessary consequence of the increase of knowledge among the Saracens, that the absurdities of the superstition, which their illiterate prophet had established, were perceived; and it became necessary, in order to defend it against the reasonings and the ridicule of Christians, Jews, and philosophers, to give such an explanation of the Koran, as might make it appear not wholly inconsistent with reason and common sense. Hence arose a variety of forced interpretations of the law, each of which had its advocates, and became the foundation of a distinct sect. Soon after the time when philosophy began to be studied among the Saracens, the followers of Mahomet were divided into six sects, and these were afterwards sub-divided into seventy-three. The rise of these sects was unquestionably owing to the advancement of knowledge. When philosophy had so far prevailed over superstition, that the more enlightened professors of the Mahometan religion began to be themselves sensible of its absurdities, they endeavoured to conceal them under the veil of figurative interpretation.† In order to accommodate the established system, which was guarded by the sanction of penal laws, to their philosophical conceptions, they blended the abstract speculations of the schools with the gross and vulgar conceptions of the Koran. They made use of the subtleties of the Aristotelian philosophy, in the defective state in which it had come into their hands, to assist them in improving upon the literal meaning of their sacred books, and thus gave a new, and for the most part a metaphysical, turn to the religion and law of Mahomet. One of their own writers confesses this to have been the origin of their religious sects. “At the beginning of Mahometanism,” says Al-Gazel,‡ “the art of reasoning upon religious subjects was unknown; but afterwards, when sects began to arise, and ancient articles of belief to be called in question, it was found necessary to make use of the aid of logic in defending the truth against the bold attacks of innovators.”

To this new kind of philosophical theology, the Arabians gave the distinct name of Al-Calam, the Wisdom of Words,§ or the Science of Reason; and those who professed it were called Rationalists. Maimonides, who himself long resided among the Arabians, and accurately examined into the history of their sects, asserts,|| that these Rational Theologians, among the Mahometans, were chiefly indebted, for the weapons with which they defended Islamism against philosophy, to the Greek philosophers themselves; and that they borrowed this method of defence from the Christians, to establish the articles of their faith by reconciling them with the dogmas of philosophy. This rational Islamism was first reduced into a systematic form by Almawakif,¶ an Arabian, who called his system, the science by means of which any one might be qualified to resolve doubts concerning religion, and to maintain the truth of its doctrines against innovators. Philosophy was, in this sect, forced into the service of superstition; whence it happened, as might naturally be expected, that these Rationalists employed the distinctions and subtleties of the Aristotelian

* Abulf. p. 217. 230. Benj. Tudelensis Itin. p. 121. Leo Afr. Hist. Afr. l. viii. 267, 272. Elmacin. l. i. c. 13. Toletan. Hist. Ar. c. 9. 12.

† Elmacin. l. i. c. 5. l. ii. c. 16. l. iii. c. 6. 8. Pococke, p. 209. Sale Proleg. ad Koran. sect. 8. Maimonid. Mor. Nebhoch. l. iii. c. 16.

‡ Apud Pococke, p. 196.

§ Sharestan apud Pococke, p. 194.

|| Mor. Nebh. p. i. c. 71.

¶ Hottinger, Biblioth. Orient. c. ii. p. 187.

school, not for the discovery of truth, but for the purpose of concealing the real dogmas of the Koran, which could not have been fairly explained without manifest detriment to the cause of Islamism.

Of the manner in which the dialectic sects of Mahometans trifled, Maimonides furnishes the following example.* They chose rather to call God the first agent, or efficient, than the first cause; for they argued, that if they called God a cause, this would necessarily suppose an effect; and it would follow, that God being from eternity a necessary cause, the effect produced, or the universe, must also have been eternal: but, if they represented the Deity as an agent or efficient, the necessary existence of the effect would not follow; since the efficient not only must be prior to the production, but might exist long before the actual exertion of power by which it is produced.†

This specimen of the method of reasoning, which prevailed among the Mahometan Rationalists, may serve to illustrate and confirm the following character given of this sect by another learned Jew: "The sect of the Rationalists," says R. Aben Tibbon,‡ "is composed of certain philosophical sciolists, who judge of things, not according to truth and nature, but according to their own imaginations, and who confound men by a multiplicity of specious words without meaning; whence their science is called, The Wisdom of Words." The design, which was formed by this sect, of illustrating and defending the Koran by logical and metaphysical disquisitions, was highly displeasing to many zealous Mussulmen, who wished to retain the simplicity and ignorance of their Founder, rather than to corrupt his sacred book, by explaining it according to the rules of a philosophical system wholly unknown to the prophet. So vehement was the popular aversion to this sect, that it was said by Al-Shafi,§ "Whoever devotes himself to The Wisdom of Words ought to be impaled, and carried through all the tribes of Mussulmen, the public crier every where proclaiming, 'This is the reward of the man, who has forsaken the Koran, and the sacred traditions to follow Al-Calam.'" This philosophical theology of the Arabians was the nurse at least, if not the parent, of the scholastic philosophy, which, from the tenth century, confounded and distracted the world with its obscure subtleties and barren disputations.

Among the Saracens, in Asia, Mauritania, and Spain, we find a long catalogue of writers on metaphysics, physics, logic, ethics, politics, mathematics, and astronomy. From these we shall select such names as are most deserving of attention in the history of philosophy.

A distinguished place among the Arabian philosophers is due to JACOBUS AL-KENDI,|| of Bassora. His father was prefect of Cufa under Muhamed Mohdi and Rashid; whence it appears, that Al-Kendi flourished in the Caliphate of Al-Mamon, that is, at the beginning of the ninth century. He devoted himself to learning and philosophy in the school of Bassora, and attained such distinction among his contemporaries, that he was called, by way of eminence, The Philosopher. After the manner of the age, he yielded implicit submission to the authority of Aristotle, and was chiefly occupied in interpreting and illustrating his writings. He did not, however, confine himself to these studies; for we find his name mentioned among the mathematicians and astronomers of the times; and his medical writings, which are still extant, prove that he made no inconsider-

* L. c. p. i. c. 69.

† Conf. Hottinger, l. c. c. ii. p. 188. 194.

‡ In Lib. Moreh.

§ Pococke, c. 166. Bayle. Takkiddin.

|| Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 213. Bayle. Pococke, p. 365. Lakemacher, Diss. de Alkend.

able figure among the Arabian physicians. Abulfaragius, speaking of Al-Kendi,* relates a memorable instance of his moderation towards a malicious adversary. Whilst this philosopher was visiting the schools of Bagdat, which was at this time the chief resort of the learned, his attempts to promote the study of philosophy, and to reconcile the doctrines of Islamism with the principles of reason, gave great offence to one of the interpreters of the Koran, who, doubtless, began to be afraid lest the increase of knowledge should expose the absurdity of the vulgar superstitions. This bigot publicly expressed the most vehement indignation against Al-Kendi, and accused him of impiety and heresy. Al-Kendi, however, instead of restraining the fury of his persecutor by violence, as through his interest with the Caliph he might easily have done, generously adopted the more gentle method of attempting to subdue his malignity by enlightening his understanding. Having detected the design which this Abu Maashar (that was the zealot's name) had formed upon his life, he employed against him no other weapons than the monitions and precepts of philosophy. Well knowing the power of wisdom to meliorate the temper, he found means to engage a preceptor to instruct him, first in mathematics, and afterwards in philosophy. The consequence was, that the man who had, not long before, inveighed with savage ferocity against Al-Kendi, soon became sensible of his folly, and offered himself as a pupil to the philosopher whom he had persecuted. Al-Kendi received him with the most meritorious condescension, and his convert became an ornament to his school. In fine, on account of his virtues no less than his learning, Al-Kendi is entitled to an honourable rank among philosophers.

Another Arabian, who must be mentioned among the teachers of philosophy and mathematics, is THABET EBN KORRA, who was of the ancient sect of the Zabii, and wrote a summary of their doctrine. He acquired reputation as a mathematician, both in geometry and algebra, and left behind him several mathematical works: he flourished in the tenth century.†

One of the most celebrated philosophers of the school of Bagdat was AL-FARABI, or more properly Abu Nasr, a native of Balch Farab,‡ who flourished in the tenth century. He was born of wealthy parents; but, preferring the pursuits of philosophy to those of riches, he devoted himself to study at Bagdat, where he made such proficiency in learning, that he became one of the most eminent philosophers of his age. He studied mathematics and medicine, but chiefly excelled in logic. His learning and abilities were universally admired, and great men and princes were emulous to load him with honours and rewards. But Al-Farabi refused every offer of this kind; and, either through his love of philosophy, or perhaps through a natural gloominess of temper, gave himself up to solitude and an abstemious life. He constantly slept, even during winter, upon straw; his countenance was always sorrowful, and he found no consolation in any thing but philosophy. The cast of his mind led him to dread all intercourse with the world as destructive of innocence, and to lament the imperfection and vanity of human life. He employed his time in study, and read the writings of Aristotle with unwearied attention. He wrote sixty distinct treatises on different parts of the Aristotelian philosophy, which were read and admired, not only among the Arabians but also among the Jews, who began about this time to adopt the Aristotelian mode of philosophising. Many of his books were translated from Arabic into Hebrew.

* L. c. p. 272. 178. Zachut. in Juchasin. p. 111.

† Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 184. Pococke, p. 377. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. v. ii. p. 564.

‡ A town in Asia Minor, afterwards called by the Turks Otrar.

Logic, metaphysics, and physics, were the subjects on which he chiefly treated. Among his physical writings are mentioned treatises on optics and astronomy.*

As a philosophical theologian, AL-ASHARI, or ESCIARI, obtained high renown. He applied an extensive knowledge of the Peripatetic philosophy to the explanation of the Islamitic law, and founded a new sect among the Mahometan divines, who were from him called the Asharites. His subtle reasonings on theology, particularly on the essence and attributes of God, and on the concurrence of divine agency with human actions, rendered him universally famous. His sect became exceedingly popular, and acquired such authority, that all others were deemed heretical: his writings were read and explained in the schools; and a summary of his doctrine was committed to memory by children. Al-Ashari died at Bassra in Arabia Felix, in the year 942.†

Among the professors of mathematical and physical science, who at this time adorned the school of Bagdat, one of the most celebrated was ABUL HUSEIN ESOPHI. He was so eminent an astronomer, that it was said of him, that he understood the heavens better than the great geographer, Ptolemy, understood the earth. It is asserted that he was the first who described a celestial planisphere. This philosopher died about the middle of the tenth century.‡

In medicine and philosophy, a high degree of reputation was obtained by AL-RASI, called also Abubeker and Al-Mansor, a native of Rai, in Persia. After having been in his youth employed in merchandise, upon the death of his father he engaged, at thirty years of age, in the study of the medical art; at the same time availing himself of the opportunities which the school of Bagdat, in which he studied, afforded for the pursuit of other branches of knowledge. By a long course of study, and by the experience which he acquired from superintending an hospital, he became so bold and successful in the practice of medicine, that he was called the Experimenter, and the Arabian Galen. At the invitation of Al-Mansor, king of Corduba, he removed into Spain, where, under the patronage of that prince, he lived in wealth and splendour. He wrote a summary of medicine, which he dedicated to his patron, and which has, from this circumstance, taken the title of Al-Mansor. Al-Rasi wrote many valuable treatises in medicine and chemistry. In philosophy, among other works, he left a commentary on the sublimer parts of metaphysics. This piece, with most of his other writings, has been translated from Arabic into Hebrew and Latin. He died at Corduba, about the year 986.§

No small degree of celebrity is annexed to the name of the physician AVICENNA, or Ibn-Sina, born at Bochara in the year 978. His first preceptor was Abu-Abdalla, a philosopher whom his father engaged to instruct him in his own house; concerning whom Avicenna says, that he taught him the terms of logic, but was unacquainted with the nature of the art. Before he arrived at his eighteenth year, Avicenna, more, as it seems, through his own industry than by the assistance of preceptors, became well read in languages, in the Islamitic law, and in the sciences. In order, however, to render himself a more perfect master of the sublime

* Leo Afric. de Vir. Illustr. Arab. c. 5. Abulf. Dyn. ix. p. 208. Pococke, p. 372. Gab. Sionit. de Mor. Orient. p. 16. Fabr. v. xiii. p. 265. Weidler. Hist. Astr. c. 8.

† Leo Af. c. 2. Herbelot. Bibl. Or. p. 133. 261. Maimon. Mor. Nebh. p. iii. c. 16.

‡ Leo Af. c. 3.

§ Leo. Af. c. 5. Abulf. D. ix. p. 208. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 46. Herbelot. p. 18. Al-Rasi Op. ed. Basil. 1544.

doctrines of philosophy, and the subtle questions of dialectics, he became a student in the school of Bagdat. Here he prosecuted his studies with indefatigable industry, but at the same time with a fanatical spirit scarcely consistent with manly sense and sound judgment. When he was perplexed with any logical question, or could not discover a proper middle term for a syllogism, he used to repair to the mosque, and poured out prayers for divine illumination; after which he fancied, that the arguments and proofs he had sought were communicated to him in his sleep.

As was usual among the philosophers of Bagdat, Avicenna united with the study of philosophy the practice of medicine; and he soon acquired such a degree of reputation, that the Caliph consulted him, with respect to his son, in a case which perplexed the physicians of the court. His prescription succeeded; and the success obtained him admission to the court and access to the library of the prince. From this time he continued to prosecute his studies with diligence, and to practise medicine with great applause. During this tide of prosperity, Avicenna had no small degree of influence in public affairs, and rapidly increased his possessions. An unfortunate circumstance, however, suddenly turned the current of his fortune, and removed him from the court to a prison. The sultan Jasochbagh proposing to send his nephew as his representative into the native country of Avicenna, the young prince obtained the sultan's permission to take Avicenna with him, as his companion and physician. The sultan was, not long afterwards, informed, that the young prince, with his brother, was meditating a rebellion. Upon this, he immediately sent secret orders to Avicenna, to take off the leader of the conspiracy by poison. The philosopher had too much fidelity to his master to fulfil the commission; but, at the same time, through caution, or fear, chose to conceal the order from the young prince: but when Avicenna's master became, by some unknown means, acquainted with the sultan's design against his life, he was so highly offended with Avicenna for his dishonest reserve, in not communicating to him so important a circumstance, that he ordered him to be imprisoned. Avicenna endeavoured to justify himself, by pleading, that he had concealed the sultan's order, from the hope of preventing those mischiefs which he foresaw must have arisen from the discovery. The prince, however, suffered him to remain in prison from this time to his death, which he is said to have hastened by incontinence: he died in the fifty-eighth year of his age.*

Philosophy was rather corrupted than improved by Avicenna. Though a superstitious admirer of Aristotle, he seems to have been very imperfectly acquainted with the Peripatetic doctrine. His medicinal works are injudicious compilations from the Greek writers, full of obscurity and error; nor was he more successful in his writings upon logic, metaphysics, or physics. Nevertheless, Avicenna was, for a long time, greatly admired, and much followed, not only in the schools of the Saracens, but in those of the Christians. Hebrew and Latin versions of his works are still extant; but the translators do not appear to have been sufficiently masters of the Arabic tongue to do justice to their author.†

THOGRAM, a Persian of Ispahan, who was Grand Vizier to the Sultan Malich Mashud, is celebrated, for his poetical talents, a specimen of which

* Leo Afr. c. 7. Abulf. p. 230. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 96. Pococke, p. 362. Herbelot. p. 812. N. Anton. Bib. Vet. Hisp. t. ii. p. 6. Avic. Op. ed. Massæ. Vennet. 1608.

† Hottinger. Bib. Or. p. 218. 245. Bartolocc. Bib. Rabb. t. i. p. 6. Voss. de Phil. p. 272. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 272. Mercklin. de Script. Med. p. 99.

is given by Pococke; and for a Commentary which he wrote upon the Republic of Plato, a philosopher to whom the Saracens paid little attention. After a strange reverse of fortune, he was put to death, by order of the Sultan, in the year 1121.*

We must not omit AL-GAZEL, of Tos, or Tus, in Asia, celebrated, among the Mahometan theologians, for his numerous treatises in defence of the Mahometan religion against the Jews and Christians; particularly for his "Demonstration of Islamism," and his "Treatise on the Unity of God." Nevertheless, he did not escape the reproach of heresy. One of his pieces, which freely censured some of the indulgences of the Islamic law, found at Bagdat after his decease, was condemned; and it was ordered, that if any copy of this work should be found in any part of the Saracen empire, it should be burned. The title of this book was, "The Resurrection of the Law of Science." He also wrote a treatise, "On the Opinions of Philosophers;" and another, entitled, "The Destruction of Philosophers." After living in great splendour as a public preceptor at Bagdat, he distributed his riches among the poor, assumed the habit of a hermit, and retired to Mecca: from Mecca he travelled into Syria and Egypt, and, staying some time, first at Cairo, and afterwards at Alexandria, he returned to Bagdat, where he died.†

If from Asia we pass over to the Moors in Africa and Europe, we shall, during the period of which we are now treating, meet with several celebrated Arabian philosophers.

ESSERIPH ESSACHALI, a native of Sicily, was famous for his knowledge of medicine, astrology, and cosmography. When Roger, duke of Apulia and Calabria, having been appointed king of Sicily by Pope Anacletus, was besieging the town of Mazzara, the inhabitants sent this philosopher to Roger to treat with him concerning terms of surrender. Esseriph, to interest Roger in his favour, presented him with a work upon ancient and modern geography. The king, pleased with the account which the author gave him of the design and plan of his work, ordered it to be translated into Latin. Upon reading the translation, he expressed great surprise that the Mahometans should be so much better acquainted with these subjects than the Christians, and invited the author to remain in his court. The philosopher refused his request, and withdrew into Mauritania. Roger, however, still continued to admire the book; and when he was asked, why he did not prefer the geography of Ptolemy, a much more learned writer, he answered, "Ptolemy has described only a part of the world, Esseriph the whole." This philosopher died at Cividat, in Africa, in the year 1121.‡

Among the Spanish Saracens, Avenpace and Avenzoar are celebrated names. AVENPACE, a Spaniard, wrote a commentary upon Euclid, and philosophical and theological Epistles. He was intimately conversant with the Peripatetic philosophy, and applied it to the illustration of the Islamic system of theology, and to the explanation of the Koran: on this account, he was suspected of heresy, and thrown into prison at Corduba. He flourished about the middle of the twelfth century.§ AVENZOAR, a native of Seville, the seat of the Caliphs, deserves notice, chiefly for the improvements which he made in the practice of medicine, and as the preceptor of Averroës. He died in the year 1168.||

* Pococke ad. Carm. Thogr. p. 4. ed. Oxon. 1661. Leo Afr. c. 13.

† Pococke, l. c. p. 371. Leo Afr. c. 12. Herbelot. p. 362.

‡ Pococke, Spec. Hist. Ar. p. 373. Leo Afr. c. 14.

§ Leo Afr. c. 15. Abulf. ap. Pococke Specim. p. 385.

|| Leo Afr. c. 16. 18. N. Anton. Bib. Hisp. t. ii. p. 232.

About the same time flourished THOPHAIL, of Seville, famous for his medical skill, and for his knowledge of the Peripatetic philosophy. He was preceptor to Maimonides and Averroës. This philosopher employed the Aristotelian doctrine, as an instrument of enthusiasm, in the elegant tale, still extant, of *Hai Ebn Yockdan*,* a youth, who, having been exposed when an infant upon the sea coast, was nourished by a hind, and grew up in the woods, without any intercourse with human beings; and who, by the unaided exertion of his powers, attained to the knowledge of things natural and super-natural, and arrived at the felicity of an intuitive intercourse with the Divine Mind. The piece is written with such elegance of language, and vigour of imagination, that, notwithstanding the improbability of the story, it has been universally admired. It exhibits a favourable specimen of Peripatetic philosophy, as it was taught among the Saracens; and, at the same time, affords a memorable example of the unnatural alliance, which was now so generally established, between philosophy and fanaticism.† Thophail died about the close of the twelfth century.‡

Of all the Arabian philosophers and physicians the most celebrated was AVERROES, § a philosopher whom Christians as well as Arabians esteemed equal, if not superior, to Aristotle himself. Averroës was born about the middle of the twelfth century, of a noble family at Corduba, the capital of the Saracen dominions in Spain. He was early instructed in the Islamitic law, and, after the usual manner of the Arabian schools, united with the study of Mahometan theology that of the Aristotelian philosophy. These studies he pursued under Thophail, and became a follower of the sect of the Asharites. Under Avenzoar he studied the science of medicine, and under Ibnu-Saig he made himself master of the mathematical sciences. Thus qualified, he was chosen, upon his father's demise, to the chief magistracy of Corduba. The fame of his extraordinary erudition and talents soon afterwards reached the Caliph Jacob Al-Mansor, king of Mauritania, the third of the Almohadean dynasty, who had built a magnificent school at Morocco; || and that prince appointed him supreme magistrate and priest of Morocco and all Mauritania, allowing him still to retain his former honours. Having left a temporary substitute at Corduba, he went to Morocco, and remained there till he had appointed, through the kingdom, judges well skilled in the Mahometan law, and settled the whole plan of administration; after which he returned home, and resumed his offices.¶

This rapid advancement of Averroës brought upon him the envy of his rivals at Corduba; and they conspired to lodge an accusation against him, for an heretical desertion of the true Mahometan faith. For this purpose, they engaged several young persons, among their dependants, to apply to him for instruction in philosophy. Averroës, who was easy of access, and always desirous of communicating knowledge, complied with their request, and thus fell into the snare which had been laid for him. His new pupils were very industrious in taking minutes of every tenet or opinion advanced by their preceptor, which appeared to contradict the established system of Mahometan theology. These minutes they framed into a charge of heresy, and attested upon oath that they had been fairly taken from his lips. The charge was signed by a hundred witnesses. The Caliph listened to the

* Thophail, Philos. Autodid. cum Versione Lat. a Pococke, Oxon. 1700.

† This work was translated into English by S. Hockley, professor of Arabic in Cambridge. Ed. London, 1711. 8vo.

‡ Leo Afr. c. 17.

§ Leo Afr. c. 20. N. Anton. l. c. t. ii. p. 243. Bayle. Pococke Spec. p. 385.

|| Leo Afr. Hist. Afr. l. ii. p. 60.

¶ Leo Afr. de Vir. Ar. p. 280.

accusation, and punished Averroës, by declaring him heterodox, confiscating his goods, and commanding him for the future to reside among the Jews, who inhabited the precincts of Corduba, where he remained an object of general persecution and obloquy. Even the boys in the streets pelted him with stones, when he went up to the mosque in the city to perform his devotions. His pupil, Maimonides, that he might not be under the necessity of violating the laws of friendship and gratitude, by joining the general cry against Averroës, left Corduba. From this unpleasant situation Averroës at last found means to escape. He fled to Fez; but he had been there only a few days, when he was discovered by the magistrate, and committed to prison. The report of his flight from Corduba was soon carried to the king, who immediately called a council of divines and lawyers, to determine in what manner this heretic should be treated. The members of the council were not agreed in opinion. Some strenuously maintained, that a man who held opinions so contrary to the law of the prophet deserved death. Others thought, that much mischief, arising from the dissatisfaction of those among the infidels who were inclined to favour him, might be avoided, by only requiring from the culprit a public penance and recantation of his errors. The milder opinion prevailed; and Averroës was brought out of prison to the gate of the mosque, and placed upon the upper step, with his head bare, at the time of public prayers, and every one, as he passed into the mosque, was allowed to spit upon his face. At the close of the service, the judge, with his attendants, came to the philosopher, and asked him, whether he repented of his heresies. He acknowledged his penitence, and was dismissed without further punishment. With the permission of the king, Averroës returned to Corduba, where he experienced all the miseries of poverty and contempt. In process of time, the people became dissatisfied with the regent who had succeeded Averroës, and petitioned the king that their former governor might be restored. J. Al-Mansor, not daring to show such indulgence to one who had been infamous for heresy, without the consent of the priesthood, called a general assembly, in which it was debated, whether it would be consistent with the safety of religion, and the honour of the law, that Averroës should be restored to the government of Corduba. The deliberation terminated in favour of the penitent heretic, and he was restored, by the royal mandate, to all his former honours. Upon this fortunate change in his affairs, Averroës removed to Morocco, where he remained till his death, which happened, as some say, in the year 1195, or, according to others, in 1206.*

Averroës is highly celebrated for his personal virtues. He practised the most rigid temperance, eating only, once in a day, the plainest food. So indefatigable was his industry in the pursuit of science, that he often passed whole nights in study. In his judicial capacity, he discharged his duty with great wisdom and integrity. His humanity would not permit him to pass the sentence of death upon any criminal; he left this painful office to his deputies. He possessed so great a degree of self-command and patient lenity, that, when one of his enemies, in the midst of a public discourse, sent a servant to him to whisper some abusive language in his ear, he took no other notice of what passed than if it had been a secret message of business. The next day the servant returned, and publicly begged pardon of Averroës for the affront he had offered him; upon which Averroës only appeared displeased, that his patient endurance of injuries should be brought

* Leo. Afr. c. 20, &c. Bayle.

into public notice, and dismissed the servant with a gentle caution, never to offer that insult to another which had in the present instance passed unpunished. Averroës spent a great part of his wealth in liberal donations to learned men, without making any distinction between his friends and his enemies; for which his apology was, that, in giving to his friends and relations, he only followed the dictates of nature; but, in giving to his enemies, he obeyed the commands of Virtue. With uncommon abilities and learning, Averroës united great affability and urbanity of manners. In fine, he may justly be reckoned one of the greatest men of his age.*

In philosophy, however, Averroës partook of the enthusiasm of the times with respect to Aristotle, and paid a superstitious deference to his authority; of this his preface to the *Physics* of Aristotle† affords a singular proof. “The writings of Aristotle,” says he, “are so perfect, that none of his followers, through a space of fifteen hundred years, have been able to make the smallest improvement upon them, or to discover the least error in them; a degree of perfection, which is truly miraculous, and proves him to have been rather a Divine than a human being.” In another place, he says,‡ “Let us bless God, who has raised this man above all others in perfection, and appropriated to him the highest degree of human excellence.” And again: “The doctrine of Aristotle is the perfection of truth, and his understanding attained the utmost limit of human ability; so that it might be truly said of him, that he was created, and given to the world, by Divine Providence, that we might see in him how much it is possible for man to know.” Extravagant, however, as Averroës was in his admiration of Aristotle, it is unquestionably true, that he was unacquainted with the Greek language, and read the writings of his oracle in wretched Arabic translations, taken immediately from Latin or Syriac versions. The necessary consequence was, his Commentaries on Aristotle were nothing better than a confused mass of error and misrepresentation. Yet such is the power of prejudice, that many learned men, since the revival of letters, have passed high encomiums upon Averroës as an excellent commentator. His writings of this kind were exceedingly numerous, and were so much admired by the Jews, that many of them were translated into Hebrew. Besides these, Averroës wrote a paraphrase of Plato’s *Republic*; and a treatise in defence of philosophy against Al-Gazal, entitled *Happalah hahappalah*, commonly cited under the name of *Destructorium destructorii*; and many other treatises, in theology, jurisprudence and medicine. He took great pains to improve the theory of medicine by the help of philosophy, and, particularly, to reconcile Aristotle and Galen; but it does not appear that he practised physic. Few of his writings are to be met with, except in Hebrew or Latin translations.§

Much has been asserted concerning the impiety of Averroës, but without sufficient proof. It is probable, however, that he adhered with more devotion to his philosopher than to Mahomet or any other legislator; for it appears, that, after Aristotle, he held the eternity of the world, and the existence of one Universal Intellect, inferior to Deity, the external source of all human intelligence,|| and consequently denied the distinct existence and immortality of the human soul.

* Leo. l. c.

† Ap. Malebranche Recherche, &c. l. ii. p. ii. c. 7.

‡ Ap. Lisp. Manud. Stoic. l. i. Diss. 3, 4.

§ Leo. l. c. Pococke ad Portam Mosis. p. 112. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 111, &c. Aver. Resp. Plat. ed. Venet. p. 1552. N. Anton. Bibl. Hisp. t. ii. p. 240. Huet. de claris Interp. p. 229. Mercklin. Lind. Renov. p. i. 94.

|| Bayle. Conf. Rhodogin. Ant. Lect. l. iii. c. 2.

Besides the Arabian philosophers which have been enumerated, there were others of inferior note, who acquired some degree of celebrity by their commentaries upon Aristotle and other philosophical works, but which it is wholly unnecessary particularly to mention. There are also many great Arabian names, in astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, medicine, and other sciences; but, for a distinct account of these, we must refer to those writers who have traced the rise and progress of the several branches of science through the Arabian schools.*

CHAPTER II.

OF THE NATURE AND SPIRIT OF THE SARACENIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE historical view we have taken of the rise and progress of philosophy among the Arabians, and of the lives and characters of their more celebrated philosophers, will enable us to form an accurate idea of the nature and spirit of their philosophy. This subject will not, however, require a prolix discussion; for it is very evident, from the facts which have been related, that the Arabians did not frame a new system, but merely revived the Peripatetic doctrine, the features of which have been already delineated. In what manner this doctrine, and the general state of philosophy, were affected by their connexion with Islamism, and by the peculiar circumstances of the Saracen nations, it may be of some importance to remark, and we shall in this chapter endeavour to explain.

Before the introduction of the Mahometan religion among the Arabians (which happened in the year 622) their manner of living was unfavourable to the progress of knowledge. Leading an unsettled and roving life, in which they were chiefly employed in the care of their flocks and herds, they had little opportunity or inducement to apply to any kind of learning; and it does not appear, that they had among them any other proofs of advancement in knowledge, than that kind of poetry and eloquence, which are commonly found in the early stages of civilization, and that attention to astronomy which was common in the Eastern nations, and is natural in pastoral life. About the second or third century (for there is no sufficient authority for an earlier date) we find, indeed, that a sect arose in Arabia under the name of the Zabii, who derived their notions from the ancient religion of the Persians, and from the dreams of the Oriental philosophy concerning the Divine nature. This sect supposed human nature connected with the Supreme Deity by intermediate beings of various orders, powers, virtues, spirits, whom they con-

* Vidend. Leo Africanus de Viris illustr. ap. Arabos. Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 96. 259. Goll. de Medic. et Phil. Arab. Dormius ad Jons. de Script. Hist. Ph. l. iii. c. 28. sect. 5. Hottinger, Bibl. Quadripart. l. iii. p. ii. c. 2. Abulf. Hist. Oxon. 1663. 4to. Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lugd. Bat. 1625. fol. Eutychie Annales. Ox. 1658. 4to. Hottinger, Hist. Orient. et Biblioth. Orient. Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. Par. 1697. Ludewig. Hist. rationalis Phil. apud Turcas. Lackemaker de Fatis Studiorum inter Arabos. Horn. Hist. Phil. l. 5. Bayle. Conring. Antiq. Acad. Suppl. xix, xx. Friend's History of Medicine. Voss. de Scient. Toletan. Hist. Arab. Avicen. Vit. et Op. Ed. Massæ. Venet. 1608. Merklin. Linden. Renov. Carm. Thograi Ed. Pococke. Ox. 1661. 8vo. Mod. Univ. Hist. v. xix. Assemani Bibl. Or. Bibliander. de Orig. et Mor. Turcarum. Bas. 1550.

ceived to be instruments of communication between the First Being and man, and to whom their religious worship was wholly addressed. They believed the bodies of the planets to be the habitations, or temples, of intelligent natures; and this notion became the basis of a fanciful and superstitious system of star-worship. The Zabian sect probably derived their opinions immediately from the Cabbalistic philosophy of the Jews, and from the tenets of certain Christian heretics, who, about the time when this sect appears to have arisen, resided in Arabia and its vicinity. But, whatever was the origin of this sect, it deserves little attention; for it was no better than a nursery of idle tales and puerile superstitions. Of the latter, Abulfaragius furnishes the following example: the Zabii, believing in the resurrection of the dead, at the funeral of a departed friend killed a camel upon his tomb, that at the resurrection he might not be without a beast to ride upon.*

Such was the state of philosophical knowledge in Arabia at the time when Mahomet appeared. This bold adventurer seized the opportunity, which the general prevalence of ignorance and superstition among his countrymen afforded him, for passing himself upon the world as a divine prophet. Himself wholly illiterate, and assisted by men who were better able to practise the arts of imposture than to teach the doctrine of truth and wisdom, it is no wonder that the law, which this new prophet instituted, and to which he enjoined implicit obedience on pain of death, breathed little of the spirit of philosophy. The great object of the artificers of this law was, to suit it to the feeble understandings, and gross passions, of the ignorant multitude. For this purpose they filled it with vulgar notions, and romantic fables, as remote as possible from every thing rational. They who contend, upon the authority of certain Mahometan theologians, that whatever may be thought irrational in the Koran is to be taken figuratively, and explained in a philosophical sense, do not recollect, that the unlearned founder of the Islamitic law was a stranger to such refinements; and that it was not till long after the establishment of Islamism, that the necessity of introducing them was discovered. And even when the unphilosophical ideas and language of the Koran obliged the teachers of Islamism, as they became more enlightened, to adopt the figurative and allegorical mode of interpretation, and produced the sects of the Asharites and Motazalitæ, there still remained other sects, particularly the Moshabbehi and Ceramî† who adhered to the vulgar notions, or chose rather to impute their apparent absurdity to human ignorance than to abandon ancient errors. The truth is, nothing could be more inimical to science, than the blind assent which Mahomet required to the doctrines of the Koran; the violent means, which, as soon as he had acquired sufficient strength, he employed in propagating his religion; and the barbarous edict, by which he prohibited among his followers the study of literature and philosophy. So successful was this impostor in his attempts to prevent inquiry, and to bind his vassals in the chains of ignorance, that it became a common opinion among them, that the Koran was a complete summary of every thing necessary and useful to be known; and consequently, that all other learning might be safely neglected. They believed that the book itself was immediately sent down from heaven; and violent dissensions, and even persecutions, arose upon the question, Whether the Koran was the created, or uncreated, Word of God. The first period of the Saracenic history, which includes

* Abulf. apud Pococke, l. c. p. 139. Maim. Mor. Nebh. l. iii. c. 29.

† Pococke, l. c. p. 226. Port. Mos. Diss. vii.

the Omniadean dynasty, may be called the barbarous age of Arabian philosophy.*

After the accession of the Abbasidean dynasty, we have indeed seen that learning, and learned men, enjoyed the countenance and protection of the Arabian princes. But philosophy was rather called in to perform the office of a servile auxiliary to Islamism, than to resume her natural authority over the human mind, and rescue it from the tyranny of superstition. The princes themselves, rigidly tenacious of the doctrine of Mahomet, regarded with indignation every attempt to weaken its authority; and employed their learned men rather in rivetting, than in loosening, the fetters which the founder of their religion had thrown over the understandings of men.† In the most enlightened period of Arabian philosophy, the utmost that was attempted was, to apply the principles of philosophy to the correction of the absurdities of Mahometanism. The learned professors of their schools were, indeed, thoroughly convinced, that Islamism could not long subsist, unless it were corrected by philosophy. But in endeavouring to give a philosophical air to the crudities and absurdities of the Koran, the ingenuity of learned men, restrained by reverence for authority, framed a system of opinions, in which neither the true meaning and spirit of the Islamic law were preserved, nor the freedom of philosophical speculation was indulged; whence numerous sects arose, in which an unnatural alliance was long maintained between philosophy and superstition.‡

Two mischievous consequences followed this alliance. The first was, that the absurd dogmas of the Koran were by this means so far glossed over, or blended with more rational tenets, that the Mahometans imagined themselves possessed of a law, which would harmonise with philosophy and with the doctrines of other religions, and were hereby confirmed in their attachment to a system founded in absurdity, and supported by imposture. The second, that when it was discovered that the letter of the Mahometan law would not easily accord with philosophical notions, and that in attempting to produce this union inextricable difficulties and endless disputes arose, some resolved at once to treat all these speculations with contempt, and, without the trouble of inquiry, to acquiesce in the doctrines of the prevailing religion, however irrational; whilst others perplexed themselves with subtle disputations, till they were lost in the mists of scepticism, or in the thick darkness of atheism. Of this latter issue of Arabian polemics, the history of Islamism affords many examples. §

How ineffectual the efforts of philosophy were to solve the difficulties which arose in theology, appears from the disputes which were long carried on, with great subtlety and much animosity, among the different sects of Mahometans, concerning the decrees of God, and the freedom of the human will. Modern ingenuity has scarcely been able to invent a distinction on this obscure subject, which may not be found in the Arabian controversialists; yet, after all, the question remains undecided.||

Another cause of the imperfect success of the Arabians in philosophy, notwithstanding all the industry and spirit with which they prosecuted these studies, may be found in the state of knowledge among the Christians,

* Pococke, p. 220.

† Elmacin. l. c. 1. ii. c. 6. 8. 16. Eutyech. Ann. t. ii. p. 375. 400—420. 472.

‡ Pococke, l. c. p. 213—219.

§ Reimmann. Hist. Ath. p. 530. Elmacin. l. ii. c. 4. l. iii. c. 6. Hottinger. Hist. Or. l. i. c. 8. l. ii. c. 6. Herbelot. Bib. Or. p. 929. Pococke, p. 240.

|| Maimon. Mor. Nebh. p. i. c. 83. Reland. de Rel. Muhammid. l. ii. sect. 3. Pococke, p. 241. Hottinger, l. ii. c. 6.

at the period when philosophy passed over from them to the followers of Mahomet. In the second age of Islamism, that is about the latter end of the eighth century, when philosophy began to be studied at Bagdat, the Eclectic sect being, as we have seen, nearly extinct, together with Paganism, almost the whole Christian world professed themselves followers of Aristotle; but derived their ideas of his philosophy, not from the pure fountain of his own writings, but from the adulterated streams of commentators, who were deeply infected with the Eclectic spirit of the Alexandrian schools, such as Porphyry, Themistius, Simplicius, and Joannes Philoponus. When therefore the Saracen princes, and chiefly Al-Mamon, became desirous of introducing philosophy among their subjects, and for this purpose invited learned Christians to their court, it was impossible that the Arabians should be instructed in any other system of philosophy than the Peripatetic, or that even of this they should form more than a very imperfect and obscure conception.*

This will still more fully appear, if it be considered, through how obscure a medium the Arabian philosophers looked into the mind of Aristotle. Not only were they unaccustomed to metaphysical abstraction, and unacquainted with the general history of ancient philosophy, but they were even ignorant of the Greek language, and were obliged to have recourse to Arabic versions, and these not taken immediately from the originals, but from Syriac translations, made by Greek Christians at a period when barbarism was overspreading the Eastern world and philosophy was almost extinct. The first translators themselves were ill qualified to give a true representation of the Aristotelian philosophy, so obscurely delivered by its author, and so wretchedly defaced by his commentators. What then was to be expected from the second class of translators, who implicitly followed such blind guides? The truth is, that the Arabian translators and commentators executed their task neither judiciously nor faithfully; frequently mistaking the sense of their author, adding many things which are not in the original, and omitting many passages which they did not understand. These errors were transferred, with no small increase, into the subsequent Latin versions, and became the cause of innumerable misconceptions and absurdities in the Christian schools of the West; where the doctrines of Aristotle, after having passed through the hands of the Alexandrians and Saracens, produced that wonderful mass of subtleties called the scholastic philosophy.†

From these premises, it is easy to infer the true state of philosophy among the Saracens. In every branch of science, in which Aristotle led the way, the Arabian philosophers followed him as an infallible guide. Logic was diligently cultivated in their schools, but always with a servile adherence to the Aristotelian method.‡ In metaphysics, though some of these philosophers, particularly Averroës, reasoned with great subtlety, they chiefly made use of the abstract conceptions and nice distinctions of the Peripatetic philosophy, for the purpose of casting a veil over the gross and unphilosophical dogmas of the Koran. In morals, some of the Arabians, after the example of Aristotle, taught political and civil precepts of wisdom in popular sentences and aphorisms; whilst others, upon the metaphysical ground of the Aristotelian doctrine concerning the Supreme Good and the First Cause, framed a mystical system of ethics, which placed the perfection of human nature in the intuitive vision of God, and an essential union with

* Hottinger, Bib. Or. c. 2.

† Patricii Discuss. Perip. t. i. l. x. p. 143. Huet. de claris Interp. l. ii. p. 198. Renaudot. Ep. in Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 812.

‡ Hottinger, Bib. Or. c. ii. p. 218.

the Divine nature. Of the former kind of moral writings are, "A Collection of the Moral Sayings of Wise Men," by Ibn Havasen Cusiira, and "The Persian Rosary:"* of the latter kind, are the "Mystic Poems" of Ibn Ahmed Busiris, and an allegorical piece "On the Love of God," by Omar Ibn Phared.† The mathematical sciences were cultivated with great industry by the Arabians; and in arithmetic, both particular and universal, their inventions and improvements were valuable; but in geometry, they were so far from adding any thing new to the treasures which were left by the Greek mathematicians, that they in many particulars corrupted their doctrine. An Arabic version of Euclid, preserved at Rome, and published by order of Pope Sextus V., gives the propositions in a form so confused and mutilated, as to afford an unequivocal proof, that the translator was very imperfectly acquainted with his author's method of reasoning. A similar want of accuracy has been observed in the Arabic version of "The Sphærics of Theodosius," and of Ptolemy's "Doctrine of the Projection of the Sphere."‡ In medicine, to which the Arabians paid much attention, their chief guides were Hippocrates and Galen; but, by attempting to reconcile the doctrine of these writers with the physiology of Aristotle, they introduced into their medical system many inconsistent tenets, and many useless refinements.§ In the science of botany, though they made choice of no unskilful guide, and spent much labour in interpreting him, they frequently, for want of understanding the subject, mistook his meaning so egregiously, that in the Arabian translations, a botanist would scarcely suppose himself reading Dioscorides; nor were they more successful in other branches of natural history. Their discoveries in chemistry, which, it is confessed were not inconsiderable, were concealed under the occult mysteries of alchymy. Even in astronomy, where they obtained the highest reputation, they made few improvements upon the Greek authors whom they followed; as appears from the Arabic version of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, and from their account of the number of the fixed stars.|| There is one science, indeed, in which the Arabians must be acknowledged to have excelled all other philosophers, that which treats of the influence of the stars and planets upon the affairs of this world; but this science, if astrology can deserve the name, owes its existence and continuance entirely to ignorance, superstition, and imposture; and, therefore, can reflect no honour upon the people by whom it was cultivated.

Upon the whole it appears, that when philosophy, in order to escape the violence of barbarism, took refuge in Arabia, she met with no very hospitable reception. The Saracens were too much under the dominion of authority and prejudice, to be capable of prosecuting the search after truth with an independent spirit. Wanting sufficient confidence in their own abilities, they chose rather to put them under the direction of Aristotle, or any other guide, than to speculate for themselves with the freedom of true philosophy: the consequence was, that notwithstanding all their industry and ingenuity, they contributed little towards enlarging the field of human knowledge. We do not mean to assert, that there were no great men among the Arabians, or that philosophy owed nothing to their exertions. We freely confess, that it was in a great measure owing to the light of learning and science, which shone in Arabia, that the whole earth was not at this time overwhelmed with intellectual darkness. But thus much may be with confidence asserted, that the advances which the Arabians made in knowledge was very inconsiderable, compared with

* Hottinger, Bib. Or. c. ii. p. 259.

† Friend. Hist. Med. p. ii. p. 12.

‡ Ib. p. 263.

§ Ib. p. 14.

|| Ib. p. 11.

what has been done in modern times; and that, in the present enlightened state of the world, science can suffer no material loss, if their writings be permitted quietly to repose in that oblivion to which time has consigned them. The Arabians certainly fell far short of the Greeks in general knowledge; and it was only in a very few particulars that they made any additions to the fund of ancient wisdom. Since the original writings of the Greeks are come down to the present times, we have little reason to regret the want of those remains of Arabian learning, which are still untranslated.*

The method we have prescribed to ourselves in this work, would now lead us to enter into a distinct detail of the several branches of the Arabian philosophy; but since their tenets, as far as they are distinct from the peculiar dogmas of the Koran, are, without variation, those of the Peripatetic school, which have been already explained at large, this part of our task is superseded. We shall therefore conclude our account of the Saracenic philosophy, by subjoining, in a few words, the theological tenets and moral precepts of the Arabians, after they were enlightened by a free intercourse with Jewish and Christian philosophers.

According to Al-Gazel, the doctrine of the Arabians concerning God and Spiritual Natures was as follows:†

God created all things from nothing, and doth whatever he pleaseth. In his essence he is one, without companion or equal, eternal and immutable. He has no corporeal form, nor is circumscribed by any limits. He neither exists in any thing, nor does any thing exist in him. The divine essence admits of no multiplicity; his attributes therefore do not subsist in his essence, but are his essence itself. That God exists, is known by the apprehension of the intellect in this world, and in the eternal habitation of the holy and blessed, by immediate vision and intuition. Whatever happens in nature, happens according to the will and appointment of God, whose decrees are in all things irresistible. The Law, or Word of God, is eternal and uncreated. God has created all things for the manifestation of his glory, and will reward his worshippers, not according to their merit, but according to his own munificence. Angels, the servants of the most high God, are clothed with ethereal bodies of different forms, and have different offices assigned them; and, though neither their names nor distinctions are known, they ought to be loved and honoured. The souls of men are immortal, and their bodies will be raised from the dead. In the interval between death and the resurrection, souls remain in an intermediate state; and after the resurrection, the good and faithful shall be rewarded, and the wicked and unbelieving shall be punished: but they who, after having suffered punishment, shall confess One God, will, through his favour, be released from their confinement, and placed among the blessed.‡

With respect to morals, Mahomet, notwithstanding all his pretensions, did little. Although he laid a good foundation, in the belief of one God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, he was so far from raising hereupon a superstructure of rational ethics, that he relaxed the bonds of morality; partly, by representing future happiness as chiefly consisting in corporeal and sensual pleasures; and partly, by giving his followers a code

* Conring. Acad. Sup. 23. p. 257. Lud. Vives de Caus. Corrupt. l. v. p. 167. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 816.

† Apud Pococke Spec. p. 220—274. Reland. de Rel. Muham. Compend. Ultraj. 1717. Port. Mos. p. 230.

‡ Conf. Thophail. Vit. Hai Ebn Yockdan. Ed. Pococke, Ox. 1700.

of laws, in which atonement is made for moral defects and irregularities by the observance of superstitious rites and ceremonies. After the introduction of philosophy among the Arabians, the ethical system of Mahomet was, however, materially improved; so that it would be unfair to ascribe to the whole Mahometan world, or even to the Mahometan religion itself, as it was in process of time corrected by philosophy, all the defects and errors of the moral doctrine taught by the illiterate Prophet.

The fundamental precepts of Islamism are these: Believe in one God, and in Mahomet the prophet of God. Perform the appointed ablutions. Pray to God devoutly at the stated seasons, and according to the prescribed forms. Keep strictly the fasts enjoined by the law, especially the thirty days of the month Ramadan. Let your prayers and fastings be accompanied with alms-givings. Visit the holy temple at Mecca.*

Besides the precepts of the Koran, the Arabians have always had among them lessons of moral wisdom, written in verse, in the form of aphorisms. Several collections of these sentences have been made by modern writers, from which it appears, that the Arabians, though they did not treat the doctrine of ethics scientifically, were very capable of thinking justly, and writing elegantly, on moral subjects.† One poet, in particular, appeared among them, who wrote a beautiful compendium of Oriental ethics, under the title of the PERSIAN ROSARY.‡ This was EDDIN SADI, a Persian, who, about the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Turks invaded Persia, withdrew from his own country, and settled at Bagdat, for the purpose of prosecuting his studies. After experiencing much vicissitude of fortune, he returned home, and compiled the book just mentioned, which he completed in the year 1257. This work has been universally read in the East; and has been translated into Latin, and into several modern languages. From this Rosary, which is divided into eight chapters, we shall cull a few of the choicest flowers.

1. Paradise will be the reward of those kings who restrain their resentment, and know how to forgive. A king, who institutes unjust laws, undermines the foundation of his kingdom. Let him, who neglects to raise the fallen, fear, lest when he himself falls, no one will stretch out his hand to lift him up. Administer justice to your people, for a day of judgment is at hand. The dishonest steward's hand will shake, when he comes to render an account of his trust. Be just, and fear not. Oppress not thy subjects, lest the sighing of the oppressed should ascend to heaven. If you wish to be great, be liberal; for, unless you sow the seed, there can be no increase. Assist and relieve the wretched, for misfortunes may happen to yourself. Wound no man unnecessarily; there are thorns enough in the path of human life. If a king take an apple from the garden of a subject, his servants will soon cut down the tree. The flock is not made for the shepherd, but the shepherd for the flock.

2. Excel in good works, and wear what you please: innocence and piety do not consist in wearing an old or coarse garment. Learn virtue from the vicious; and what offends you in their conduct, avoid in your own. If you have received an injury, bear it patiently; by par-

* Vid. Lib. Mostatraf. ap. Pococke Spec. p. 301. Reland. l. c. Sale's Koran.

† Erpenii Centur. Proverb. Arab. Galland. Les Paroles Remarq. des Orient. Paris, 1694. 12^o. Hottinger, Hist. Or. l. ii. c. 5.

‡ Ed. Gentii. Amstel. 1651. fol. Lit. Persic. cum vers. Lat. fol. Amst. 1651. Lat. ver. 12^o. 1655. Hottinger, l. c.

doing the offences of others, you will wash away your own. Him, who has been every day conferring upon you new favours, pardon, if, in the space of a long life, he should have once done you an injury. Respect the memory of the good, that your good name may live for ever.

3. In your adversity, do not visit your friend with a sad countenance; for you will embitter his cup: relate even your misfortunes with a smile; for wretchedness will never reach the heart of a cheerful man. He who lives upon the fruits of his own labour, escapes the contempt of haughty benefactors. Always encounter petulance with gentleness, and perverseness with kindness: a gentle hand will lead the elephant itself by a hair. When once you have offended a man, do not presume that a hundred benefits will secure you from revenge: an arrow may be drawn out of a wound, but an injury is never forgotten. Worse than the venom of a serpent, is the tongue of an enemy who pretends to be your friend.

4. It is better to be silent upon points we understand, than to be put to shame by being questioned upon things of which we are ignorant. A wise man will not contend with a fool. It is a certain mark of folly, as well as rudeness, to speak whilst another is speaking. If you are wise, you will speak less than you know.

5. Although you can repeat every word of the Koran, if you suffer yourself to be enslaved by love, you have not yet learned your alphabet. The immature grape is sour; wait a few days, and it will become sweet. If you resist temptation, do not assure yourself that you shall escape slander. The reputation, which has been fifty years in building, may be thrown down by one blast of calumny. Listen not to the tale of friendship from the man who has been capable of forgetting his friend in adversity.

6. Perseverance accomplishes more than precipitation; the patient mule, which travels slowly night and day, will in the end go further than an Arabian courser. If you are old, leave sports and jests to the young: the stream, which has passed away, will not return into its channel.

7. Instruction is only profitable to those who are capable of receiving it: bring an ass to Mecca, and it will still return an ass. If you would be your father's heir, learn his wisdom: his wealth you may expend in ten days. He who is tinctured with good principles while he is young, when he is grown old will not be destitute of virtue. If a man be destitute of knowledge, prudence, and virtue, his door-keeper may say, Nobody is at home. Give advice where you ought; if it be not regarded, the fault is not yours.

8. Two kinds of men labour in vain: they who get riches, and do not enjoy them; and they who learn wisdom, and do not apply it to the conduct of life. A wise man, who is not at the same time virtuous, is a blind man carrying a lamp: he gives light to others, whilst he himself remains in darkness. If you wish to sleep soundly, provide for to-morrow. Trust no man, even your best friend, with a secret; you will never find a more faithful guardian of the trust than yourself. Let your misfortunes teach you compassion: he knows the condition of the wretched, who has himself been wretched. Excessive vehemence creates enmity; excessive gentleness, contempt: be neither so severe, as to be hated; nor so mild, as to be insulted. He who throws away advice upon a conceited man, himself wants an adviser. In a single hour you may discover, whether a man has good sense; but it will require many years to discover, whether he has good temper. Three things are unattainable; riches without trouble, science without controversy, and government without punishment. Clemency to the wicked is an injury to the good. If learning were banished

from the earth, there would, notwithstanding, be no one who would think himself ignorant.

The whole book from which the preceding sentences are extracted, whether written from the author's own conceptions, or compiled from other sources, deserves to be read as an elegant specimen of Arabian morals.*

BOOK VI.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHRIST AND HIS APOSTLES.

IN the preceding books we have traced the history of Pagan, Jewish, and Mahometan philosophy, from the earliest times to the period of literary and philosophical darkness called the Middle Age. We next proceed to mark the progress of philosophy among Christians from the birth of Jesus Christ to the eighth century, when, as will afterwards appear, it suffered material alteration and corruption in the Christian schools.

Although JESUS CHRIST demands attention and reverence under a much more exalted character than that of a philosopher, yet it will not be questioned by those who are more inclined to regard the real nature of things than to cavil about words, that the Christian religion merits, in the highest sense, the appellation of philosophy. For the weighty truths which it teaches, respecting God and man, are adapted to produce in the minds of men the genuine principles of wisdom, and to conduct them to true felicity. At the same time that it enlightens the understanding, it interests the heart; exhibiting Divine wisdom in her fairest form, and supporting her authority by the most powerful sanctions. The school of Christ is free from the errors and absurdities with which the purest systems of Pagan philosophy abounded, and teaches every important principle and precept of religion and morals, with a degree of simplicity, perspicuity, and energy, which, in connexion with other more direct proofs, affords no inconsiderable evidence of the divine authority of the Christian religion. It must, therefore, be the interest of every one, who is desirous of making a right use of his reason, and attaining true wisdom, to become a disciple of Christ.

* Vidend. Boulainvillier *Vie de Mahomet*. Ernest. Gerhard, de Theol. Muhammed. Reland. de Rel. Muham. Renaudot. *Epist. ad Dacier de exiguo pretio vers. Arab. in Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. i. p. 812.* Friend. *Hist. Med. p. ii. p. 10.* Compend. Theol. Muham. Ultraject. 1717, 8vo. Pfeffer. *Theol. Jud. atque Moham.* Kruger de Fato Muham. Lips. 1759.

On these grounds, doubtless, it was, that the Christian fathers so frequently spoke of Christianity under the title of True and Evangelical Philosophy,* and called the professors of the Christian faith, Divine Philosophers.† In this application of the term, they were, however, far from meaning to pay any respect to Pagan wisdom; their intention was, on the contrary, to intimate that the wisdom, which had been long sought in the schools of heathen philosophers, was only to be met with in the school of Christ.

The founder of the Christian faith was early ranked, both by the enemies and the friends of Christianity, among philosophers. Lucian classes him with Pythagoras, Apollonius Tyanæus, and Alexander. Several of the Platonic philosophers speak of him as a man animated by a divine demon, and sent from heaven for the instruction of mankind. The Jews early accused him of practising magical arts. Some of the Pagan adversaries of Christianity even asserted that Christ was indebted, for his doctrine, to the heathen philosophers, and particularly to Plato.‡ On the other side, among the Christians, false stories were early circulated (probably by the Gnostics, in order to obtain credit to their fanciful tenets) concerning the supernatural wisdom of Christ in his childhood, many of which are to be found in a supposititious book§ entitled, “The Gospel of the Infancy;” and other fabulous reports of a similar nature obtained too much credit in the early ages of the church. But if, without regarding either the calumnies of infidels, or the tales of superstitious believers, we adhere to the simple account given of Jesus Christ by the Evangelists, we shall find no difficulty in admitting, that he was appointed by God to teach men a kind of wisdom far superior to the subtleties of speculative philosophy, and to confirm them in the belief and expectation of a future state; and consequently, that, whatever respect he might have claimed as a philosopher, he is entitled to much higher regard, as the Messenger of Divine Truth, and the Author of Eternal Salvation.

The APOSTLES of Jesus Christ, who were appointed by him to teach the gospel to all nations, like their master, relied more upon the Divine authority which attended their embassy, than upon any human abilities or attainments. “They spoke, not with the enticing words of man’s wisdom, but with the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power.”|| So far were they from affecting human learning, that they frequently expressed contempt for the philosophy of the age; because they saw, that philosophers mingled with the truth many false opinions and vain fables, and involved themselves in endless controversies, most of which were, in fact, a mere “strife of words.” The apostle Paul, writing to the Corinthians at Coloss, says,¶ “Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.” This apostle was not indeed unfurnished with learning, having studied Jewish wisdom under Gamaliel, and having, as appears from several passages in his epistles, and from some incidents in his life, acquired,

* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. fin. p. 357. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 27. Theodoret. de. Cur. Gr. Affect. l. xii.

† Clem. Al. l. c. l. vi. p. 642. l. ii. p. 380. Lactant. de Op. Dei. c. i. p. 671.

‡ Lucian. Peregr. t. iv. p. 220. August. de Civ. Dei, l. xix. c. 23. Origen cont. Celsum, l. vi. p. 279. Aug. Epist. 34. Conf. Bibl. Univ. t. x. p. 402. Balt. Def. de SS. Peres, l. iv. c. 11.

§ Fabric. Cod. ap. N. T. p. iii. p. 424. t. i. p. 168. Conf. Iren. adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 17.

|| 1. Cor. ii. 6.

¶ Col. ii. 8. Conf. Eph. iv. 6. Acts xvii. 18.

probably at Tarsus, his native place, a competent knowledge of Greek literature. But he disclaimed all confidence in these attainments, and relied for success upon the intrinsic excellence of the Christian doctrine, and the Divine power by which it was supported. And, with respect to the rest of the apostles, they were, unquestionably, men destitute of the advantages of a learned education; the Author of our holy religion purposely choosing his ministers out of the class of the vulgar and illiterate, that his cause might the more evidently appear to depend upon its own purity and truth, without the aid of human wisdom. There is, then, no sufficient reason for ranking the apostles of Christ, as some Christian writers have done,* in the class of philosophers.†

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS CONSIDERED IN GENERAL.

AFTER the example of the apostles, their immediate followers, who are distinguished by the name of APOSTOLIC MEN, were more desirous to teach the Divine doctrine which they had received from Jesus Christ in simplicity and truth, than to render themselves illustrious by any display of human learning. They had no other design, than to spread the knowledge of Christ and his gospel in the world; and they executed this design with simplicity, fidelity, and magnanimity, without the aid of rhetorical embellishments, or philosophical refinement. Their genuine epistles, particularly those of Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp, bear many marks of that sincerity and zeal, which so eminently distinguished the writings of the apostles. But some pieces are ascribed to the Apostolic Men, which carry with them many internal proofs of forgery. To this class belong "The Second Epistle of Clemens Romanus;" "The Apostolic Canons;" "The Apostolic Constitutions;" "The Recognitions of Clement;" "The Clementines;" "The Larger Epistles of Ignatius;" "The Epistle of Barnabas;" and "The Shepherd of Hermas." The Clementines, and Recognitions of Clement, were probably written in the third century, by some Jewish Christian of Alexandria, who made Clemens speak the language of an Alexandrian philosopher, in hopes of defeating the philosophers with their own weapons. But this practice of corrupting the simplicity of the apostolic doctrine commenced much earlier than the third century. The first witnesses of Christianity had scarcely left the world, when the Shepherd of Hermas appeared; a work too strongly marked with the character of philosophical fanaticism to be received as the genuine production of an apostolic man. The writer of this work certainly borrowed from the Platonic schools, or from the Jewish Cabbalists, his doctrines of a good or bad

* Horn. Hist. Phil. l. v. c. 3. See Bp. Horsley's Sermon on 1 Cor. xii. 4.

† Vidend. Jons. Scr. Hist. Ph. l. iii. c. 4. Lamius de Erud. Apost. c. 16. Miscell. Lips. Obs. 96. t. v. Miscell. Berolin. p. iii. n. 11. Suidas, t. ii. p. 97. Heuman. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 56. Elswich Diss. de Philos. viris sac. temere affect. Sandii Interp. Paradox. p. 151. Clerici in Joan. Ev. c. 1.

angel attending every man, and producing all his virtuous or vicious inclinations; and of a peculiar angel appointed to preside over each animal.*

The fathers of the Christian church soon departed from the simplicity of the apostolic age, and corrupted the purity of the Christian faith. This is chiefly to be ascribed to two causes: first, the practice, which at that time so generally prevailed, of clothing the doctrines of religion in an allegorical dress; and secondly, the habit of subtle speculation, which the more learned converts from Paganism brought with them from the schools of philosophy.

The practice of allegorical interpretation, which the Jews had learned from the Egyptians, and which, before the time of Christ was common among them, the early converts to Christianity brought out of the Jewish into the Christian church. Some traces of this method of interpretation we find in the New Testament, particularly in St. Paul's argument against the Jewish advocates for the perpetual and universal obligation of the Mosaic ritual, drawn from the history of Abraham, in the Epistle to the Galatians;† and in the typical application of the ceremonial appointments of Moses to the Christian institution, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But a less sober and judicious use was made of this kind of language by the Christian fathers. This was more especially the case with those Gentile converts who had been educated in the Alexandrian schools, where, by the help of allegory, the several systems of philosophy were mixed and confounded; and with those Jewish Christians, who, by the same means, had been instructed in the Cabbalistic doctrines, which, before this time, had sprung up in Egypt, and passed thence into Judea. Several of those sects of Christians, who were called Heretics, particularly the Valentinian Gnostics, made use of allegorical language to disguise the unnatural alliance which they had introduced between the fanciful dogmas of the Oriental philosophy, and the simple doctrine of Christ. The Orthodox fathers of the church, too, defended themselves with the same armour, both against heretics and infidels; applying, with more ingenuity than judgment, the symbolical method of interpretation to the sacred scriptures. In the same manner in which Philo and other Alexandrian Jews had corrupted the Jewish church, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and other disciples of the Alexandrian school, in the second century, introduced error and corruption into the church of Christ.‡

The light of Christianity having, by this time, been spread through a great part of the Roman empire, many learned men, who had studied and professed philosophy, tired of the fruitless disputes which had so long been carried on among the Grecian sects, and disgusted with the infamous and fraudulent practices of many who called themselves philosophers, passed over to another master, from whom, on account of those characters of divinity which they saw stamped upon his doctrine, they assured themselves of receiving that satisfaction, which they had in vain sought in the schools of Pagan wisdom. Comparing the obscurity and barrenness of the speculations in which they had been engaged with the perspicuity and utility of the doctrine taught by Jesus Christ, they plainly saw, that darkness was not further from light, than the vanity of Gentile philosophy from the truth of the Christian religion.

* L. i. Mand. 6. v. iv. c. 2. Hieron. in Habac. l. i. ad. c. i. 14. Conf. Plut. de Tranq. Anim. t. ii. p. 263. Theodor. de Cur. Gr. Affect. S. 3. Censorin. de Die. Nat. c. 3. Philo de Anim. c. 3. Cabbal. Denud. t. i. p. 3. p. 121.

† C. iv. v. 22.

‡ Huet. Origen. l. ii. c. 2. Whitty on the Interpretation of Scripture, Lond. 1714.

It evidently appears from Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho the Jew,* that this comparison of Gentile philosophy with Christian wisdom was one of the principal considerations which induced him, and other philosophers, to become converts to Christianity. Accordingly we find, that when these learned men undertook the defence of Christianity against the Gentile philosophers, who supported the falling cause of Paganism by sophistry, imposture, and violence, they chiefly employed themselves in exposing the futility and absurdity of the Pagan religion and philosophy, and in displaying the superiority of the Christian doctrine above that which had been taught in the most celebrated Grecian schools. This is the main drift of those apologies for Christianity, which were written by Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Hermias, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolitus, Origen, Eusebius, and other Greeks; and by Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Julius Firmicus, and other Latin fathers: writings to which the cause of Christianity was at that time much indebted, and which, even in the present day, if read with a due attention to the state of philosophy and religion at the period in which they were written, will amply repay the labour of a diligent perusal.

Rejecting with contempt the whole apparatus of Pagan superstition, the Christian fathers naturally transferred the aversion which they conceived against this ancient monument of human folly, to those systems of philosophy which they saw employed by the learned in its support. Justin Martyr† exposes the absurdities of the poetical theology of the Pagans, and undertakes to prove, that their philosophical doctrine concerning divine natures was not less absurd. All the early fathers of the Christian church labour to overturn the principles upon which the several Grecian sects were founded, and to show that they were inconsistent with each other, and with truth and reason. Such was their zeal in this argument, that they did not spare even Plato himself, whom, nevertheless, they acknowledged to have thought more judiciously and profoundly upon divine subjects than any other philosopher.‡

It was a circumstance which greatly increased the aversion of the Christian fathers to Pagan systems, that they saw innumerable heresies springing up in the church, which arose from the Oriental philosophy, as it was taught in Egypt, in conjunction with Pythagoric and Platonic dogmas.§ The dreams of the Orientalists concerning the Divine nature were multi- without end by the Christian Gnostics, particularly by Valentine, the founder of a sect, which arose in the second century, and spread through Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor.|| This fanatic conceived the divine nature to be a vast abyss, in the *pleroma* or fulness of which existed, as emanations from the first fountain of being, *Æons* of different orders and degrees. The source of *Æons* Valentine called *Bythôn*. To this he united a principal, which he called *Ennoia*, or *Sige*: from the union of these he supposed to be produced *Nous* and *Aletheia*, and from these, in succession, *Logos*, *Anthropos*, and *Ecclesia*; among the remote descendants of whom was Jesus Christ, and below him the *Demiurgus*, or Creator of the world, who held the middle place between God and the material world. This fanciful system (similar to that of the Jewish Cabbala, and doubtless derived from

* P. 217, &c.

† Cohort. ad Græcos.

‡ Tertull. adv. Nationes, l. ii. Lactant. Int. Div. l. iii. c. 2. Cyprian. Epist. 55. Aug. De Civ. D. i. viii. Theodor. Therap. l. v.

§ Iren. adv. Her. l. ii. c. 14. Tertull. Præscr. c. 7. de Anim. c. 17. Pseudo-Orig. Philosophum. l. i. p. 5.

|| Iren. l. iii. c. 3. Tertull. contr. Valent. Justin. M. Dial. cum. Tryph. p. 349.

the same source, the Oriental doctrine of emanation*) was highly displeasing to those Christian fathers who were disposed to think more soberly and reverently concerning the Divine nature. When they saw the doctrine of Christ corrupted by such absurd fictions, they were naturally led to inveigh against that false philosophy, from which they supposed them to have originated.

Notwithstanding the proofs with which the writings of the Christian fathers abound, of their enmity to Pagan philosophy, considered as a system of doctrines opposed to the Christian faith, it is, however, certain that many among them were well acquainted with the dogmas of the Grecian sects, and, after their conversion, endeavoured to render their knowledge of philosophy subservient to the Christian cause. Having been in their youth instructed in this kind of learning, they now borrowed, from the Pagan schools, weapons in defence of Christianity. They examined in detail the tenets of ancient philosophers, that, where they found them erroneous, they might expose their futility, and hence display the superior excellence of the Christian religion; and that where they appeared consonant to truth, they might make use of them, in their catechetical instructions, to prepare the minds of their pupils for the reception of the doctrines of Divine Revelation. This latter use of philosophy was frequent in the Christian schools of Alexandria, conducted by Clemens, Pantænus, Origen, and others. These Christian philosophers did not scruple to avail themselves of all the helps, which their learning afforded them, in the exercise of the arts of logic and rhetoric. They industriously enriched their writings with the moral doctrines and precepts of the ancients, as far as they would coalesce with the Christian institutes. Without addicting themselves to any sect of heathen philosophers, they selected from each whatever they judged to be consistent with the doctrine of their Divine Master, and capable of forwarding the great end of their office as teachers of Christianity. In fine, from the time that the simplicity of the apostolic age was forsaken, the Christian fathers studied the writings of the ancients, first, to furnish themselves with weapons against their adversaries; next, to support the Christian doctrine, by maintaining its consonancy to reason, and its superiority to the most perfect systems of Pagan wisdom; and, lastly, to adorn themselves with the embellishments of erudition and eloquence.† Basil wrote a distinct treatise, upon the benefits which young persons might receive from reading the writings of heathens.‡ His pupil, Gregory Thaumaturgus, in his panegyric on Origen, insists largely upon the same topic; highly commending him for having, after the example of his preceptor Clemens Alexandrinus, industriously instructed his pupils in philosophy. And there can be no doubt, that Greek learning, of every kind, was at a very early period admitted into the Christian schools; not, however, without repeated cautions to young persons, to distinguish carefully between the true and the false, the useful and the pernicious, in the writings of the

* The Valentinian heresy is supposed by Irenæus (a) and other Christian fathers, and by several modern writers, through their inattention to Oriental learning, to have been borrowed from the Grecian philosophy; but the contrary is evident from the similarity of this heresy to the Cabbalistic system, which has been shown to be of Oriental origin; and from the testimony of Theodotus, whose account of the Valentinian and other Gnostic heresies (b) is entitled, *An Epitome of the Doctrine called Oriental in the time of Valentinian*.

† Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 278. Hieron. Ep. 84. ad Magn.

‡ Conf. Origen. Philocal. c. 13.

(a) Hæres. l. ii. c. 14.

(b) Apud Op. Clem. Alex. et Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. v. p. 105.

ancients, and always to keep human learning in due subordination to Divine wisdom.*

The fathers of the Christian church are then, neither, on the one hand, to be considered as by profession philosophers, nor, on the other, to be denied the credit of any acquaintance with philosophy. Their great object was to apply philosophy to the illustration, confirmation, and defence of Divine Revelation. We are not, therefore, to search in their writings for philosophical tenets, raised upon rational principles, and supported by logical arguments; nor shall we find among them, strictly speaking, any philosophical sectarians, such as Speusippus and Xenocrates were among the ancient, or Plotinus and Porphyry among the modern, Platonists. But, though they were not properly philosophers, it must not be inferred, that they gave no preference to any particular sect. Whilst they were averse to the Grecian philosophy in general, as inimical to the Christian cause, and inveighed against every Pagan system, as containing many things contrary to the true doctrine of Christ, they were willing to acknowledge, that every sect taught some principles not inconsistent with this doctrine, and were most inclined to favour those sects which taught tenets most consonant to it.

Throughout the various systems of philosophy, the Christian fathers saw many truths dispersed, which they supposed to be beyond the reach of human reason, and which, therefore, they believed to have been borrowed from the Hebrew scriptures, or to have been rays of heavenly wisdom originally proceeding from the pure fountain of Divine Revelation. These relics of sacred truth, which they conceived to be scattered through the various sects of philosophy, they were exceedingly desirous to collect, and to incorporate with the doctrine of Christianity. Hence the high encomiums which we frequently meet with in their writings, upon this kind of Eclectic philosophy. Clemens Alexandrinus says,† “I do not call that philosophy, which either the Stoics, the Platonists, the Epicureans, or the Peripatetics, singly teach; but whatever dogmas are found in each sect to be true, and conducive to the knowledge and practice of piety and justice, these, collected into one system, I call philosophy.” Justin Martyr,‡ Gregory Thaumaturgus,§ and Lactantius,|| express the same sentiment. We are not, however, to confound the Eclectic philosophy of the Christian fathers with that of the Ammonian school; since the former were directed in their selection by a notion peculiar to themselves, that whatever was valuable in Pagan philosophy was the remnant of some former revelation from the *Λόγος*, or had been purloined from the Hebrews or Christians, and might therefore be fairly claimed as the property of the Christian church.

By comparing the preceding observations, we may easily account for the different, and apparently contradictory, language which the Christian fathers held concerning the Gentile philosophy: some of them, particularly Clemens Alexandrinus and Augustine, speaking of heathen wisdom as lawful spoil, which may be usefully employed in the service of the church; and of certain philosophers, as being, in their notions of the Divine nature, almost Christians: whilst others represent heathen philosophy as so pernicious and mischievous in its nature, that it could only be the work of the devil. In order to reconcile these seeming inconsistencies, it is only necessary to observe, that wherever the Christian fathers spoke in commendation of phi-

* Greg. Naz. Carm. i. p. 33.

§ In Orig. p. 10.

† Strom. i. i. p. 288.

|| Inst. i. vii. c. 7.

‡ Dial. cum Tryph. p. 218.

losophy, they meant to limit their approbation to certain truths, which they conceived to have been originally communicated by Divine Revelation; but that, when they inveighed against it, their censure fell upon those systematic masses of error, which they ascribed to human invention.

The virulence with which the supporters of Pagan superstition assaulted Christianity, sometimes led its advocates, in return, to load the Gentile philosophy with invectives, which, though they may be in part excused, cannot be justified. Their contempt and indignation did not, however, fall indiscriminately upon every sect; they estimated the merit of each by its supposed affinity to Revelation, in the purity of its doctrine concerning God and Divine things. Hence their severest censures were pointed against the Peripatetic and Epicurean sects. The doctrines of the Peripatetics concerning Divine Providence, and the eternity of the world, chiefly excited their aversion against this sect; but, besides this, they were much displeased with Aristotle, for having furnished heretics and infidels with the weapons of sophistry. The system of Epicurus, which excluded the Deity from the government of the world, and admitted no expectation of a future state, so directly contradicted the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, that it is not surprising that it should have awakened great indignation in the friends of Christianity, especially as they misapprehended the nature of his moral doctrine, and credited the calumnies, which had long before this time been circulated concerning the personal character.

There were not wanting, however, among the Christian fathers, advocates for different sects of Grecian philosophy. After the establishment of the Ammonian sect, when Origen and his followers, with many others, favoured the Eclectic method of philosophising, which had been followed in the Alexandrian schools, they easily persuaded themselves, that as a coalition had in these schools been effected between Plato and Aristotle, it would not be difficult to accomplish a similar coalition between Jesus Christ and Aristotle. Others reasoned in the same manner with respect to the doctrines of Stoicism. The Epicurean was almost the only sect which met with no patrons among the Christian fathers.

But the sect, which, for the reasons already assigned, obtained most favour in the Christian school, was the Platonic. None of the Christian fathers, indeed, entertained such an opinion of the perfection of the Platonic system, as to subscribe implicitly to its principles and tenets; but they imagined, that they found in the writings of Plato many Divine truths, which he had received, either directly or indirectly, from the Hebrews, and which they had therefore a right to transfer from the Academy to the Church. Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius, and Augustine, were so strongly prepossessed with this notion, that they fancied a wonderful similarity between the theology of Plato and that of Moses. Clemens* speaks of Plato as the philosopher of the Hebrews, whose doctrine concerning God, and Virtue, and a Future State, agrees with that of the scriptures: with Numenius, he calls Plato the Athenian Moses; and he even asserts, that Plato, in his *Theætetus*, describes the Christian life. Eusebius, in his *Preparatio Evangelica*,† “Evangelical Preparation,” quotes many passages from the Dialogues of Plato, to show how nearly his sentiments and language approach to those of the sacred writings. Augustine, in some parts of his works, prefers Plato to every other heathen writer; and contends, that, in many particulars, especially those which relate to God, he

* Strom. l. i. p. 315.

† L. ii.

was a Christian philosopher. He afterwards, in a distinct chapter, inquires whence Plato derived that knowledge, by which he so nearly approximated to the Christian doctrine. Having in a former work given it as his opinion, that Plato in his journey into Egypt, had either conversed with the prophet Jeremiah, or read the Hebrew scriptures, he now retracts this opinion, because he finds, upon further examination, that Plato was born near a hundred years after Jeremiah was in Egypt, and that the Greek version of the Jewish law was made under the Ptolemies, about sixty years after Plato's death; and substitutes, in its stead, an unsupported conjecture, that Plato received his information concerning the Hebrew scriptures, by conversing with some learned interpreter of the law.

This opinion concerning the Divine origin of Plato's theology was entertained on grounds equally precarious with the conjectures of Augustine, by the general body of the Christian fathers. They thought, that Plato, during his residence in Egypt, could not fail to become acquainted with the Jewish law, of which they believed, but without any sufficient authority, that a Greek version had been made prior to that of the Septuagint under Ptolemy Philadelphus. They conceived, that Pythagoras, in his Oriental journey, must have had frequent opportunities of conversing with the Jewish prophets, and that through his schools the doctrine of Moses must have passed to Plato. They were confirmed in this opinion, by observing the doctrine, which was at this time received among the Jews, with the Platonism of the Alexandrian schools. For, from the age of Aristobulus, the Jews had, as we have seen, admitted Egyptian, Oriental, and Platonic dogmas into an intimate alliance with the simple doctrine of their sacred books; and, in order to give credit and authority to the innovation, had pretended that Moses was the original author of this philosophy. This was maintained by all the learned Egyptian Jews, particularly by Philo; and from these, the notion would naturally pass over to the Christians, by many of whom, doubtless, it was entertained before their conversion to Christianity.

After what has been already suggested, in preceding parts of this work, to show the improbability of the opinion, that Pythagoras or Plato were instructed by the Hebrews, and to account for the pains which Philo and other Platonising Jews took to give their notions the sanction of a Divine origin, it is unnecessary here to enlarge upon the subject. We shall only remark, that, in forming this opinion, there were two points in which the fathers were greatly deceived: first, in supposing that the Jews freely communicated their doctrines to their neighbours, when it appears from their whole history, that they studiously separated themselves, in all religious concerns, from the heathens; secondly, in conceiving that the Platonism which was at that time professed was the genuine doctrine of Plato.*

There can be no doubt, that a strong predilection for Platonic tenets prevailed among those Alexandrian philosophers, who became converts to the Christian faith. These philosophers, who, whilst they corrupted the system, had been accustomed to entertain the highest reverence for the name of Plato, easily credited the report, that the doctrine of Plato concerning the Divine nature had been derived from Revelation, and hence thought themselves justified in attempting a coalition between Plato and Jesus Christ. A union of Platonic and Christian doctrines was certainly attempted in the second century, by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and

* Just. M. Cohort. ad Græc. Clem. Adm. ad Gent. p. 477. Stromat. l. i. p. 305. l. iv. p. 477. l. v. p. 560. Conf. Lamius de Trinit. l. ii. iii.

Clemens Alexandrinus, in whose writings we frequently meet with Platonic sentiments and language; and it is not improbable, that this corruption took its rise still earlier. In opposing the Gnostic heresies, those Christian teachers who had been instructed in the Alexandrian doctrines, adopted from them whatever they thought consonant to Christian truth, and favourable to their cause. From the time that Ammonius Sacca, in order to recommend his Eclectic system to the attention of Christians, accommodated his language to the opinions which were then received among them, the mischief rapidly increased. Origen, and other Christians who studied in his school, were so far duped by this artifice, as to imagine that they discovered, in the system of the Platonists, traces of a pure doctrine concerning the Divine nature, which, on the ground above-mentioned, they judged themselves at liberty to incorporate into the Christian faith. Entering upon the office of Christian teachers under the bias of a strong partiality for Plato and his doctrine, they tinctured the minds of their disciples with the same prejudice, and thus disseminated Platonic notions as Christian truths; doubtless, little aware how far this practice would corrupt the purity of the Christian faith, and how much confusion and dissension it would occasion in the Christian church.

Having said thus much concerning the general character of the philosophy of the Christian fathers, it remains that we offer a few remarks concerning their merit in the distinct branches of philosophy, dialectics, physics, and morals.

It will be readily acknowledged, that the early teachers of the Christian church were honest and zealous advocates for the cause of Christ; and that many of their apologies discover an extensive acquaintance with ancient philosophy and learning, and serve to cast much light upon the philosophical and theological history of preceding times. But it must, at the same time, be candidly confessed, that in the heat of controversy, they not only fell into various mistakes, but made use of unsatisfactory methods of reasoning, which betray imbecility of judgment, or inattention to the principles and rules of good writing. Correctness and strength of argument are excellences seldom to be met with in the writings of the fathers; on the contrary, their works furnish innumerable examples of feeble reasoning, of interpretations of scripture which it is impossible to reconcile with good sense, and of a careless admission of spurious writings as genuine authorities. Photius, who was a writer of sound judgment, complains that Irenæus obscured the doctrines of religion by illegitimate reasoning;* and this charge is applicable to many other of the Christian fathers. Lactantius affords a curious specimen of futile reasoning, when, in order to demonstrate the absurdity of worshipping idols, he says:† “When men take an oath, they look up to heaven: they do not seek God under their feet; because whatever lies below them must necessarily be inferior to them; but they seek him on high, because nothing can be greater than man except what is above him; but God is greater than man; he is therefore above, and not beneath him, and to be sought, not in the lower but the higher regions; whence it is evident, that images formed of stones dug out of the earth cannot be proper objects of worship.” The puerility of this method of arguing is sufficiently obvious without any comment. Much false reasoning of the same kind may be found in the writings of Arnobius, Jerom, and others.

Several causes may be assigned for the defects, which every accurate

* Cod. 120. p. 161.

† Instit. Div. l. ii. c. 19.

observer must remark, in the method of reasoning adopted by these writers. Their injudicious zeal induced them to grasp at every shadow of argument against their opponents; and their want of skill in the art of reasoning led them often to mistake shadows for realities. Their fondness for allegory dazzled and confounded their understandings, so that they were unable to distinguish between fanciful resemblances and solid arguments. They had not learned to distinguish accurately between the light of revelation, and that of reason; and therefore supposed, that their reverence for the former obliged them to depreciate and vilify the latter. Ambrose, a learned man but a bad logician, advised,* that, in disputes where faith is concerned, reason should be laid aside. Basil† called reasoning, *The devil's work*; and refuted the heretic Eumonius by pleading, that his arguments were drawn from the categories of Aristotle, and that the wisdom of this world was deceitful. Others, who admitted the lawfulness of using the weapons of Aristotelian logic in defence of Christianity, contended that Christians were possessed of a better logic, consisting in the demonstration of the spirit; and that they who possessed this, might defend their cause without the arms of human reason. Whilst the fathers thought reason of so little value, it is no wonder that their reasonings were frequently injudicious and inaccurate.‡

It must be here mentioned, as another proof at least of their want of judgment, that the Christian fathers gave easy credit to false tales, and received, without careful examination, supposititious writings, which they obtruded upon others, and to which they referred as sufficient authorities.§ Nor is it possible to exculpate them from the charge of having made use of, and even justified, dishonest arts and pious frauds, after the example of their adversaries. Add to this, that the style in which their works are written is, for the most part, tumid and puerile. In search of the dazzling ornaments of false eloquence, they frequently lost themselves in the clouds of obscurity. Innumerable passages occur in their popular writings, particularly in the Homilies of Chrysostom, which are more adapted to captivate the wondering attention of the ignorant populace, than to impress a judicious reader with an idea of the writer's good sense and accuracy. Gregory Nazianzen complains, that, in his time, simple and natural eloquence was lost, and that a thirst after novelty had led writers into lamentable confusion and obscurity.||

With respect to physics, little was to be expected on this subject from writers who were so deeply engaged in theological labours. The truth is, that the errors into which many of the ancients had fallen, through their ill-conducted inquiries into nature, gave the Christian teachers a distaste for speculations of this kind. They thought it a mere waste of time to search after the immediate causes of natural appearances, when they might be employed in studying the doctrines and duties of religion. "It is not," says Eusebius,¶ "through ignorance of those subjects which are so much admired, but through a conviction of their futility, that we almost entirely neglect them, in order to apply our minds to more useful labours." This contempt of physical inquiries, which was common among the fathers, will account for the egregious mistakes which are found

* De Fide, l. i. c. 5.

† Contr. Eumon. p. 17.

‡ Orig. adv. Cels. l. i. c. 5.

§ Fabric. Observ. ad Cod. Apocr. Vet. et Nov. Test.

|| Phot. Cod. 170. Hieron. Ep. 34. ad Nep. Greg. Naz. Enchir. Athanas. Conf. Dalmæum de Usu Patrum, l. i. Cleric. Art. Crit. t. i. p. ii. sect. 1. c. 17. Petav. ad Epiph. Hær. 59. p. 244.

¶ Prep. Ev. l. xv. c. i. 61. Conf. Lactant. Inst. Div. l. iii. c. 2.

in the commentaries upon those parts of scripture, where subjects of natural history or philosophy are occasionally introduced. Cosmes, an Egyptian monk, wrote a work,* entitled "Christian Topography," in which he maintained, that the form of the earth is plane, and not spherical, and upon this supposition attempted an explanation of the celestial phenomena. The author of *The Physiology*, falsely ascribed to Epiphanius, and inserted in his works,† treats of animals with most ridiculous ignorance and puerility. Even Ambrose, in many respects a learned writer, trifles egregiously upon these subjects. In explaining that part of the Mosaic history of the creation, which speaks of *waters above the firmament*, he refutes every objection by having recourse to the miraculous power of God,‡ and thus makes the thing to be proved the medium of proof. The engagements of his episcopal office might be some excuse for his ignorance of physical subjects, especially in an age when ignorance of this kind was so prevalent; but nothing can excuse his attempting to explain what he did not understand.

ETHICS was a branch of philosophy, in which the fathers of the Christian church were more immediately concerned, as their office required them to instruct the people in good morals; but their attention to this subject was by no means equal to its importance. They were too busily occupied in disputes with infidels and heretics, to have much leisure to attend to the simple duties of morality. Although in the writings of all the fathers, moral topics are occasionally touched upon, Ambrose was, if not the first, yet certainly among the first, who wrote a compendium of moral doctrine: it was formed upon the model of Cicero's book *De Officiis*. After the third century, the fathers treated more largely upon these subjects, as may be seen in their Homilies, but in a manner which rendered their moral writings of little value.

Among the causes which promoted the corruption of their moral doctrine, we may reckon the practice, which they borrowed from the Alexandrian Jews, of affixing an allegorical meaning to the words of scripture. This method of interpretation, as Le Clerc justly remarks, enabled them to put any construction upon particular texts which suited their present purpose. What absurd interpretations they gave of the Old Testament (with the Hebrew original of which, by the way, scarcely any of them, except Jerom and Origen, were acquainted, as sufficiently appears from their implicit reliance on the Septuagint version) may be easily seen by consulting their works.§ Indeed it was not to be expected that they should succeed better, when they undertook to draw moral doctrine from the sacred scriptures, without strictly adhering to the rules of sound criticism, and without being accurately acquainted with the general principles of morals.

To what an absurd extreme of rigour the fathers carried their ideas of morality, may be seen in their doctrines concerning the sexual passion. They commonly held a second marriage to be unlawful; and Chrysostom maintained, that it was a species of fornication; and that whilst this indulgence was permitted by God, fornication became lawful.|| With respect to matrimony, they admitted three degrees of merit: the lowest, matrimonial fidelity; the second, matrimonial abstinence; the third, perfect celibacy. Clemens Alexandrinus¶ represents it as a meretricious practice

* B. Montfaucon. Collect. Nov. Patr. Script. Gr. t. ii. p. 113. Phot. Cod. 36.

† Tom. ii. Op. p. 189.

‡ Amb. l. ii. c. 3. t. iii. p. 17.

§ See examples of this in Barbeyrac de la Morale des Peres, c. ii. sect. 3.

|| Chrysost. Hom. 32. in Matt. xix.

¶ Pædag. l. iii. c. 2, l. ii. c. 10.

for a woman to look at herself in a mirror; "because," says he, "by making an image of herself, she violates the commandment, which prohibits the making of the likeness of any thing in heaven above, or on earth beneath." As a further example to the same purpose may be mentioned, the doctrines of the unlawfulness of putting out money to interest, of using musical instruments in churches, and of taking any kind of oath.*

Another principal cause of the corruption of the Christian doctrine of morality was, that it was very early tinctured with the enthusiastic spirit of the Alexandrian philosophy. Many of the Christian fathers were infected with the practical, as well as the speculative, errors of this school. To this source we are to trace back the numerous adulterations of the simple morality of the New Testament, which are to be found in "The Shepherd of Hermas," and in the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, and Tertullian. This corruption chiefly discovered itself in a peculiar species of fanaticism, consisting in a certain mystical notion of perfection, which originated from a principle common to Platonists, Orientalists, and Gnostics; that the soul of man is imprisoned and debased in its corporeal habitation, and in proportion as it becomes disengaged from the incumbrance, and purged from the dregs of matter, it is prepared for its return to the Divine nature, the fountain from which it proceeded.† The early Christians appear to have been led into this system, and into all the unnatural austerities which sprung from it, by observing the extraordinary sanctity of the Therapeutic sect among the Jews,‡ and of many ascetic Platonists, who, in this respect, followed the example of the Egyptian Pythagoreans. Emulous of the fame which both Jews and Heathens had obtained by their voluntary mortifications, and, perhaps too, inspired with an enthusiastic notion, that they should by this means approach nearer to God, and be better prepared for heaven, many Christians, even so early as the second century, retired into solitary places, where they devoted themselves to abstinence, contemplation, and prayer.§ It is impossible to enumerate the erroneous opinions, and absurd practices, which this false idea of perfection introduced into the Christian church, or to say how grossly it corrupted the Christian system of morals.

The clear result of these general observations on the circumstances, opinions, and writings of the Christian fathers, is, that they contributed little towards the improvement of true and sound philosophy. Whatever abilities or learning they possessed (and in several instances these were not inconsiderable) their peculiar situation, as well as the general state of philosophy, prevented them from making any important advances in science. Through several centuries, they partook of the spirit of the Alexandrian school, and the Eclectic method of philosophising Platonised Christianity; and when, in process of time, the philosophers themselves began to forsake Plato, and follow Aristotle, the Christian fathers preferred the Stagirate as the more accurate philosopher. In this preference they were confirmed by the example of the Saracens: and hence arose that pernicious corruption, both of theology and philosophy, the SCHOLASTIC SYSTEM. At the same time, the adulterated Platonism of Alexandria continued among the Greek Christians, and produced THE MYSTIC THEOLOGY. Thus the church was at once disturbed by two monstrous productions in philosophy, of which we shall treat in the sequel.||

* Conf. Barbeyrac, c. 6. 9, 10. 15.

† Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. p. 412.

‡ Philo de Vit. Contempl.

§ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 16. Conf. Past. Herm. et Apol. Athenag.

|| Vidend. Mosheim. Diss. de Caussa supposit. lib. inter Christ. sect. 1. et 2. Huet.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS IN PARTICULAR.

FROM the beginning of the second to the seventh century, which may be considered as the commencement of the Middle Age, many learned men arose in the Christian church, who studied and applied philosophy in the manner explained in the preceding chapter. A distinct but brief account of the principal of these, as far as respects the subject of this work, we now proceed to lay before the reader, referring him for other particulars to ecclesiastical historians.

The Christian fathers may be divided into two classes: those who flourished before, and those who flourished after, the institution of the Eclectic sect: and this distinction is of considerable consequence in the present inquiry. The first class commences with Justin Martyr; the second, with Origen.

The apostolic fathers, who had derived their knowledge of Christianity, and their habits of thinking, from the Evangelists and Apostles, were more desirous of imitating their simplicity of sentiment and expression, than of excelling in subtle speculation. Hence we find in their genuine writings but a few traces of the Grecian or Alexandrian philosophy. But when men, who had been educated in the Pagan schools, became converts to the Christian faith, they brought with them their philosophical ideas and language, and associated them with the doctrine of Christianity.

Among these Christian philosophers, the first, and one of the most celebrated, was JUSTIN, who, on account of the testimony which he afterwards bore to the Christian cause, is usually distinguished by the title of "The Martyr." He was born at Neapolis, or Sichem, in Palestine, about the beginning of the second century. His father, whose name was Priscus, was a Gentile Greek, and sent him to Alexandria to be instructed in Grecian learning. In his youth, as he himself relates, he studied, first the Stoic, and afterwards the Peripatetic philosophy, under different masters. Not, however, finding in either of these schools the satisfaction he wished concerning the Divine nature, and having been refused admission to the Pythagorean school for want of the necessary preparatory instruction and discipline, he determined to addict himself to the study of the doctrine of Plato, who, for his sublime notions concerning God and religion, had long obtained the name of The Divine Philosopher. Under the direction of an able and judicious Platonist of Alexandria, he prosecuted this study with

Dem. Ev. Prop. iv. Origenian. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 4. Baptista Crispus de caute legendo Platone, Rom. 1594. fol. Petav. Dogm. Theol. t. ii. l. 1. c. 8. Balt. Defense des S. Peres accus. de Platonisme. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Creed. Sand. de Trinit. Sandii Nucleus Hist. Eccl. Le Clerc. Bibl. Univ. t. x. Bibl. Choisie, t. xii. Epistola sub. nom. Liberii. Basnage Hist. des Juifs, l. iv. p. 79. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. v. iii. p. 39. 176. Buddæi Isag. in Hist. Theol. l. ii. c. 3. Dupin. Bibl. des Auct. Eccl. t. i. p. 203. Blount. Cens. cel. Auct. p. 213. Blondell. de Sybillis, l. i. c. 26. Mosheim. Diss. de turbata per Platon. rec. Eccl. Dallæus de Usu Patrum. Souverain. Platonisme dévoilé.

great delight, "finding," as he says, "that the contemplation of incorporeal ideas added wings to his mind, so that he hoped soon to ascend to the true wisdom."*

That he might proceed without interruption in this favourite pursuit, Justin withdrew to a place of retirement near the sea. He had not been long in this place, when, in one of his solitary walks, he was accosted by an old man of venerable aspect, whom some suppose to have been Polycarp; a supposition which Justin himself favours, by calling himself a disciple of the apostles, which seems to imply that he had been instructed by some apostolic man.† Whoever he was, this old man, in his conversation with Justin, discovered no slight acquaintance with the Platonic philosophy; for he made use of the Platonic principles and language, to which he found Justin attached, in order to conduct him to the knowledge of a more pure and perfect system. The discourse of this reverend preceptor inspired Justin with an earnest desire of perusing the writings of the prophets and apostles; and when he had read them, he confessed, that the gospel of Christ was the only certain and useful philosophy. About the year 133, he embraced the Christian faith; still, however, retaining the habit of a philosopher.

Justin, after his conversion, retained a strong attachment to the Platonic system, and applied his knowledge of this system to the explanation and defence of the Christian doctrine. Perceiving, or imagining, in many particulars, an agreement between Platonism and Christianity,‡ he concluded, that whatever was valuable in the former had either been communicated to Plato, by inspiration, from the Logos, or first emanation of the Divine nature, or had been transmitted by tradition from Moses§ and the Hebrew prophets, and might therefore be justly claimed as belonging to Divine Revelation, and incorporated into the Christian creed. All good doctrine, according to him, proceeds from the Logos, and, on that account, wherever it is found, of right belongs to Christians. "Next to God," says he, "we revere and love the Logos of the underived and ineffable Deity, who for our sake became man, that partaking of our infirmities he might heal our diseases. All writers, through the seed of the Logos sown within them, are able obscurely to discern those things which have a real existence." And in another place:|| "We are instructed that Christ is the first begotten son of God, and have already shown, that he is the Logos, of which the whole human race partakes, and that whoever lives according to the Logos are Christians, even though [for their neglect of Pagan divinities] they have been reckoned atheists: as, among the Greeks, Socrates,

* Dialog. cum Tryphone.

† Epist. ad Diognet. p. 501. Conf. Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. ii. c. 3. et Phot. Cod. 234.

‡ Apol. ii. p. 50. 78.

§ Though Justin repeatedly asserts the doctrine of Plato concerning the Logos to have been derived from Moses, there is no proof that this was in truth the case. It is therefore probable that Justin, from an undue fondness for his former master, endeavoured, in order to support his assertion, to find the Logos in the Old Testament. His proofs, that the Logos, an emanation from the Divine nature, was the creator of the world, rest upon fanciful interpretations of scripture, inconsistent with good sense and sound criticism, as any one may be convinced who will be at the pains to examine his explanations of Gen. i. 26. xviii. 1, &c. xxviii. 11—19. Exod. iii. 1—6. Prov. viii. The truth seems to have been, that Justin, being of an enthusiastic turn, imagined Christ to have been the Logos, the first of those emanations of the Divine nature of which Plato spoke; and that he fancied his own mind to have been, in a supernatural manner, enlightened, (a) to discover him as the Logos in the writings of Moses and Solomon. See this opinion ably supported in LINDSEY'S Second Address to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge, ch. ii.

(a) Dial. cum. Tryphone, p. 154, 155.

|| Apol. ii. p. 83.

Heraclitus, and the like; and among barbarians, Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, Elias, and many others.”

From these and other passages* in the writings of Justin, it appears, that he understood by the term Logos, not the reasoning faculty of the human mind, but, after Plato, the emaning reason of the Divine nature; that he conceived this Divine reason to have inspired the Hebrew prophets, and to have been the Christ, who appeared in flesh; that he supposed it to have been participated not only by the Hebrew patriarchs, but by the more excellent Pagan philosophers; and consequently that he looked upon every tenet in the writings of the heathens, which he could reconcile with the doctrine of Christ, as a portion of Divine wisdom which Christians might justly appropriate to themselves. Having learned from Plato and his followers, in the schools of Alexandria, that the knowledge of God is alone to be gained by the contemplation of ideas, which have their primary seat in the Divine Logos; and that the human mind, in consequence of its nature as proceeding from the soul of the world, is capable of contemplating those Divine ideas, by means of which it may ascend to the knowledge of God, Justin was necessarily led to conclude, that man can only arrive at Divine science through the medium of the Logos. Hence, he referred all Christian knowledge to the perception of the Divine reason inhabiting in man; and thus laid the foundation of an error, still retained in some Christian sects, that Christ, or the Word, is a substantial ray of Divine light internally communicated to man. Justin also borrowed from Plato his notion of angels employed in the government of the elements, the earth, and the heavens, and many other tenets not to be found in the scriptures.†

On the whole, it cannot be doubted, that Justin Martyr mixed Platonic notions and language with the simple doctrine of Christianity, and wrote concerning God and Divine things like a Christian Platonist. He must, nevertheless, be acknowledged to have been a faithful and zealous advocate for Christianity; for, in consequence of an attack which he made upon the Cynic philosophy, Crescens the Cynic, who with the rest of the philosophers enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Aurelius Antoninus, raised a persecution against him and his brethren, in which this excellent man fell a martyr in the cause of Christ. This happened in the year 163.

TATIAN, by birth a Syrian, a Sophist by profession,‡ who flourished about the year 170, after his conversion from heathenism to Christianity, became a disciple of Justin Martyr, and accompanied him to Rome, where he partook with his master the hatred and persecution of Crescens.§ After the death of Justin, excelling more in the powers of imagination than of judgment, he gave the reins to the former, and framed a new system of

* In his dialogue with Trypho, Justin says, (a) “I will bring you another proof from the scriptures, that in the beginning, before all creatures, God produced from himself a Rational Power (*ὁ θεὸς γεγένηκε δύναμιν τινὰ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν*) which is called by the holy spirit the glory of God, sometimes wisdom, sometimes an angel, sometimes God, sometimes Lord and Logos.—He has this name (Logos) from his being subservient to his father’s counsels, and from being produced by his father’s will, as we experience in ourselves.” See the passage at large, with remarks, in PRIESTLEY’S *History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ*: (b) a valuable work, in which it is proved at large, that the notions of the first Christian fathers concerning the Divine nature originated in the Platonic schools, and that these notions gradually produced the doctrine of the Trinity, which, from the time of the Council of Nice, was embraced as a fundamental article of faith in the Christian church.

(a) Dial. p. 266.

(b) Vol. ii. p. 56.

† Apol. i. p. 44. Epist. ad Diognet. p. 498. ‡ Orat. p. 170. 173. ed. Paris.

§ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 29. Hieron. de S. E. c. 29.

fanciful opinions, called, The Heresy of the Encratitæ.* His apology for Christianity, entitled, *Oratio ad Græcos*, "An Address to the Greeks," the only genuine work of this father which remains, every where breathes the spirit of the Oriental philosophy. Tatian teaches, that God, after having from eternity remained at rest in the plenitude of his own light, that he might manifest himself, sent forth from his simple nature, by an act of his will, the Logos, through whom he gave existence to the universe, the essence of which had eternally subsisted in himself. "The Logos," he says, "through the will of God, sprang from his simple nature;" *Θελήματι δὲ τῆς ἀπλότητος αὐτοῦ προσηδᾷ Λόγος*. This first emanation, which, after the Alexandrian Platonists, he calls the Logos, and which, like the Adam Kadman of the Cabbalists, is the first medium through which all things flow from God, he represents as proceeding, without being separated from the Divine nature. Matter is conceived by Tatian to have been the production of the Logos, sent forth (*προβεβλημένη*) from his bosom. And the mind of man is, according to him, *Λόγος ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως*, reason produced from a rational power, or an essential emanation from the Divine Logos. He distinguishes between the rational mind and the animal soul, as the Alexandrian philosophers between *νοῦς* and *ψύχη*, and the Cabbalists between Zelem and Nephesh. The world he supposed to be animated by a subordinate spirit, of which all the parts of visible nature partake: and he taught that demons, clothed in material vehicles, inhabit the aerial regions; and that above the stars, Æons, or higher emanations from the Divine nature, dwell in eternal light.† In fine, the sentiments and language of Tatian upon these subjects perfectly agree with those of the Egyptian and the Cabbalistic philosophy, whence it may be presumed, that he derived them, in a great measure, from these sources.

After Plato, this Christian father maintained the imperfection of matter as the cause of evil, and the consequent merit of rising above all corporeal appetites and passions; and it was, probably, owing to this notion, that with other fathers, he held the superior merit of the state of celibacy above that of marriage; and that he adopted, as Jerom relates, the Gnostic opinion, that Christ had no real body. The tenor of Tatian's Apology concurs with what is known of his history, to prove, that he was a Platonic Christian. Little regard is therefore due to the account which is given of his opinions by Epiphanius, who was unacquainted with the manner in which Christian heresies sprung from the Oriental philosophy, the common source, as we have seen, of the Egyptian, Cabbalistic, and Gnostic systems.

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH, born of Gentile parents, and in his youth well instructed in human learning and Pagan philosophy, after his conversion became an able advocate for Christianity. He was appointed bishop of Antioch in the year 168. Having long enjoyed an intimate friendship with Autolychus, a learned Pagan, he was exceedingly desirous of converting him to the Christian faith, and for this purpose wrote an Apology for Christianity, in which he exposed, with much ability, the superstitions and absurdities of Paganism.‡ Several things in this apology discover the writer's predilection for the Platonic system, and his inclination to adapt

* Epiphan. Hæres. xlv. 1. t. i. p. 390. Theodoret. Hær. Fabr. l. i. c. 10. Philastr. de Hær. c. 48.

† Orat. ad Græc. p. 138—159. Clem. Alex. Str. l. i. p. 320. l. iii. p. 335. Excerpt. Theodot. Cl. Al. p. 806. Orig. contr. Cels. l. i. p. 16. De Orat. sect. 13. Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. iv. c. 11. 16. 29. Hieron. de S. E. c. 29.

‡ Apol. ed. Wolf. l. ii. sect. 14, &c. Ed. Oxon. 1700.

it to the Christian doctrine. Particularly, in speaking of the Logos, as proceeding from the Divine nature, and as the agent in the Divine operations, he makes use of Platonic ideas and language; doubtless, in hopes of reconciling his friend Autolyclus, who was conversant with the writings of philosophers, to the Christian system. His doctrine is, that God had always within himself his Logos, or wisdom, which he produced by sending forth from his bosom before the universe was created; and that this Logos was the minister, by whom he made all things, and who afterwards descended upon the prophets.

We may also rank among the Platonising fathers, *ATHENAGORAS*, the author of "An Apology for Christians," and of "A Treatise on the Resurrection of the Body." It appears from his writings, that he was a native of Athens, and that he passed his youth among the philosophers of his time. He flourished towards the close of the second century. After he became a convert to Christianity, he retained the name and habit of a philosopher, probably in expectation of gaining greater credit to the Christian doctrine among the unconverted heathen. In his apology he judiciously explains the notions of the Stoics and Peripatetics concerning God and Divine things, and exposes, with great accuracy and strength of reasoning, their respective errors. He frequently supports his arguments by the authority of Plato, and discovers much partiality for his system. In what he advances concerning God and the Logos, or Divine reason, he evidently mixes the dogmas of Paganism with the doctrines of Christianity.*

According to Athenagoras, God is underived, indivisible, and distinct from matter; there are middle natures between God and matter; from the beginning, God, the eternal mind, being from eternity rational, had the Logos within himself: the Son of God is the Reason of the Father in idea and energy; for, since the Father and Son are one, by him and through him all things are made: the Logos was produced, that the ideas of all things might subsist, and they are contained in his spirit.

On the imperfect and untractable nature of matter; on angels, demons, and other natures compounded of matter and spirit; and on other philosophical topics, Athenagoras reasons with all the subtlety of the Grecian schools; so that, in every page, you see him to be by profession a philosopher. One cannot peruse his writings, without admiring in them a happy union of Attic elegance and philosophical penetration. In moral philosophy, he adopted the common austerities, particularly with respect to marriage.

The second century probably produced the learned work, entitled, "*HERMIAS'S* Ridicule of the Gentile Philosophers."† The tenor as well as the title of the work renders it probable, that it was written by some philosopher, who had been converted to Christianity. It contains no inelegant compendium of the Greek philosophy. The author of the piece is unknown.

Another writer of great distinction in this early period of the Christian church is *IRENÆUS*, probably a native of Smyrna. He was a disciple of Polycarp and other apostolic fathers, and was well read, not only in sacred learning but in ancient philosophy. Visiting the Western churches, he became first presbyter, and afterwards, in the year 177, bishop of Lyons.‡ He employed his learning and industry in refuting the Gnostic heresies, which had, even in the first age of the church, arisen from the union of

* *Apol. Athen. Ed. Par. p. 5—39. Phot. Cod. 234.*

† *Basil. 1553. 8vo. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. v. p. 88. Oxon. 1700. ad. Calc. Tatiani.*

‡ *Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. v. p. 170.*

the dogmas of the Oriental, Egyptian and Platonic philosophy with the doctrine of Christ. It is, however, to be regretted, that this learned and zealous advocate for Christianity, having been less conversant with the Oriental than the Greek philosophy, did not perceive the true origin of the heresies which he undertook to refute. Upon a comparison of his writings with the Platonic system at that time taught in Alexandria, it will also be acknowledged that his representation of Christian doctrines is strongly tinctured with Platonism. He speaks of the Son as the minister and instrument of the Father in the creation of the world, and says, "that God had no need of the ministry of angels in forming the world, when he had his Son, and his image, ministering to him." This doctrine he advances in refutation of the Gnostic notion, that the *Demiurgus*, or creator of the world, was a Divine emanation far inferior to the Logos.* In several other particulars, Irenæus borrowed the ideas and language of the Alexandrian Platonists. He attributed a subtle corporeal form to angels and to the human soul, and held that the latter, after death, retains the figure of a man.† The hope of immortality he derived, not from the nature of the human soul, but from the will of God. He conceived man to consist of three parts, body, soul, and spirit.‡ His moral doctrine was by no means free from superstition.

About the beginning of the third century flourished TERTULLIAN, a native of Carthage. He appears to have been a convert from heathenism to Christianity. In his writings may be discovered many traces of an acquaintance with ancient jurisprudence. Tertullian was intimately conversant with the several sects of Grecian philosophy, and, with Irenæus, supposed the heresies of the times to have been derived from this fountain. Seduced by a lively imagination, which appears in all his writings, and by his zeal against the Gnostic doctrine of Æons, which he ascribed to the Platonic notion of immaterial forms, or ideas, he banished all pure intelligence from his system, and maintained, that all intelligent beings, not excepting even God himself, though not visible, are material. "Who can deny," says he, "that God, though a spirit, is a body? for spirit is a body of a peculiar kind. Even those beings which are invisible to us, have, with God, a body and form of their own, by which they are visible to God alone, since what proceeds from his substance cannot be unsubstantial."§ Tertullian inveighs with great bitterness against the several sects of the Greek philosophy, and calls philosophers the patriarchs of the heretics.|| Nevertheless, in refuting them, he frequently makes use of Platonic notions and language. Concerning the Son of God, he says, that there was a time when he did not exist. In argumentation Tertullian is weak, futile, and sophistical. On moral subjects, he held many absurd opinions; particularly with respect to marriage, war, and the power of magistrates. With several other Christian fathers, he wore the philosopher's cloak; a dress which seems indeed to have been commonly worn by those, who took upon them the character of Christian philosophers, or devoted themselves to an ascetic life,¶ as we find Tertullian did, after he became a Montanist.

None of the fathers of this period merit higher distinction, for erudition in general, or for the knowledge of philosophy in particular, than CLEMENS

* Iren. Heræs. l. iii. c. 8. n. 3. l. iv. c. 7. n. 4. c. 38. n. 3. l. ii. c. 30. n. 9. c. 25. n. 8. Tertull. in Val. c. 5. Hieron. Ep. 83. Epiph. Hær. 31. c. 33.

† Heræs. l. ii. c. 34. p. 168. l. ii. c. 19. n. 7.

‡ L. v. c. 7. l. ii. c. 19. n. 6.

§ Advers. Praxeam c. 7.

|| De Præscript. c. vii. p. 232. Adv. Hermog. c. viii. p. 269.

¶ Salmas. de Pallio.

ALEXANDRINUS; nor was any one among them led further astray, by philosophical subtlety, from the simplicity of the Christian faith. This Christian father, who flourished between the years 192 and 217, early devoted himself to study, in the schools of Alexandria, probably his native city, and had many preceptors.* As he himself relates, "One of these was an Ionian; a second was from *Magna Græcia*; a third, from Cælo-Syria; a fourth, an Egyptian; others came from the EAST, of whom one was an Assyrian, and another a Hebrew:" a passage, which, by the way clearly proves, that those who studied at Alexandria did not confine themselves to Greek philosophy and literature, but engaged in the study of Oriental learning. His Hebrew preceptor, whom he calls the Sicilian bee, by whom sincere and incorruptible truth had been collected from the prophets and apostles, was unquestionably Pantænus, a Jew by birth, but of Sicilian extraction, who united Grecian with sacred learning, and was attached to the Stoic philosophy.† Clement so far adopted the ideas of this preceptor, as to espouse the moral doctrine of the Stoics. In other respects, he followed the Eclectic mode of philosophising. It does not however appear, that he was a follower of Ammonius, the father of the Eclectic sect. It is more probable, that before Potamo, or rather Ammonius, gave this method the form and name of a sect, Clement, like many other of his fellow-citizens and contemporaries, selected for himself, from the several sects, such tenets as best agreed with his own judgment. Whilst the Pagan philosophers pillaged the Christian stores to enrich the Eclectic system, this Christian father, on the contrary, transferred the Platonic, Stoic, and Oriental dogmas to the Christian creed, as relics of ancient tradition originating in Divine revelation.‡ He expressly asserts, that philosophy was communicated to the Greeks from heaven, as their proper testament or covenant; and that it was to them, what the law of Moses was to the Hebrews. In hopes of recommending Christianity to his catechumens (for, after Pantænus, he had the charge of the Christian catechetical school in Alexandria)§ Clement made a large collection of ancient wisdom, under the name of *Stromata*; assigning this reason for the undertaking, that much truth is mixed with the dogmas of philosophers, or rather covered and concealed in their writings, like the kernel within its shell.|| This work is of great value, as it contains many quotations, and relates many facts not elsewhere preserved. But, though the object of his labours was laudable, it must be confessed, that his inclination to blend heathen tenets with Christian doctrines rendered his writings in many respects injurious to the Christian cause. His vast reading encumbered his judgment; and his injudicious zeal sometimes led him into credulity, if not into dishonesty. He admitted the authority of doubtful, and even of spurious writings. He quotes as authentic the work entitled, "The Preaching of Peter and Paul,"¶ which Jerom acknowledges to be spurious. In like manner, he admits the doubtful authority of Aristobulus, Aristæus, and others, and on this ground maintains the inspiration of the Septuagint version of the Hebrew scriptures.

The erroneous explanations which Clement gives of the tenets of the Grecian sects betray both prejudice and precipitation. As one example of this, out of many others which might be selected from his writings, we

* Strom. l. i. p. 274. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. v. c. 2.

† Vales. ad Euseb. l. v. c. 10, 11. Chron. Ann. t. ii. an. 185. Phot. Cod. 118. Hieron. Ep. 84.

‡ Strom. l. i. p. 313.

§ Phot. l. 3.

|| Strom. l. i. p. 278, 279. l. i. c. 3. p. 83. l. iii. p. 443.

¶ Strom. l. vi. p. 636. Conf. Fabr. Cod. ap. N. T. p. 797. Hieron. de Scr. Eccl. c. i. p. 19.

shall mention the manner in which he supports the assertion, that Plato agrees with Moses in his account of the production of the world. "Plato affirms," says he, "that the world was originally produced (*γεγονέναι*) from some principle, and speaks of God as the former and father of the universe; herein declaring, that the world is not only begotten, but begotten as a son from a father: "* a representation equally inconsistent with the Mosaic doctrine of creation, and with Plato's notion of the formation of the world from pre-existent matter.

We frequently find Clement adopting Platonic and Stoic tenets as Christian doctrines, and thus sowing the seeds of error in the Christian church. He speaks, for example, of the Christian doctrine, respecting the government of the passions, as coincident with the Stoic doctrine of apathy, and makes the perfect Christian a character exactly similar to the wise man of the Stoics. He even falls so far into the rant of the Porch, as to adopt their absurd language, concerning the possibility of attaining absolute independence and perfection.†

Among the doctrines of Clement are these:‡ that the Logos is the image of the father, and man the image of the Logos; that the Logos proceeded from God for the purpose of creation; that the world is produced from God, as a son from a father; that there are two worlds, the sensible and the intelligible; that angels are corporeal; that the Greeks received their wisdom from the inferior angels; that man has two souls, the rational and the irrational; that the perfection of human nature consists in the contemplation of ideas; and that the stars§ are animated by a rational soul: positions which approach nearer to the Platonic or the Gnostic systems, than to the simple doctrine of Christianity. Clement also asserts, that Plato received his doctrine of ideas from Moses, and intimates, that the Egyptians borrowed their doctrine of transmigration from the Hebrews.¶ From these particulars, the philosophical spirit and character of Clement of Alexandria may be easily inferred. What fruit it produced will appear in the history of his pupil Origen.

The Christian fathers, in the period we have hitherto considered, formed different ideas of ancient philosophy, and applied its dogmas differently, according to their respective talents and modes of education. But in the third century, when Ammonius, following the idea of Potamo, framed the Eclectic system, and had a numerous train of disciples, a new order of Christian preceptors arose, who addicted themselves to this new sect, so far as to teach Christianity after the manner of the Ammonian school.¶ The most celebrated of this class of Christian fathers was Origen, who had many followers, and whose tenets had an extensive and lasting influence upon the state of opinions in the Christian church.

ORIGEN,** called also, on account of his invincible perseverance and patience, Adamantius,†† was born at Alexandria, in the year 184 or 185. From his childhood he enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education. He became an early catechumen in the Christian school of Alexandria under Clement, by whom he was introduced to an acquaintance with philosophy, and impressed with a strong persuasion of its utility as preparatory to the

* Strom. l. v. p. 592. Conf. p. 593—595.

† L. vi. p. 649.

‡ Strom. l. v. p. 592, 593. Admon. ad Gent. p. 62. Strom. l. v. p. 553. l. vii. p. 702. Pædag. l. iii. c. 2. p. 222. l. i. c. 6. Strom. l. vi. p. 648. l. i. p. 272. l. vii. p. 718.

§ In Eclogis. Phot. Cod. 109.

¶ Strom. l. v. p. 553. l. vi. p. 633.

¶ Hieroc. apud Phot. Cod. 214.

** Huet. Origeniana. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. v. p. 237. Suidas.

†† Epiph. Hær. 64. c. 73.

study of Christian truth.* Thus prepared, he passed over, with great avidity, from the initiatory instructions of Clement, to the philosophical school of Ammonius,† which was frequented both by Pagans and Christians. This philosopher, as we have already seen, was a man of wild imagination and fanatical spirit, who, despising the simplicity of the Christian doctrine, revolted to Paganism, and from the dogmas of the Oriental and the Grecian philosophy framed a new system. In order to gloss over his apostacy from Christianity, he was particularly desirous of admitting Christian doctrines into his crude and inconsistent chaos of opinions, and claimed to himself the merit of reconciling philosophy with revelation. Under such a master, it may be easily conceived, that Origen would become well acquainted with the writings of the Greek philosophers; and this is expressly attested by Eusebius. At the same time, by the aid of ready ability and great industry, he made himself master of all the learning of the times.‡

With these qualifications, Origen, about the eighteenth year of his age, opened a school in Alexandria for the instruction of youth in grammatical and philosophical learning. The circumstance which led him to take upon him this charge so early, reflects too much honour upon his memory to be omitted. His father Leonidas having suffered martyrdom, all his property was confiscated, and Origen's mother, with six children, was left without any other support than the bounty of certain Alexandrian matrons. In these circumstances, Origen undertook the instruction of youth, to furnish his mother and her family with the means of subsistence, and his filial piety was amply rewarded; for his school soon became so famous, that it was crowded with young men both of Christian and Pagan families, and he acquired a considerable portion of wealth.§

After the death of Clement, when Origen took upon him the charge of the Christian catechetical school, he closely followed the steps of his predecessor; taking great pains to instruct his pupils in the tenets of the several sects of philosophy, as the most probable means of convincing them of the superior excellence of Christianity. At the same time he inculcated upon them, by precept, authority, and example, an austere and rigid system of morals.|| The severity of his own manners may be inferred from several circumstances mentioned by Eusebius; particularly, that he wore no shoes, nor more than one coat; and that he prevented all sexual desires by voluntary emasculation; an unusual kind of self-denial to which he was probably led by an injudicious explanation of certain Christian precepts.

Having in this manner raised an eminent school, in which the Alexandrian philosophy was employed to illustrate and establish the doctrine of Christianity, Origen found little difficulty in spreading his tenets beyond Alexandria, through Palestine, Syria, and other countries which he visited, partly to negotiate certain ecclesiastical affairs, and partly to escape the violence of Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria. In the course of his journey he passed through Greece, and made some stay at Athens, where he attended the schools of the philosophers, who at this time enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. At last he settled at Cæsarea, where he taught both sacred and profane learning to a nu-

* Euseb. Hist. Ec. l. vi. c. 3. 6.

† Ib. c. 19.

‡ Suidas in Origen. Hieron. de. Scr. Eccl. c. 54. Euseb. l. c. l. vi. c. 2. 20.

§ Euseb. l. c. c. 2, 3.

|| Euseb. l. c. Epiph. Hær. 64. c. 2. 61. c. 1. Greg. Thaumaturg. Parg. p. 10, &c. Ed. Hoesh.

merous train of disciples, among whom was Porphyry.* Origen died in the year 253.

By the help of lively talents, a ready elocution, and great industry, Origen was one of the most popular preceptors of the age; and was therefore able, not only to disseminate his opinions far abroad during his life, but to transmit them to succeeding times. It will therefore be necessary to take some notice of the sources, and the leading heads, of his doctrine.

The allegorical method of explaining the writings and traditions of the ancients, long practised in Egypt, having been adopted by the Jews who had been educated in the Alexandrian schools, and particularly by Philo, these examples were followed by Origen; and thus a fanciful method of interpreting the scriptures was encouraged, which opened a wide door to error and delusion. As the Alexandrian philosophers had, by this expedient, been able to accommodate the Pagan mythology to their respective systems; and as Ammonius had employed it to reconcile the supposed truths of Revelation with his new modelled Platonism; so Origen hoped, by the same method, to establish a union between Heathen philosophy and Christian doctrine. His fundamental canon of criticism was, that wherever the literal sense of scripture was not obvious, or not clearly consistent with his tenets, the words were to be understood in a spiritual and mystical sense: a rule by which he could easily incorporate any fancies, either original or borrowed, with the Christian creed.

The principal tenets of Origen are these: The Deity is limited in his operations by the imperfect nature of matter. The Divine nature is the fountain of matter, and is itself, though free from gross corporeality, in some sense, material. God, angels, and the souls of men, are of one and the same substance. There are in the Divine nature three *ὑποστάσεις*, subsistences. The son, proceeding from the father like a solar ray, differs from, and is inferior to him: he is the first emanation from God, dependent upon him, and his minister in creation. Minds are of various orders; and, according to the use or abuse of liberty, they are placed in various regions of the world, which was made for this purpose. Angels are clothed with a subtle corporeal vehicle. Evil spirits are degraded by being confined to a grosser body; and in these they are purged from their guilt, till they are prepared to ascend to a higher order. Every man is attended both by a good and a bad angel. Human souls were formed by God before the bodies, into which they are sent as into a prison, for the punishment of their sins: they pass from one body to another. The heavenly bodies are animated by souls, which have preserved their purity; and these souls are capable of predicting future events. All things are in perpetual rotation, receding from, and at last returning to, the Divine fountain: whence an eternal succession of worlds, and the final restoration of the souls of bad men, and of devils, after certain purgations, to happiness.† The souls of the good are continually advancing in perfection, and rising to a higher state: matter itself will be hereafter refined into a better substance; and, after the great revolution of ages, all things will return to their source, and God will be all in all.‡

These tenets, which approach nearer to the doctrine of Ammonius or

* Euseb. l. c. c. 3. 18—20. Hieron. de Scr. Ec. c. 54.

† Contra Celsum. In Joan. t. ii. p. 49—70. De Principiis, l. i. ii. iv. Phot. Cod. 117. 234, 235. Hieron. Ep. 59. Epiph. Hæres. 64. c. 17. Huet. Origeniana.

‡ Philocal. c. i. Princ. l. i. c. 6. 12. l. iii. c. 6. l. ii. c. 3. Phot. 234. Huet. Orig.

Plotinus than to that of Christ, may be ultimately traced up to that emanative system, which gave rise to Gnosticism and to the Jewish Cabbala. It is much to be regretted that Origen, who had, unquestionably, talents and merits superior to most of his contemporaries, should have suffered himself to be so far misled by the authority of Clement, and the example of the apostate Ammonius, and by a fondness for allegory, as thus to attempt to unite the dreams of a mystical system of philosophy with the simple doctrine of Christianity. The fatal effects of this unnatural combination were widely extended, and long experienced.

Whilst the Alexandrian philosophy had many patrons in the Christian church, the systems of other sects were not without their admirers. The Stoic doctrine found an advocate, as has already been said, in Pantæus. The Peripatetic philosophy, though it contradicted the Christian system, particularly in its dogmas concerning the eternity of the world, and concerning Divine Providence, was studied, first by the heretical, and afterwards by the orthodox sects, in order to furnish themselves with logical armour in defence of their respective opinions.

ANATOLIUS* of Alexandria, whose extensive acquaintance with philosophy and literature qualified him for the undertaking, at the request of the Alexandrians, who lamented the failure of the Peripatetic school, attempted with respect to the doctrine of Aristotle, what Plotinus had executed with respect to that of Plato. Making the tenets of the Peripatetic sect the basis of his system, he incorporated with them other doctrines, both Pagan and Christian, and thus formed a new school, in which Aristotle was the chief master. But, none of his commentaries upon Aristotle being extant, the particular manner in which he philosophised is unknown. After residing many years in Alexandria, Anatolius (on what occasion is uncertain) went into Syria: he afterwards became bishop of Laodicea, about the year 270. This Christian father was well skilled in mathematical learning, and wrote a work called "The Paschal Canon," of which a Latin version remains, and "Institutes of Arithmetic," extracts from which are preserved in a collection, entitled, *Theologumena Arithmetica*. Some fragments of his philosophical writings are collected by Fabricius;† whence it appears that, after the example of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, he made mathematical learning subservient to philosophy.

The aspect which philosophy had assumed among the Christian fathers in the third century it retained in the fourth. Many learned men, who were well acquainted with Greek literature and philosophy, after the example of their predecessors, employed their ability and learning in opposing Pagan superstition, and contending for the Christian faith: and in this important service they laboured with great success. Still, however, the prejudice in favour of the Platonic doctrine, as either immediately or ultimately derived from the Divine Logos, and therefore a part of Revelation, remained among them, and continued to fix and perpetuate the errors which it had introduced. Among the names which distinguish this period, the principal are Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius Pamphilus, Didymus of Alexandria, and Augustine.

ARNOBIUS, an African by birth, and a rhetorician by profession, from a warm patron of Gentile superstition became a zealous defender of the Christian faith; but his zeal far surpassed his judgment. He depreciates human reason, and maintains the uncertainty of all human knowledge: he rests the belief of the existence of God upon no rational argument, but

* Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. vii. c. 32. Hieron. de Scr. Ec. c. 73.

† Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 274. v. v. p. 277.

upon an innate principle. With the Platonists, he imputes the disorders of nature to the imperfection of matter. In fine, it is in vain to search for accurate reasoning in the writings of this father, whose education, talents, and principles, led him to excel in eloquence rather than philosophy.*

LACTANTIUS, a pupil of Arnobius, and probably an African by birth, is justly celebrated for several elegant treatises. His principal object was to expose the errors and contradictions of Pagan writers on the subjects of theology and morals, and hereby to establish the credit and authority of the Christian religion:† and his works are written with much purity and elegance of style, and discover great erudition. Several material defects must, however, be remarked in this writer. He frequently quotes and commends spurious writings as if they were genuine, and makes use of sophistical and puerile reasonings.‡ Of his puerilities, a specimen has been given in the preceding chapter; and others may be seen in what he has advanced concerning the pre-existence of souls, the millenium, the coming of Elias, and many other topics in theology. Lactantius sometimes falls into egregious mistakes, through his deficiency in physical knowledge. Speaking of the human body, he says, “Of many of its parts none can explain the power or use but the Maker: who, for example, can explain the use of the kidneys, the spleen, the liver, the bile, or the heart?”§ What inexcusable ignorance in a writer of no inconsiderable erudition! Upon the subject of morals, Lactantius has occasionally said excellent things;|| but they are mixed with others, injudicious, trifling, or extravagant. He maintains that war is in all cases unlawful, because it is a violation of the commandment, Thou shalt not kill.¶ He censures navigation and foreign merchandise, condemns all kinds of usury, and falls into other absurdities on moral topics. We must not, however, dismiss Lactantius without mentioning, to his credit, that he acknowledges,** that when Pythagoras and Plato visited barbarous nations, in order to inform themselves concerning their sacred doctrines and rites, they did not become acquainted with the Hebrews; an observation which, had it been earlier admitted, might have prevented many mistakes in the history of philosophy. Lactantius flourished at the beginning of the fourth century.

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS of Cæsarea, born about the year 270, is a writer who deserves to be mentioned with particular respect. This learned bishop, entertaining the common notion, that the ancient philosophers had received many truths, either immediately or by tradition, from Divine Revelation, whilst in other particulars their writings were full of absurdities, contradictions, and falsehoods, undertook to raise upon this ground a defence of the Divine original of Christianity. This great design he completed in two valuable works, his *Preparatio et Demonstratio Evangelica*, “Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration,” both which have happily escaped the ravages of time. In providing materials for this work, Eusebius industriously extracted from ancient writings of every kind whatever was suitable to his design; whence these pieces contain many fragments of books which have long since been lost. Had this celebrated writer been more free from prejudice; had he taken more care not to be imposed upon

* Arnob. de Christ. Rel. Ed. Canter. Conf. l. i. c. 8, 9. 20. 27. 39. l. ii. c. 2. 9. 11, 12.

† Instit. Divin. Ed. Lugd. 1567.

‡ Ib. l. i. c. 5.

§ De Opif. Dei, c. 14.

|| As a proof that Lactantius, notwithstanding all his defects, was capable of thinking justly and liberally, we shall refer the reader to an excellent passage, in which he strenuously asserts the right of private judgment in religion, and calls upon all men to employ their understandings in a free inquiry after truth. Vid. Instit. l. ii. c. 7. For a further account of the writings and opinions of Lactantius, see Lardner's Credibility, part ii. c. 65.

¶ Inst. l. v. c. 20.

** L. iv. c. 2.

by spurious authorities; had he more clearly understood, from the leading principles of each sect, its peculiar language; had he distinguished the pure doctrine of Plato from that of the later Platonists; had he more accurately marked the points of difference between the tenets of the sectarian philosophers and the doctrine of Christ, his works would have been much more valuable. With their present defects, they should be read with caution; and particularly with a constant recollection of the partiality which Eusebius, with other Christian fathers of this and the preceding centuries, entertained for the Platonic doctrine, on the ground already explained. Eusebius has also rendered great service, both to the Christian and the philosophical world, in his "Ecclesiastical History," his "Chronicon," his "Refutation of Hierocles," and other works.

DIDYMUS of Alexandria, a catechetical preceptor, though blind from his infancy, gained such an extensive and intimate acquaintance with philosophy, mathematics, and Greek literature, that he was esteemed a prodigy of learning. He was a pupil of Origen, and wrote in defence of his master; but his writings are lost. He flourished at the close of the fourth century.

CHALCIDIUS,* the commentator upon the Timæus of Plato, has been ranked by many writers among the Christian fathers; but it is doubtful whether he was a convert to Christianity.

About the beginning of the fifth century flourished AUGUSTINE, who was born at Tagaste in Africa, in the year 354. After a course of grammatical study, he was introduced to the knowledge of philosophy at Carthage. In early youth he was more addicted to pleasure than to learning; but when he became conversant with the writings of Cicero, they improved his taste, and inspired him, as he himself confesses, with an ardent thirst after wisdom. Not meeting with the satisfaction he wished from the Greek and Roman writers, he applied himself to the study of the scriptures: but he was too offended with the simplicity of their style, and threw them aside to return to his favourite orator. At the age of twenty years, he became acquainted with the works of Aristotle; and the abstract notions of the Divine nature which he collected from this philosopher, led him to adopt the Manichæan doctrine of two independent principles, the one good, the other evil; thinking the latter a necessary substitute for Aristotle's principle of privation. At this time he so far receded from the Christian faith, as to be of opinion that Jesus Christ was nothing more than a man of unparalleled wisdom. By a vigorous exertion of his faculties in the study of philosophy, he at length discovered the futility of the Manichæan system, and abandoned it. To escape the solicitations of Faustus, a leader of the Manichæans, he withdrew to Rome, where he undertook the profession of rhetoric. Still, however, he retained so much of his former system, as to ascribe his evil propensities to a distinct nature within him, and to conceive of the Deity as in some sense corporeal. In order to extricate himself from these errors, he now determined to take refuge in Academic uncertainty, and abandoning philosophical and theological speculations, gave himself up entirely to the study of eloquence. His sceptical turn having created him many adversaries at Rome, he removed, by the advice of Symmachus, to Milan, where he opened a rhetorical school.†

* Conf. Mosheim de turbata per recent. Plat. Eccl. sect. 30. Beausobre Hist. Manich. p. 1. p. 479. Cave, Hist. Lit. Script. Eccl. p. 125.

† Confession, l. i. c. 9. n. 14. c. 13. n. 20, 21. l. ii. c. 3. n. 3. 5. 8. l. iii. c. 3. n. 6. c. 4. n. 8. c. 5. n. 9. c. 6. c. 7. n. 12. l. iv. c. 16. n. 28. l. vii. c. 5. 19. l. iv. c. 2. n. 3. c. 3. n. 4. c. 15. n. 24. l. v. c. 3. n. 3. c. 5. 13.

At Milan, Augustine, in the midst of his perplexing doubts, met with Ambrose, a Christian teacher of great probity and eloquence. By him he was instructed, more accurately than he had before been, in the doctrines of Christianity, and brought back to the acknowledgment of the Christian faith. The way was prepared for his conversion by the perusal of the writings of some later Platonists, which he found adapted to raise his conceptions above material objects to the contemplation of the Divine nature as a pure mind, the fountain of all intelligence. Finding this doctrine fully confirmed, and other important truths clearly taught, in the holy scriptures, Augustine from that time devoted himself to the service of Christ, and returned to Africa, where he rose to great distinction in the church.* The particulars of his life, from this period, more properly belong to ecclesiastical than to philosophical history. He died in the year 430.

Although Augustine, after his establishment in the Christian faith, treated philosophy in general with contempt, he had, nevertheless, a strong attachment to the Platonic system, as accommodated to the system of emanation by the later Platonists.† This appears in many of his Christian tracts, particularly in the eighth book of his most learned and elegant work *De Civitate Dei*, which treats of natural theology, according to the doctrine of Plato. This partiality is, without question, to be ascribed to the cause, which has been repeatedly assigned for the same predilection in other Christian fathers, the prevailing opinion, that the truths which are found in Plato, on account of the source whence they were derived, are to be received as the dictates of Divine wisdom. This opinion, however, he afterwards saw reason to retract.‡

On the whole, it will not be denied by those who are acquainted with the writings of Augustine, that he was a great man and an able defender of the Christian cause; but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that he laboured under the common prejudices of the times, and that these frequently betrayed him into absurd opinions, unsatisfactory reasonings, and fanciful interpretations of scripture. A system of logic appears in the works of Augustine, which was afterwards commonly used in the schools through the Middle Age: it is more properly Stoic than Platonic.§

Among the more eminent Christian Platonists of the fifth century was SYNESIUS,|| an African bishop. He is chiefly celebrated for his eloquence, an elegant specimen of which remains in his *Dion*, a treatise on the manner in which he instructed himself. He studied philosophy and mathematics at Alexandria, at the time when its schools were adorned with the female philosopher Hypatia, and the eminent mathematicians, Theon, Pappus, and Hero. Under his female preceptor, upon whom he lavishes the highest praises, he became acquainted with Alexandrian Platonism. At an early age, he acquired such distinction among his fellow-citizens, that he was sent upon an embassy to the Emperor Arcadius. Upon his return, through the influence of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, he was engaged to take upon him the profession of Christianity; but his love of retirement and study long prevented him from accepting any ecclesiastical office. At last, however, he reluctantly complied with the entreaties of Theophilus, and took upon himself the episcopal charge of the city of Ptolemais. Synesius held opinions not perfectly consistent with the popular creed, as he himself

* Conf. l. v. c. 14. De Utilit. Cred. c. 8. Conf. l. vii.

† Contra Acad. l. ii. c. 2. n. 4, 5. Conf. l. vii. c. 20, 21.

‡ Retractat. l. i. c. 1.

§ Biblioth. Lat. Fabr. t. iii. p. 519.

|| Evagrius, l. i. c. 15. Niceph. l. xiv. c. 15. Phot. Cod. 26. Suidas.

candidly confesses in a letter to his brother: he rejected, particularly, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. In his *Hymns* he adapts the Triad, or rather Quaternion, of the schools to the received Christian doctrine of the Trinity.* If the language of these mystical odes be compared with that of the Gnostics and Cabbalists, with the theology of Proclus, and the Zoroastrian Oracles, it will be easily seen, that Synesius was a more worthy disciple of Hypatia than of Jesus Christ.†

About this period flourished DIONYSIUS, a writer falsely called THE AREOPAGITE,‡ who has been ranked, without any sufficient evidence, among the apostolic men. If the writings which bear this name be fairly compared with those of Proclus and Plotinus, little doubt will remain, that this pretended Dionysius did not write earlier than the fifth century; for his works abound with the mystical trifles of the Plotinian school. Yet this fanatic found means to pass his productions upon the Christian world as of the apostolic age, and hereby greatly contributed to foster an enthusiastic spirit both in the Eastern and the Western churches.

The Christian philosophers hitherto noticed chiefly flourished in the Eastern countries. In the Western world, the irruptions of barbarous nations almost extinguished the remains of learning and science; whence, through several succeeding centuries, we meet with few names which deserve a place in the history of philosophy. Some stars, however, of considerable lustre, if not of the first magnitude, appeared to dissipate the darkness of this period.

The first of these, in order of time, is CLAUDIANUS MAMERTUS,§ a learned presbyter of Vienna, who flourished about the year 460. He is celebrated for his eloquence, and his general knowledge; and particularly, for his acquaintance with the dialectics of Aristotle, which were made use of by the orthodox fathers, as weapons both offensive and defensive, against heretics. He wrote a treatise “On the State of the Soul.”||

At the beginning of the sixth century appeared a writer of great erudition and distinguished genius, ANICIUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS SEVERINUS BOETHIUS. He was born of a noble family at Rome, and was early sent to Athens to learn the Greek tongue, and to study philosophy. In the school of Proclus, he became acquainted with the Eclectic system; and from the commendations which he bestows upon Porphyry, as the best interpreter of Aristotle, he seems to have united the Platonic with the Aristotelian doctrine. He translated the treatise of Aristotle and Porphyry on Categories, and illustrated them with notes. But his most valuable work is his book, *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, “On the Consolation of

* We subjoin the following specimen for the amusement of the learned reader:

Ἀπλότητας ἀκροτήτων
Ἐνώσασα καὶ τεκοῦσα
Ἵπερουσίοις λοχεΐαις
Ὅθεν αὐτῇ προθοροῦσα
Διὰ πρωτόσπορον εἶδος
Μονὰς ἄβρῆτα χυθεΐσα
Τρικύρρυμβον ἄχων ἄλκαν
Ἵπερούσιος δὲ παγὰ
Στέφεται καλλεὶ παιδων
Ἀπὸ κέντρου τὲ θυρόντων
Περὶ κέντρον τὲ ρυέντων.

Hymn i. v. 22, &c.

† Hymn iii. v. 6. Conf. Epistol. Synes.

§ Sidon. Ep. i. Alan. Encyclop. p. 341.

‡ Suidas.

|| Ed. Barthii Cygn. 1655.

Philosophy;" in which, after the Eclectic manner, he has blended, for the purpose of his work, the tenets of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle, but without any notice of the sources of consolation which are peculiar to the Christian system. In the elegant verses interspersed with this work, the intelligent reader will discover many traces of the Platonic philosophy, as it was then taught by Syrian, Proclus, and Marinus. Boëthius wrote two treatises, *De Arithmetica*, "On Arithmetic;" five books, *De Unitate et Uno*, "On Unity and One;" *Institutio Musica*, "Institutes of Music," and other pieces.* He had formed a design of translating all the works of Plato and Aristotle into Latin, but was prevented from executing his purpose by a premature death. Having with great freedom censured the conduct of Theodoric, he was banished into Persia, and, after a short interval, beheaded. It was during his exile that he wrote, for the relief of his own mind, his Treatise on Consolation, which discovers an extent of learning, and purity of taste, worthy of a better age. Boëthius died about the year 526.

Towards the close of the fifth century flourished *ÆNEAS GAZA*, a Pagan by birth, by profession a Sophist, a disciple of Hierocles, and, after his conversion, a Christian philosopher. His dialogue, entitled *Theophrastus*, in which he maintains the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, has rescued his name from oblivion. In this poem, although he professedly writes against the Platonists, the doctrines of Platonism and Christianity are confounded.†

In the sixth century, *ZECHARIAS*, surnamed the Scholastic, acquired some distinction among Christian philosophers. He was educated at Alexandria, and at length, for his learning and piety, was placed at the head of the church of Mitylene, in Lesbos. Gaza wrote a treatise against the Manichæans, "On the Doctrine of Two Principles in Nature;" and "a Dialogue against the Eternity of the World."‡ Another Christian philosopher, who wrote upon the same subject, against the disciples of Proclus, was *JOANNES PHILOPONUS*, a grammarian of Alexandria. He was more inclined to the Peripatetic than the Platonic system, and wrote commentaries upon Aristotle. Philoponus was protected by Amrum, the Saracen commander, in the year 640, when he was probably about eighty years of age; for he was patriarch of Constantinople under the Emperor Justin II.§

The last name, which we shall add to this series of Christian fathers, who might be ranked among philosophers, is that of *NEMESIUS*,|| whose age is uncertain, but is supposed by his editor¶ to have flourished about the close of the fourth century. He was the author of a treatise "On the Nature of Man," which is one of the most elegant specimens now extant of the philosophy which prevailed among the ancient Christians. The writer relates and examines the opinions of the Greek philosophers on the subject of his dissertation with great perspicuity of thought and correctness of language. But the treatise is chiefly curious, as it discovers a degree of acquaintance with physiology, not to be paralleled in any other writers of this period. He treats clearly concerning the use of the bile, the spleen, the kidneys, and other glands of the human body, and seems to have had some idea of the circulation of the blood. In fine, though, on

* Fabr. Bib. Lat. t. i. p. 642. t. iii. p. 202.

† Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. i. p. 427. v. vii. p. 99. v. xiii. p. 458. 508.

‡ Cave, Hist. Lit. Scr. Ecc. p. 227. Fabr. Syllab. Script. de Ver. Ch. R. p. 107.

§ Fabr. l. c. p. 108. et Bib. Gr. v. vii. p. 358. v. ix. p. 363. Phot. Cod. 215. 255. 275.

|| Fabr. Syll. c. 2. sect. 30.

¶ Præf. Edit. Oxon. See Friend's Hist. Physic.

account of the uncertainty of his date, Nemeseus is mentioned last in the present series, he merits a place of no inconsiderable distinction among the ancient Christian philosophers.*

BOOK VII.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE MIDDLE AGE.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEK CHRISTIANS, FROM THE SEVENTH CENTURY TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

HAVING related the philosophical history of the ancient Christians, that is, of those who lived in the first six centuries of the Christian era, our plan requires that we proceed to inquire into the state of philosophy in the period of darkness called the MIDDLE AGE, which lasted from the beginning of the seventh century till the revival of letters in the fourteenth.

About the beginning of this period, under the Christian emperors, the Sectarian philosophy, together with Pagan superstition, was nearly extinct: and, in consequence of the irruption of the Northern Barbarians, almost the whole Western world was overwhelmed with intellectual darkness. This part of the history of philosophy resembles a barren wilderness, where the traveller is fatigued with beholding dreary wastes, in which he meets with scarcely a single object to relieve his eye, or amuse his fancy. Yet in order to preserve the connexion of facts, and account for the state of philosophy after the revival of letters, it will be necessary to trace with attention the great changes through which philosophy passed during this period. The order we shall observe will be, first to represent the state of philosophy in the East to the taking of Constantinople, when the Eastern world ceased to philosophise, and the Greek philosophers passed over into the West; secondly, to relate its condition in the Western world from

* Vidend. Cave's *Lives of the Fathers*, and *Eccl. Antiq.* Tenzel. *Exerc. Select.* p. i. p. 179. 210. Fabr. *Bib. Gr.* v. v. p. 56. 81. 88. Fabric. *Sylog. Script. de Ver. Christ. Rel.* Longuerue de Tatiano ap. *Orat.* Ittig. de *Hæresiarch.* ævi. ap. c. 12. Petav. *Dogm. Theol.* l. i. c. 3. Huet. *Orig.* l. ii. c. 2. 9. Ittig. *select.* cap. *Hist. Ecc.* s. ii. c. 3. Huet. de *Fab. Rom.* p. 53. Massuet. *Diss. ad Irenæum.* Whiston's *Prim. Christ.* p. iv. art. 7. Deyling. de *Iren. Test. Ver. sect.* 42. Vinc. Lirin. *Commonit.* c. 24. Pamelii *Vit. Tertulliani.* Barbeyrac de la *Morale des Peres*, c. 6. 8. Dupin. *Bibl. Scr. Ecc.* t. i. p. 104. Le Clerc. *Bibl. Un. t. x.* p. 175. 193. R. Montacutius *Orig. Eccl.* l. ii. p. 52. Clerici *Ep. Crit.* i. p. 18. Otium *Vindal.* Mel. i. Gaudentii *Diss. de Compar. Dogm.* *Orig. cum Dogm. Platonis*, Flor. 1639. De la Rue *Præf. Op. Orig.* Cudworth's *Intell. System.* c. v. s. iii. sect. 34. *Journal de Scavans*, 1734. May, *Art.* 4. Le Clerc, *Ep. vii.* *Histoire de Boëte*, Par. 1715. 12°. Tillemont *Mem. Eccl.* t. xii. de Synesio. Boysen. *Diss. de Phil. Synesii.* Lardner's *Account of the Christian Fathers in his Credibility of the Gospel History*, Part ii. *passim.*

the seventh to the twelfth century; and lastly, to subjoin the history of the Scholastic Philosophy, which flourished from that time to the revival of letters.

The fate of the Platonic school having been already related, it is only necessary to remind the reader, that although the Pagan philosophers, who, in consequence of Justinian's interdict, had taken refuge in Persia under Chosroës, returned about the middle of the sixth century into the Roman empire,* the Eclectic sect, as such, did not long survive. Still, however, the spirit, and many of the tenets of this school, remained among the clergy of the Christian church, the generality of whom tenaciously adhered to opinions which, inconsistent as they were with the pure doctrine of Christianity, had been embraced and propagated by the Christian fathers. The followers of Origen, whose tenets were chiefly borrowed from the Alexandrian philosophy and theology, were particularly attached to this system. Of these the greater part were monks, who were induced, by a superstitious zeal for the rigorous discipline which he established, to profess his doctrine in the face of persecution. The enthusiastic spirit, which was fostered by the writings of Origen, and by those of the supposed Dionysius already mentioned, established in the monasteries a mystical kind of theology, which was from this time embraced both in the Eastern and Western world.

From the commencement of the same period, the Aristotelian philosophy, which had for several past centuries languished, began to revive and flourish. In the early ages of the Christian church, the tenets of Aristotle being understood to militate strongly against the doctrines of Christianity, the Christian fathers had in general been exceedingly adverse to the Peripatetic sect. But, when the orthodox clergy saw the ingenious and successful use which many heretics made of the art of logic, they began by degrees to endure, and at length to admire and study, the dialectics of Aristotle, which were now translated into the Syriac language by Christians living under the Saracens. In the numerous contests, which were at this time conducted with so much acrimony among the several sects of Christians, each had recourse to these artificial methods of disputing. At a time when men were daily losing sight of common sense and simple truth, every champion for a system, whether orthodox or heretical, imagined that he rendered eminent service to the church, when he covered its supposed doctrines with the formidable redoubt of definitions and syllogisms. Thus the Aristotelian philosophy gradually rose into repute, till at length it so far triumphed over Platonism, that, whilst we only meet with a few individuals among the Greek Christians who were acquainted with the Platonic philosophy, great numbers studied and taught the Peripatetic. The more celebrated of these we shall distinctly mention.

The first who, after Philoponus, distinguished himself among the Greek Christians as an admirer, and, as far as was not wholly inconsistent with his Christian profession, a follower of Aristotle, was JOANNES DAMASCENUS. He flourished at the beginning of the eighth century. In early life he filled a high station in the court of the Saracen Caliph; but afterwards retired to the monastery of St. Sabas, that he might be at leisure to prosecute his studies. With due allowance for the age in which he lived, he was a great master of mathematical and philosophical learning. The Arabians were much indebted to this Christian philosopher for their

* Procopius in *Anecdosis*.

deliverance from barbarism. Among his writings are an explanation of dialectics, under the title of *Capita Philosophica*, "Heads of Philosophy;" "Dissertations on the Three Parts of the Soul, the Four Virtues, and the Five Faculties;" "Sacred Parallels;" and "An Accurate Delineation of the Orthodox Faith."* This latter work is, perhaps, the first attempt which was made to apply the language and arrangements of the Peripatetic philosophy to theology, and to form what has since been called, *A Body of Divinity*. Hence some have considered Joannes Damascenus as the father of the Scholastics. It is certain that his example was afterwards followed by a long train of Christian writers; to him therefore ought, in some measure, to be ascribed the mischiefs which arose from the alliance which he introduced between Jesus Christ and Aristotle.

Under the Eastern emperors philosophy and learning in the eighth century seemed ready to expire. Besides the general torpor which appears to have at this time overspread the minds of men, the harassing incursion of the Arabians into the empire, and the spirit of barbarism which possessed the reigning princes, may be mentioned as causes of the general decay of knowledge. Zonaras relates a wonderful instance of ferocity in the Emperor Leo the Isaurian:† that his librarian, and twelve other learned men, who lived in a royal college, and were supported at the public expense, having ventured, in a consultation upon some affair of state, to give their opinion in opposition to that of the emperor, the monster ordered the building where they slept to be set on fire, and the whole fraternity perished in the flames. If this story, through the known inaccuracy and partiality of the writer, be somewhat doubtful, it is, however, certain, that this prince abolished many schools which had subsisted from the time of Constantine, and persecuted with great severity many learned men who were deemed heretics.

Succeeding emperors, however, probably excited by the example of the Saracen Caliphs, formed a design of recalling philosophy, and reviving learning; and, by the help of a few able and industrious scholars, perhaps effected as much as the times would permit. Michael and Bardas, in particular, discovered an inclination to become patrons of letters: they instituted schools of various kinds, and appointed teachers with liberal salaries.‡

The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetes, by the encouragement which he gave to able preceptors, promoted the study of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and philosophy. This emperor was himself, in the ninth century, the pupil of an eminent scholar, MICHAEL PSELLUS, whom, however, he afterwards suffered to be accused before him of apostasy from the Christian faith. Psellus, to wipe off this calumny, submitted, at an advanced age, to receive instruction in the Christian mysteries; after which he wrote many treatises, which are often erroneously ascribed to the younger Psellus. Among these is a dialogue "On the Operations of Demons," which breathes so much the spirit of the Platonic schools as to render it highly improbable that it was written by a Peripatetic in the eleventh century.§

This Psellus had a disciple named LEO, who, for his singular attainments in philosophical learning, was called The Philosopher. He became an eminent preceptor in rhetoric, arithmetic, philosophy, and other sciences; first in the island of Andros, and afterwards at Constantinople.

* Op. Ed. á M. Le Quien. Par. 1712. 2 vols. fol. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 777.

† Ann. t. iii. p. 123.

‡ Zonar. t. iii. p. 129.

§ Leo Allatius de Psell. p. 2.

To increase his learning, he visited the libraries of many distant monasteries. One of his pupils being taken prisoner by the Saracens,* astonished his victors by solving a problem which had perplexed the Saracen philosophers. Upon this, the Caliph Al-Mamon, inquiring by whom he had been instructed, sent a messenger to his preceptor, to invite him to his court; but Leo, not thinking it safe to receive the letter, ordered it to be delivered to the Emperor Theophilus, through the hands of his secretary. The emperor immediately rewarded Leo, and appointed him to the charge of a public school. After the death of Theophilus, Leo was dismissed from his office, because he was an enemy to the worshipping of images; but was afterwards restored to his honours by Bardas, and appointed head of the professors of learning and science in Constantinople. Under the auspices of this Leo, who is not to be confounded with the sixth emperor of that name, literature revived.†

In this period, however, the chief place is unquestionably due to PHOTIUS, the learned patriarch of Constantinople, whose merit was equal to his fame. He excelled in grammatical learning, poetry, and eloquence, and was well acquainted with philosophy, medicine, and all the science of the age. A valuable proof of his erudition remains in his *Bibliotheca*, or "Literary Memoirs," containing extracts from various authors, with original remarks, which abundantly prove the writer's extensive learning and critical penetration.

This work is a valuable treasure, to which we are indebted for our knowledge of many writings, particularly in philosophy, which would otherwise have been entirely lost. A man furnished with such various learning, and endued with such superior talents, in an age of almost universal ignorance, must have been deemed a prodigy of wisdom. It is not therefore surprising, that he was advanced to the senatorial rank in the state, and to the highest dignity in the church. By the authority of Bardas, Ignatius was deposed (whether justly or unjustly we shall not inquire) from the patriarchal see of Constantinople, and Photius was appointed in his room. In the next reign this great man was, chiefly in consequence of theological disputes, dismissed from his station and suffered severe persecutions; of which he esteemed it not the least, that, being deprived of his library, he was denied the consolation of reading. He was afterwards restored to the emperor's favour, and his patriarchal honours, and was entrusted with the education of the young princes. Through the jealousy of the clergy, and the intrigues of the court, Photius was, however, again in his old age deposed and banished.‡

LEO THE SIXTH, the son of the emperor Basil, who himself assumed the purple in the year 889, acquired so much learning and wisdom under his illustrious preceptor, as to obtain a place among the philosophers of the age. In the language of eulogy, it was said, 'Ὁ δὲ φιλοσοφώτατος ἐν Βασιλεῦσι Λέων, Among princes, Leo was the greatest philosopher.§ But after all, it is difficult to say, how far this emperor is indebted to his real merit, and how far to clerical adulation, for his fame. In the remains of his writings,|| he appears in no other light, than that of a skilful astrologer.

Besides these principal restorers and patrons of learning and philosophy

* Zonaras, t. iii. p. 129. Scyliza Curopalates in Chronico.

† Allatius, l. c. p. v. Hanckius de Byzant. Scrip. p. i. c. 26.

‡ Hanck. de Byz. Script. l. c. sect. 7. Nicetas in Vit. Ignatii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ix. p. 463. Phot. Ep. 97. 174.

§ Hanck. l. c. c. 23. Allat. p. 5. Zonar. t. iii. p. 141.

|| Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. vi. p. 364. 431.

among the Greek Christians in the Middle Age, several other learned men came forth from the school of Leo the philosopher, whose names, in this dark period, must not be wholly omitted. These were NICETAS DAVID, a Paphlagonian, who at the close of the ninth century wrote a life of Saint Ignatius; MICHAEL of Ephesus, known among the Greek interpreters of Aristotle; MAGENTINUS of Mitylene, who wrote a Commentary on Aristotle's Analytics; EUSTRATIUS, who explained the dialectics and morals of Aristotle; NICEPHORUS, a rigid monk of the thirteenth century, who was the preceptor of Theodore Lascar, and wrote an Epitome of the Aristotelian Logic and Physics;* GEORGIUS PACHYMERUS, a native of Nice, who lived in the thirteenth century, from whose manuscripts has been edited a compendium of Aristotelian philosophy;† THEODORE METACHITA,‡ a Constantinopolitan of the fourteenth century, known among Aristotle's commentators; NICEPHORAS GREGORAS, who wrote several philosophical works; GEORGIUS CYPRIUS, celebrated for his acquaintance with Greek learning; and GEORGIUS LAPITHA, who is mentioned as a logician and an astronomer.§

To this list must be subjoined, as entitled to peculiar distinction, MICHAEL PSELLUS the Younger, a learned Christian of the eleventh century, whose genius and industry raised him above the level of his age. He was by birth a Constantinopolitan, of consular rank, and flourished under the Emperor Constantinus Monomachus. The female historian, Anna Comnena,|| speaks of him as one who had been more indebted for his attainments to his own excellent talents than to the instructions of his preceptors; and adds that, having made himself master of all the wisdom of the Greeks and the Chaldeans, he was justly esteemed the most learned man of the age. Thus furnished, he became the chief instructor of the Constantinopolitan youth. He was at the same time the companion and the preceptor of the emperor, who was so captivated by the studies and amusements in which Psellus engaged him, that, according to Zonaras, he neglected the concerns of the empire. The Byzantine historians complain, that the emperor, deluded by the head of the philosophers (the title with which Psellus was honoured) lost the world.¶ Towards the close of his life, Psellus met with a powerful and successful rival in John of Italy, who, through the favour of Botaniatas Nicephorus, the successor of Michael, was invested with the honours which Psellus had enjoyed. Psellus retired into a monastery and soon afterwards died. The time of his death is uncertain. His works, which have been much celebrated, are, "Commentaries upon Aristotle's Logic and Physics;" "A Compendium of Questions and Answers;" and "An Explanation of the Chaldean Oracles." The two latter works prove him to have been conversant, not only with Grecian, but with Oriental philosophy.

After the time of Psellus, the Greek empire declining, learning and philosophy were much neglected. There were, however, about the time when Constantinople was taken (which happened in the year 1451) several learned men among the Greek Christians, who merit a place in the annals of philosophy: but the confusion which at this time prevailed in the East, obliged them to quit their monasteries, and to seek for refuge in a more hospitable region. This circumstance occasioned the return of Grecian

* Ed. Aug. Vindel. 1606.

† Ed. Oxon. 1666. 8vo.

‡ Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ix. p. 215. 218.

§ Hanck. l. c. Allat. de Psell. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 116. 130—152. v. ix. p. 365. v. vi. p. 300. 383. 466. 635. v. x. p. 666. Ann. Comnen. Alexiad. p. 453.

|| Alex. l. v.

¶ Zonar. t. iii. p. 127. Hanck. l. c. p. 483.

learning and philosophy into Europe; for, after the Greek empire was destroyed by the Turks, the friends of literature and science, despairing of meeting with protection and encouragement among barbarians, fled into Italy, and there, as we shall afterwards see, purchased an immortal name by the revival of letters.*

CHAPTER II.

OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE WESTERN CHRISTIANS, FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

FROM the Christian philosophers of the East, during the Middle Age, we now pass to those of the West.

Upon a general survey of the facts which have been already collected, and are hereafter to be adduced, with respect to the state of philosophy in this obscure period, there is one circumstance, which will appear too evident to be disputed, and which will deserve particular attention; namely, that both the Scholastic and Mystic theology, which sprung up in this period, owed their rise and increase to the mixture of the dogmas of Pagan philosophy with the doctrines of Christianity. Although these two systems of theology differ in their leading characters; the former attempting to derive the confirmation of Divine truth from philosophy; the latter calling in its aid to support the spirit of fanaticism; the true origin of both will be found to have been, an injudicious application of the Peripatetic and Platonic philosophy to the illustration of theology. The seeds of the Scholastic theology were sown, when the dialectics of Aristotle were first introduced into the controversies of the church; and the Mystical theology took its rise, when the enthusiastic notion of union with God, and other fanatical principles, taught by the Alexandrian philosophers, were embraced among Christians; and was established, when the spurious writings of the pretended Dionysius obtained credit and authority in the Christian world. From the Peripatetic school, Christians learned to perplex the truth by subtle disputations; and from that of the later Platonists, they received a powerful bias towards enthusiasm. Hence, with the professed design of exploring truth, they enveloped it in a cloud of obscure notions and subtle distinctions; and, under the pretence of producing sublime piety, enfeebled and enslaved the human mind by the extravagances of mysticism: in both ways, opposing the true spirit, and obstructing the natural operation of Christianity.

From the time of Boëthius, whose learning gleamed through the darkness which then overspread the western regions, ignorance so generally prevailed, that, at the beginning of the seventh century, a scholar, or philosopher, even of moderate attainments, was, in this part of the world, rarely to be found. This is, doubtless, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the barbarism of the Northern conquerors, and to that depravity of manners, which had long prevailed in the nations whom they conquered. But the evil was greatly increased by the hostility which the Emperor Justinian

* Vidend. Asseman. Bibl. Orient. Vatican. t. i. Hottinger, Bibl. Orient. c. iii. p. 291. et Hist. Eccl. sect. viii. Hanck. de Byzant. Script.

exercised against the whole race of philosophers. His inveterate aversion to those who still continued to profess the Pagan religion, induced him to shut up the schools of philosophy which still remained at Athens, and to deprive the professors of the salaries which former princes had appointed. Whilst some of the chief supplies of learning were thus cut off, the general prevalence of barbarous manners rendered it unsafe to travel in search of knowledge. The intercourse between the Eastern and Western countries becoming on this account less frequent, the Greek language fell into neglect in the West; so that, in a short time, scarcely any one in this part of the world was capable of reading the ancient Greek authors; and those who were desirous of reading the works of Aristotle or Plato, were obliged to content themselves with imperfect Latin translations. The political spirit of the times, too, was exceedingly unfavourable to learning. At a period, when the natural ardour of the human mind is damped by tyranny, it is scarcely possible that it should exert itself with vigour in the pursuits of science. Add to this, that the Barbarian princes, who took more delight in arms than letters, were little inclined to afford encouragement and patronage to philosophers.

These were great evils. But a still more fruitful source of ignorance and barbarism remains to be mentioned, namely, the general prevalence of a superstitious and bigotted contempt of philosophy. The mischief which sprung from this source were so extensive and lasting, that we must give it a distinct consideration, and endeavour to account for its existence.

About the beginning of the second century, astrologers, Chaldeans, and other diviners, disgraced the profession of philosophy by assuming the title of mathematicians. By this name they were commonly known, and this signification of the term was in general use for several centuries. In the Justinian code we find a chapter under this title,* *De Maleficis et Mathematicis*, "On Sorcerers and Mathematicians;" and one book of the *Theodosian Code* prescribes the banishment of mathematicians out of Rome, and all the Roman cities, and the burning of their books. Impostors, who passed under this appellation, rendered themselves exceedingly obnoxious to princes and statesmen by the influence which their arts gave them over the minds of the vulgar; and it was thought necessary, for the safety of the state, to subject them to rigorous penalties.† This aversion to mathematicians, or diviners, passed the more easily from the Pagans to the Christians, as it was a general persuasion among the latter, that a disposition to pry into futurity was culpable, and even impious. Hence, not only were books written against the practice of divination, but bishops from their councils and synods issued statutes and canons against those who followed the arts of divination, or magic; and their popular discourses, dissuaded the people from hearkening to them. The thirty-sixth canon of the council of Laodicea orders them to be banished.‡ Gregory, bishop of Rome, whose negative merit obtained him the surname of Great, adopted this decree.§ And thus far, perhaps, the conduct of the clergy, as guardians of religion, might admit of some apology; but this ignorant bigot proceeded much further. Inflamed with blind zeal against every thing that was Pagan, Gregory gave orders that the library of the Palatine

* L. x. Tit. 18. Conf. Noctes Attic. l. i. c. 9. Sext. Emp. adv. Math. l. iv. sect. ult. l. v. sect. 2. Euseb. Præp. l. vi. c. 1. Suet. Tib. c. 14. 36.

† Fabrottus ad. t. 10. l. 16. Cod. Theod. de Pagan. p. 37. Jul. Firmic. Math. l. i. c. 7.

‡ In Photii Nomocan. Tit. ix. c. 25.

§ Sarisberiens. Policrat. l. i. c. 9.

Apollo, a valuable collection of books formed by the Roman emperors, and kept in the temple of Apollo, adjoining to the palace, should be committed to the flames.* This order, so disgraceful to the episcopal chair, and of such irreparable injury to posterity, was issued under the notion of confining the attention of the clergy to the sacred scriptures. This story, which we relate on respectable authority, is the more credible, as it perfectly agrees with the spirit of this ignorant pontiff, who despised all profane learning as unworthy of a Christian. Of this we have a curious proof in his letter to a teacher of grammar, reproving him for polluting, with hymns to Jupiter, that tongue which ought to be employed in celebrating the praises of Christ, and exhorting him to desist from the vain pursuit of human learning.† It is easy to perceive, that the authority of this renowned prelate, whose singular sanctity procured him a degree of veneration among the vulgar, little short of idolatry, would not fail to create a general prejudice against learning of every kind: and no one, who reflects how easily the ignorant vulgar are led wherever their teachers please, will be surprised, that, from this time, men regarded as PROFANE every study which was not sanctified by the authority of the church; and thought that they made an acceptable offering to the Lord, when they consigned to the flames the valuable remains of Greek and Roman literature.

What reparation did this zealous guardian of the purity of Christian doctrine make, for the depredations which he committed upon ancient learning? Did he provide precepts of wisdom more consonant to sacred truth, or more suitable to Christian piety? This his vanity prompted him to undertake; and this his ignorant and servile followers, for several centuries, imagined that he had accomplished. From a bigotted contempt of heathen morality, he thought it necessary to furnish the church with a pure system of Christian ethics, and drew up his celebrated *Book of MORALS*. And such was the opinion which was entertained of his piety and learning, and such the reverence which was paid to his authority, that the work was received with universal admiration. About forty years after his death, in the pontificate of Theodore, whilst a council was sitting at Toledo, the king of Spain sent a bishop to Rome, to request from the pontiff a copy of Pope Gregory's *Morals*. The pope detained the messenger three days, pretending that the book could not be found; the bishop passed the third night in prayer in the church of Peter and Paul, and in the morning reported, that about the middle of the night, he had had a vision of those heavenly apostles, who informed him of the place in which this sacred book lay concealed. The book was accordingly found, and delivered to him by the hands of the pontiff.‡ This bishop, whose name was Taio, afterwards collected from these writings of Gregory, four books of sentences, which at this day sleep in libraries, without much injury to the learned world: and the same task was repeated by three different ecclesiastics in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. So long did the *Morals* of Gregory retain their credit and authority in the church. Notwithstanding all this, no one who now examines this famous production will hesitate to pronounce the book a confused mass of superstitious trifles, and mystical absurdities; such as might have been expected from a writer, who, in the dedication of his work, expressly disclaims all attention to style, and even to grammar, judging it unworthy of a Christian bishop "to restrict the words of celestial wisdom by the rules of Donatus."

* Sarisberiens. Policrat. l. ii. c. 26. l. viii. c. 19.

† Ib. l. ii. c. 29. l. ix. Ep. 48.

‡ Anon. in app. ad. Conc. Tolet. vii.

In the midst of all the discouragements, which were at this period cast in the way of letters by those from whom it ought to have received support and patronage, there were, however, a few who ventured to converse with authors that treated on subjects of human learning and philosophy. These authors, who were called *Secular Writers*, and may be considered as the classics of the Middle Age, were MARCIANUS CAPELLA, of Madaura in Africa, who, in the fifth century wrote *Novem Librorum Satyra*, a work which, without perspicuity or elegance, treats of grammar, dialectics, geometry, arithmetic, astrology, and music;—BOETHIUS, the author of the book *De Consolatione*, concerning whom it is difficult to say, whether he owed his authority more to his knowledge of the Grecian language, or to the intimate friendship which is said to have subsisted between him and Saint Bernard;—AURELIUS CASSIODORUS, who wrote a treatise on the seven branches of learning, eagerly read by the *learned men* of these times;—MACROBIUS, a writer already noticed, whose erudition and perspicuity made him exceedingly valuable to these schools;—FIRMICUS MATERNUS, whose treatise *De Mathesi*, or *Astrologia Apotelesmatica*, was much valued;—and CHALCIDIUS, whose Commentary upon the *Timæus* of Plato afforded great scope for the profound speculations of the philosophers of the Middle Age.*

With such guides, it was impossible for those who, in this period of blind superstition, dared to turn their eyes towards profane literature and science, to make any considerable proficiency in knowledge. Many of the writers, whom we have mentioned as the classical authors of this age, do not professedly deliver precepts of liberal arts, or elements of philosophical science, but intersperse them with subjects of a different kind; while others are employed in recondite speculations, the result of the most profound study of philosophy. In order to understand, and profit by either of these classes of preceptors, it is evident that the pupil must have acquired a much larger share of preparatory knowledge, than could be commonly attained at a period, when genius was neglected, and the ancients were almost unknown.

Besides the profane or secular writers, above-mentioned, the scholars of this age chose for their oracle and guide the pious and learned Saint Augustine,† who was so great a master of the dialectic art, that in a dispute which he held with Ambrose, he obliged that saint to have recourse to his prayers, that he might not be caught in the web of Augustine's sophistry.‡ A summary of the precepts of logic, and an explanation of the *Categories*, introduced into the schools under the name of Augustine, were esteemed invaluable treasures of philosophical learning, and were used as the chief text books in public lectures;§ till at length the sagacity of the Benedictine monks, who edited the works of Augustine, saw reason to reject them as spurious; because the dialectics which he wrote were, as he himself attests, written upon Pythagoric and Platonic principles; whereas, the pupil's manual taught the dialectics of the Stoics; and because the book of *Categories* asserted the existence of antipodes, which Augustine had denied.|| Yet these spurious books obtained, and for some centuries preserved, the highest credit in the schools.

* Fabr. Bib. Lat. tom. i. p. 638. 644. 651. tom. iii. p. 185. 209. 218. t. iii. p. 97. 145. Sarisb. Policrat. l. ii. c. 19. l. viii. c. 10. Trithem. de S. E. c. 201. Cassiod. Op. Ed. Rothomag. 1676. Metalog. l. iv. c. 9. p. 890.

† Barbeyrac de Phil. Mor. Patr. Præf. p. 39.

‡ Amb. Sermon. 92.

§ Launoïus de Scholis cel. c. 59. art. 1. p. 178. Id. de Fort. Arist. c. 5. p. 197.

|| De Civit. Dei, l. xvi. c. 9.

If the poverty of these sources of instruction be compared with other unfavourable circumstances of the times, it will not be thought surprising, that the seventh century afforded no writers of distinction; though doubtless, there were, even at this period, men, who in less disadvantageous situations, would have risen to eminence in philosophy. This would, probably, have been the case with ISIDORE, archbishop of Seville, who attained that dignity in 595, and died in 636. He appears to have been a man of considerable reading, and his writings are valuable for the numerous extracts they contain from Latin books which are now lost. His principal works are, his *Origines*, "Derivations," which is not merely an etymological work, but treats on many miscellaneous topics in mathematics and physics; and his book "On the Nature of Things," which contains many fragments of Nigidius, Varro, Suetonius, and others. The works of Isidore were of great use in the subsequent ages, in which the ancients were little read.

In the eighth century, learning and philosophy, which had as we have seen nearly expired in the East, were in the West so far from reviving, that they seemed in danger of being entirely lost. Of the state of knowledge at this period some judgment may be formed, from the eighth canon of the council of Toledo, which required that every clergyman should be able to read and chant the psalter, and to perform the ceremony of baptism. The best singer was at this time reckoned the most accomplished priest. In the reign of Charlemagne, a violent dispute arose between the singers at Rome, and those in France, concerning the merit of their respective performances, which was brought before the emperor, and decided in favour of the Romans, who had been instructed by Pope Gregory. The Roman singers valued themselves so highly upon this circumstance, that, in the course of this controversy, they did not scruple to call their Gallic brethren ignorant rustics and brutes.* The attention which was at this time universally paid to music, contributed greatly towards establishing the dominion of barbarism; for whilst the ecclesiastics were chiefly occupied in this pursuit, learning and philosophy, through the whole Western world, were forgotten. Ignorance and indolence, cherished by this passion for music, prevailed to such a degree, that those who were ambitious to obtain some reputation as philosophers, looked no further than that part of philosophy which treats of music, and wasted their time in writing books upon the art of chanting and singing.†

The credit of affording an asylum to philosophy and learning, at a time when they seem to have been banished from courts and cities, is commonly given to monastic institutions. And the monks of St. Benedict, in particular, have obtained much praise as the first patrons of letters. But the world is less indebted to this order than is commonly supposed. Benedict himself was an enemy to learning. Though his education had introduced him to the knowledge of letters, he voluntarily relinquished all profane literature, and desirous to please God alone, devoted himself to a monastic life, *scienter nescius, et sapienter indoctus*, knowingly ignorant, and wisely unlearned.‡ The candidates for admission into this order were indeed required to receive preparatory instructions, and for this purpose schools were erected; but it does not appear that any provision was made in these schools for study of any kind, either secular or sacred; the candidates seem

* Launois de Schol. cel. c. i. p. 3.

† Fabric. Bibliogr. Antiq. c. xi. p. 368. Id. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 644.

‡ Anton. Summa Histor. Tit. xv. c. 13. Conring. Acad. Ant. Diss. iii. Id. Suppl.

to have been wholly employed, either in manual labour, or in such religious exercises as were judged necessary to form them to habits of piety and sanctity. And the case was the same with respect to other celebrated monastic institutions.* The truth, therefore, seems to be, that there was no direct establishment in these societies for the encouragement and propagation of learning; but that a long course of leisure and retirement naturally led the monks to seek relief from the fatigue of absolute inaction in speculation and study; and that in this manner monasteries gradually became seats of learning. This good end was probably promoted by Cassiodorus, who about this time wrote *Institutiones Divinæ et Humanæ*, "Lectures on Subjects of Divine and Human Learning," for the use of his own monks.

At this period, when the Lombards and other barbarians had established the empire of ignorance in Italy, and the Saracens had, by the terror of their arms, dispersed the small remains of learning in Spain and France, philosophy, now so disguised as scarcely to be known, and the Muses, with their lyres now almost unstrung, could find no other secure retreat, than in the islands of Great Britain and Ireland.† Several schools of learning were at this time established in Ireland, to which the English sent their children for education; and from these nurseries many scholars returned to England and obtained great reputation. It is probable, that the British youth were sent to the Irish schools to study philosophy; for Eric says,‡ "What shall I say of Ireland, who, despising the dangers of the sea, is migrating to our coasts with almost her whole train of philosophers?" England seems to have been much indebted to Ireland for the learned men, whose names distinguished this period of her history.

One of the most celebrated scholars of this age was THEODORE CILIX, of Tarsus, a monk, who about the middle of the seventh century was created archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian. He brought into England a large collection of Greek and Latin books, and being himself a tolerable proficient in the metrical art, in astronomy, in ecclesiastical calculations, and in music, he instructed others in these branches of learning. His successors, Bercchtwald, Tobias bishop of Rochester, Aldhelm of Sherborne, and others, made some efforts towards the advancement of knowledge.§ But this feeble light could do little towards the dispersion of the Cimmerian darkness which had overspread the world. Notwithstanding their laudable exertions, Bede, one of the greatest lights of the eighth century, speaks of it as a fact not to be observed without tears, that the church was continually becoming weaker and more corrupt.||

The VENERABLE BEDE¶ was born in 672, or 673, at Jarrow, in Durham; acquired the elements of learning in the monastery of Saint Peter, and was ordained a priest by John of Beverley, bishop of Horgulstad, or Hexham. Though the fame of his learning obtained him an invitation from Pope Sergius, he chose to remain in his monastery, and prosecute his studies. He wrote many books, of which the most valuable is his Ecclesiastical History. Bede had great merit, not only in the diligence with which he studied both sacred and profane literature, in an age so unfavour-

* Baillet. Vit. nov. SS. Basnage, Hist. Eccl. l. xxi. c. 4. t. iv. p. 1621. Holsten. Cod. Regul. Rom. 1661. G. Naud. Conject. Caus. Kempens. p. 155.

† Sulgeri vet. Biog. apud Camden.

‡ In Vit. S. Germani. Conf. Alcuin. in Vit. Willibrord.

§ H. Spelman. ad A. C. 668. t. i. p. 152. Cave, p. 387. Oudin. de Scr. Ec. t. i. p. 1655. Bedæ Hist. Ang. l. iv. c. 1, 2. Conring. l. c. p. 285.

|| Expos. Alleg. in Sam. l. iv. c. 2. Bedæ Hist. Cont. l. i. c. 8.

¶ Bed. Op. t. iii. p. 151.

able to learning, but in the pains which he took to disseminate knowledge. He was conversant with the writings of the ancients, and drew from those pure fountains his knowledge of mathematics, physics, and philosophy. His erudition so far exceeded that of the generality of his contemporaries, that they set no bounds to their admiration. His writings became the chief guide of youth in their academical studies, and furnished popular discourses, which, under the authority of the bishops, were read by the clergy to the people. On these accounts he obtained the appellation of the Venerable Bede.* And it cannot be doubted that his industry was indefatigable, and that, considering the disadvantages under which he laboured, his attainments were great; but, either he wanted that strength of judgment, without which a great philosopher can never be formed, or the errors and prejudices of his age were obstacles in his way, which he had not vigour of mind sufficient to overcome. His philosophical works are, for the most part, compilations from former writers, which contributed little towards the improvement of science, and which, in the present advanced state of knowledge, will scarcely repay the trouble of perusal. Bede died about the year 735.

Another Englishman of great distinction, at this period, was ALCUIN, a pupil of EGBERT, archbishop of York. Under his preceptor, who was an eminent patron of learning, and himself a learned man, he acquired the knowledge not only of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but of mathematical and philosophical science. After the Venerable Bede, he became an eminent teacher both of languages and sciences in the university of Cambridge. Charlemagne, hearing of his fame, invited him, in the year 793, to his court, and admitted him to his confidence. It was, probably, through the advice and direction of this learned man, that Charlemagne founded many schools in France, Germany, and Italy. After acquiring just fame for the services he had rendered to learning, he died, at an advanced age, in the year 804.†

But neither the learning of Alcuin, nor the authority of Bede, nor the power of Charlemagne, could subdue the ferocity and barbarism of the times. Even in the most celebrated schools of this age, the field of instruction was confined and barren. In philosophy, nothing was studied but mathematics and logic; and the latter was taught in a trifling and useless manner, from the book before mentioned, attributed to Augustine. Neither preceptor nor pupil was at this time to be found, who desired, or dared to, attempt, greater things. The circle of instruction, or the Liberal Arts, as the term was then understood, consisted of two branches, the *trivium*, and the *quadrivium*; the *trivium* included grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics; the *quadrivium* comprehended music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. The respective objects of these seven liberal arts are, after the manner of the times, thus quaintly expressed in two memorable verses:

GRAMM. loquitur, DIA. vera docet, RHET. verba colorat;
MUS. canit, AR. numerat, GEO. ponderat, AST. colit astra.

These seven heads were supposed to include universal knowledge. He who was master of these was thought to have no need of a preceptor to explain any books, or to solve any questions which lay within the compass of human reason; the knowledge of the *trivium* having furnished him with

* Oudin. de S. E. t. i. p. 1672. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 496. Bal. Script. Ang. Cent. i. p. 84. Fuller, Præf. ad Res Angl. ap. Blount. Cens. p. 340.

† Pagi ad A. C. 796. n. 22. Maibillon, sec. iv. Bened. p. 1. Laun. l. c. p. 15. 31. Conring. Ant. Ac. Diss. iii. p. 75. Alcuin. Op. Par. 1612. Bal. Cent. i. p. 110. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 134.

the key to all language, and that of the *quadrivium* having opened to him the secret laws of nature.*

At a period, where few were instructed in the *trivium*, and very few studied the *quadrivium*, to be master of both was sufficient to complete the character of a philosopher. When physics were almost entirely neglected; when morals were only taught in wretched compilations, after the model of Pope Gregory's *Moralia*; and when Cassiodorus, Capella, Isidore, and Augustine, supplied the place of the ancients, how wretched must have been the state of knowledge! especially when it is added, that the liberal arts were only taught in monasteries, and scarcely ever studied by any but the clergy, who were thought sufficiently learned, if, besides an acquaintance with church music, they were tolerable masters of the *trivium*. Beyond the precincts of the cloisters and schools, the name of learning was scarcely known. Military exploits were the business, and gross luxury the amusement, of the nobles; the inferior laity were sunk in extreme indolence, and never dreamed of requiring a reason for their religious belief or prejudices; and the clergy and monks had no desire to awaken that spirit of inquiry, which is so hostile to superstition and spiritual tyranny.

Through the ninth century, notwithstanding the efforts which were made for the revival of learning, about its commencement under the auspices of Charlemagne, ignorance and barbarism were still predominant. Nothing contributed more to that general contempt and neglect of learning, which so strongly characterises this period, than the shameful depravity of the clergy, of the enormity of whose vices the synodical statutes and canons, as well as the history of these times, afford abundant proofs. Though many schools were erected, and though some of these produced men whose names deserve a place in the history of literature and philosophy, the united efforts of the few, who at this period wished well to the cause of learning, were unable to counteract the powerful operation of that indolent and licentious spirit which prevailed among the ecclesiastics.

In England indeed, ALFRED,† for his superior wisdom and merit justly styled the Great, did every thing which, at such a period, it was possible for example and authority to effect, towards reviving the love of learning and philosophy. In the midst of all the cares of his busy and troublesome reign, he is said to have devoted eight hours of every day to study and devotion. By this persevering application, he made such proficiency in the knowledge of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, history, mathematics, and poetry, that he had, among his contemporaries, in point of learning, few equals, and no superiors. His writings, among which was a Saxon translation of Boëthius *De Consolatione*, are a sufficient proof of his learning. At the same time that he encouraged letters by his example, he made use of every means in his power to banish barbarism from his kingdom. He invited learned men from all countries to reside in Britain, and made ample provision for their support in the capacity of public professors. He founded the university of Oxford, so celebrated in Academical History from that time to the present day; and instituted Professorships in grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. In the execution of this laudable design, he was much assisted by Neot, a monk. Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, speaking of Alfred, says,‡ “he was so assiduous in sacred reading, that he always carried in his bosom a psalter, or some other edifying book; and he in-

* J. Sarisber. Metalog. l. i. c. 12.

† Leland, c. 115. Life of Alf. Ed. Lond. 1574. Conf. Camden, Cave, Oudin. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 69. Brian Twyn. Apol. Ant. Oxon. T. Cainus Vind. Ant. Ox.

‡ Hist. Croyland. ap. Oudin. l. c. p. 312.

vited learned foreigners to his palace, to assist him in his studies, and afterwards bestowed upon them ecclesiastical honours. Grimbald, who was famous for his knowledge of the scriptures, and his skill in church music, he sent for from France, and appointed him abbot of the new monastery which he had erected at Winchester. Joannes Scotus, an eminent philosopher, he appointed abbot of the monastery of Atheling; and other men of distinguished learning he advanced to the higher stations in the church.* But these meritorious efforts for the restoration of science and learning were soon rendered abortive by the incursions of the Danes, and the subsequent cruelties of Harold, which overwhelmed the whole country, not excepting the schools, in confusion and calamity. From this time, to the Norman conquest in the eleventh century, knowledge in England was at so low an ebb, that, according to William of Malmesbury,† both sacred and profane learning were become obsolete, and the clergy were scarcely able to stammer out the words of the sacrament; and he who understood grammar was admired by the rest as a prodigy of learning.

We must not omit to mention, among the learned men of this century, **RABANUS MAURUS**,‡ pupil of Alcuin, and afterwards a preceptor in the monastery of Fulda, in Hesse. It was his custom, and that of his colleagues, not only to instruct their pupils in theology, but in every kind of literature and science; for “these learned men thought, that no one could understand the scriptures, who was unacquainted with human learning.”§ Rabanus acquired so high a reputation for knowledge and piety through all Germany and France, that many of the nobility entrusted him with the education of their sons. In the year 847 he was advanced to the see of Mentz.||

But the first place among the scholars of this age is certainly due to **JOANNES SCOTUS**, surnamed **ERIGENA**. He is said by some writers to have been a native of the town of Ayr in Scotland, and by others to have been born in Herefordshire. For his profound knowledge of philosophy he obtained among the writers of the Middle Age, the appellation of Scotus the Wise. Having early acquired (by what means is not certainly known) an uncommon stock of erudition, he penetrated further than any of his contemporaries into the mysteries of the Grecian, and especially the Alexandrian, philosophy. The fame of his learning reached Charles the Bald, who invited him into France, admitted him to his intimacy, and gave him the direction of the university of Paris. But a circumstance soon afterwards arose, which brought upon him much obloquy and persecution. The Greek emperor, Michael the Stammerer, had, in the year 824, sent over, as a present of inestimable value to the Western emperor, Lewis the Mild, the treatises of the supposed Dionysius the Areopagite, which had long been held in great veneration among the Greek Christians. This book, Charles the Bald, who could not read Greek, was earnestly desirous of perusing in a Latin translation. This desire was doubtless increased by the opinion which at this time universally prevailed, though without any proof, that Dionysius the Areopagite, or St. Denys, was the first Christian teacher, or apostle, in France. At the request of the emperor, Joannes Scotus undertook the task of translating the books of this Dionysius, “On the Celestial Monarchy;” “On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy;” “On Divine Names;” and “On Mystic Theology.” These books were received with great eagerness by the Western churches. The translation, however,

* Conf. Polydor. Virgil. de Invent. Rer. c. 71.

† L. iii. Conf. Matt. Westmonast. Chron. Ann. 839.

‡ Laun. c. 8. Pagi Crit. Antib. ad. A. 814. n. 28. Maibill. Sec. iv. Ben. p. 1.

§ Trithem. Chron. Hirs. An. 813.

|| Trithem. de S. E. c. 247.

being made without the pope's license, and containing many things contrary to the received faith of the church of Rome, the pope, Nicholas the First, was highly displeased, and wrote a threatening letter to the emperor, requiring that Scotus should be banished from the university of Paris, and sent to Rome. The emperor had too much respect for Scotus to obey the pope's order; but Scotus thought it advisable for his safety to retire from Paris, and after the death of the emperor is said to have returned into England.*

It was the translation of this book which revived the knowledge of Alexandrian Platonism in the West, and laid the foundation of the mystical system of theology which afterwards so generally prevailed. Thus philosophical enthusiasm, born in the East, nourished by Plato, educated in Alexandria, matured in Asia, and adopted into the Greek church, found its way, under the pretext and authority of an apostolic name, into the Western church, and there produced innumerable mischiefs.

Erigena was expert in metaphysical subtleties, and applied them to the elucidation of theological tenets. He wrote a book "On the Nature of Things," which Gale disturbed in its quiet repose, and published under the title of *Joanni Scoti Erigenæ de Divisione Naturæ Libri quinque, diu desiderati*,† "Five books of J. Sc. Erigena, long wished for, on the Division of Nature." At the entrance of the work, he divides nature into that which creates and is not created; that which is created and creates; that which is created and does not create; and that which neither creates nor is created. If the reader wishes for any farther specimen of the singularity of Joannes Scotus, let him attend to the following argument for the eternity of the world.‡ "Nothing can be an accident with respect to God; consequently, it was not an accident with respect to him to frame the world: therefore, God did not exist before he created the world; for if he had, it would have happened to him to create; that is, creation would have been an accident of the Divine nature. God therefore precedes the world, not in the order of time, but of causality. The cause always was, and is, and will be, and therefore the effect always has subsisted, doth subsist, and will subsist; that is, the universe is eternal in its cause." Hence he taught that God is all things, and that all things are God; by which he probably meant the same with the Oriental, Cabbalistic, and Alexandrian philosophers, and, after these, with the followers of Origen, Synesius, and the supposed Dionysius, that all things have eternally proceeded by emanation from God, and will at length return into him as streams to their source. Accordingly, he says, that after the resurrection nature itself will return to God; God will be all in all, and there will remain nothing but God alone.§

These brief specimens are sufficient to show, that the philosophy of Erigena was founded in the enthusiastical notions of universal deification; and consequently, that he is rather to be ranked among the fanatical than among the atheistical philosophers. By introducing into the Western church the books of the supposed Dionysius, he sowed the seeds of that mystical theology, which afterwards spread through the church, and which has not to this day been entirely eradicated. The monastic life, which afforded so much leisure for indulging the flights of imagination, and so many opportunities for an ostentatious display of piety, was peculiarly favourable to the propagation of enthusiasm; and the ignorance of the times made it perfectly

* Fordun. l. iv. c. 19. Chron. Scot. Ed. Galæi. Conrig. Ant. Ac. Supp. 31. G. Malmshur. de Gest. Reg. Ang. l. ii. c. 4. S. Dunelm. Recapit. ad. A. C. 882. Mat. Westm. Flor. Hist. ad A. 883. Roger Hoveden. Ann. ad 883. Maibillon. l. c.

† Oxon. 1681.

‡ Ib. l. iii. p. 185.

§ P. 232.

easy for those, who were inclined to practise upon vulgar credulity, to execute their design. It is no wonder, therefore, that the dreams of mysticism were, under the authority of a supposed apostolical name, extensively propagated. But we shall have occasion to treat of this subject more fully in another place; it may suffice for the present to have shown, by what channel the stream of enthusiasm, which Origen and other fathers brought into the Eastern church, passed over to the West.

Besides the learned men who have already been mentioned, the ninth century produced a few others whose names should not be omitted. EGINHART,* secretary to the Emperor Charlemagne, had philosophy sufficient to be capable of correcting the terrors of Charlemagne, when, upon the appearance of a comet, that emperor inquired of him, what fatal change this phenomenon portended, by quoting the words of the prophet: "Be not thou afraid of the signs of heaven." He wrote the life of Charlemagne in a style superior to the general taste of the age.† HINCMAR, archbishop of Rheims, distinguished himself by the zeal and ingenuity with which he maintained the controversy of the times concerning predestination, and by his attention to moral philosophy. He wrote treatises "On the Character and Office of a King;" "On Virtues and Vices;" and "On the Different Faculties of the Mind;" which were chiefly designed to correct the manners of the age in which he lived.‡ PAUL WINFRID,§ a monk of Cassel, was, for his learning and ability, much esteemed by Charlemagne: he studied not only theology, but history, poetry, and philosophy. AGOBARD,|| bishop of Lyons, in the midst of the general neglect of physical study, wrote a treatise on hail and thunder, in which he endeavoured to correct the absurd suppositions of the vulgar; and another, in which he inquired into the natural causes of an epidemic epilepsy. GRIMBALD, invited from France to England by Alfred, greatly promoted the study of letters in England. ERIC,¶ a monk of Auxerre was preceptor to Lotharius, the son of the emperor Charles the Bald. He appears from his writings to have been better acquainted with the Greek and Latin tongues than most of his contemporaries, and to have been capable of producing, from his own stores, more useful works than his *Collectanea*, which, after the bad taste of the age, is a collection of scraps from Bede, Augustine, Jerom, and others.

The feeble exertions of these and other learned men, in the schools and monasteries which were dispersed through the Western world, were wholly insufficient to destroy the empire of barbarism, at a period when public affairs, and private manners, united to establish it. Whilst civil discord reigned through almost every part of Europe; in the midst of the wars of the Normans in France, the dissension of the brothers Lotharius, Charles, and Louis, and the irruptions of the Huns into Pannonia and Germany, and of the Normans and Danes into England, it was impossible that learning and philosophy should flourish; especially when it must be added, that those who alone might seem likely to promote them, the monks and clergy, were sunk in luxury, idleness, drunkenness, and debauchery. It is not therefore difficult to assign sufficient causes for the ignorance of this period, which prevailed to such a shameful degree, that instructions were given by the pope to the bishops, that they should make inquiries through the parishes of their respective districts, whether the officiating clergy could

* Maibillon. Sec. iv. Baned. p. i.

† Ed. Schmiuk. Traj. ad Rhen. 1711. 4°. Epist. Eginh. Ed. Weinsk. Frank. 1707.

‡ Trithem. c. 264.

§ Pet. Diacon. de Illust. Vir. Casin. c. 8.

|| Cave, Hist. L. p. 438. Dom. de Colon. Hist. Lit. de Lyon. t. ii. p. 93.

¶ Fabr. l. c. t. ii. p. 327. Maibill. Ann. t. i. p. 422.

read the Gospels and Epistles correctly, and give them a literal interpretation. Another part of this inquiry into the learning of the clergy was, whether they could repeat, *memoriter*, the Athanasian creed, and *understand its meaning, and were able to explain it in familiar language*.* Gislemar, an archbishop of Rheims, being called upon before his consecration to read a portion of the Gospels, was found so shamefully ignorant as not to understand the literal meaning of the passage.

The thick darkness, which had now so long overspread the world, was not in the smallest degree dispersed in the Tenth Century. At the beginning of this century, in the synod of Rheims, among other grievous complaints, it was said,† “Whilst even at Rome scarcely any one has as much learning as would be necessary for a porter, with what front shall any one dare to teach what he himself has not learned?” The wretched state of learning and philosophy at this time may be inferred from the narrow limits of that course of instruction, which was supposed to comprehend the whole circle of knowledge. The *trivium* and *quadrivium*, as already explained, in which natural, moral, and metaphysical science was unknown, were now the utmost extent of the learning of the schools; and very few advanced beyond the *trivium*. If dialectics were more studied and practised than in the preceding century, they were applied to no other purpose than to maintain frivolous, but often fierce, contentions on theological dogmas. John of Salisbury complains:‡ “Men at this time waste their whole lives in controversy; even disputing in the public streets. When too old for any other employment, they still retain their fondness for debate; always seeking but never arriving at truth, because they are ignorant of the ancients, or disdain to adopt their opinions, for ever framing new errors of their own, or, through poverty of judgment, retailing the opinions and sayings of others, and compiling an inconsistent mass, out of which each author would find it difficult to recover his own.” These contentions may not improperly be considered as the infancy of the scholastic philosophy; they did not, however, hinder the general prevalence of a most astonishing degree of ignorance. The records of these times mention§ a bishop of Paderborne, who had so entirely neglected the study, not only of the *quadrivium*, but the *trivium*, that he was not able to read the psalter without committing the most ludicrous blunders.|| This universal ignorance was accompanied with universal superstition and credulity. It is at present scarcely to be conceived how easily the most extravagant and absurd tales of marvellous events and miracles were believed, and how much influence the clergy, by means of these tales, notwithstanding their heinous immorality, every where obtained. How far corruption of manners now prevailed among them, may be conceived from the advice of Edgar, king of England, to his clergy,¶ in which he upbraids them with luxury, grossness of language, lasciviousness of manners, and neglect of duty. When the clergy, who alone pretended to learning, were thus infamous for their vices, it was impossible that learning itself should not fall into contempt among the laity. Every trace of literature and philosophy must at this period have been lost, had they not met with a few zealous patrons and able supporters.

Among the patrons of literature which this age produced, are the

* Reginon. de Disciplina Eccl. sub. init.

† Baron. ad Ann. 992. n. 25.

‡ Metalog. l. ii. c. 7.

§ Leibnitz, Coll. Scr. Bruns. t. i. p. 555.

|| He read, *Benedic domine regibus et reginis mulis et mulabus tuis, for famulis et famulabus tuis*.

¶ Spelman. Conf. Baron. ad Ann. 925. n. 9, 10.

emperors OTHO the First and Second, who had themselves some learning, and afforded provision and encouragement to learned men;* and ATHELSTAN and EDGAR, kings of England, the former of whom employed certain Jewish converts to translate the Old Testament into English, and himself wrote several books in English and Latin, among which was a treatise on astrology.†

Among the supporters of literature we find, in England, BRIDFERTH,‡ who, besides commenting upon BEDE, wrote a treatise *De Principiis Mathematicis*, “On Mathematical Principles,” and *Computus Latinorum, Græcorum, Hæbræorum, et Anglorum*, “On the Methods of Computing among the Latins, Greeks, Hebrews, and English,” preserved in the Bodleian Library; DUNSTAN, archbishop of Canterbury, who, besides the encouragement which he gave to the study of liberal arts in others, himself wrote several books, among which is a treatise “On Occult Philosophy;” ETHELWOLD and OSWALD, who with Dunstan, were preceptors to Edgar. In France, REMIGIUS, CONSTANTINE, and ABBO, monks who appear to have been, for the period in which they lived, well read in letters and philosophy; and in Germany, NANNO, of Stavern, in West Friesland, who, in the tenth century, wrote a Commentary upon Plato, *De Legibus et de Republica*; and upon Aristotle, *De Cælo et Mundo, et de Ethicis*: BALDRIC, preceptor to Bruno, the brother of Otho the Great; and others.§

One of the most celebrated among the learned of this century was GERBERT, a native of Orleans, archbishop of Rheims, and afterwards Pope Sylvester II. He merits a distinguished place in the list of natural philosophers, on account of the skill which he at this period acquired in mathematics, mechanics, hydraulics, and astronomy. Dithmar, writing concerning Gerbert, says: || “He was well skilled in astronomical observations, and far excelled his contemporaries in various kinds of knowledge. After his banishment from France, he fled to the emperor Otho, and during his stay with him at Magdeburg, he made a clock, which he corrected by observing through a tube¶ a certain star by which sailors are guided in navigation.” The knowledge of nature which Gerbert possessed, so far surpassed that of his contemporaries, that they thought him possessed of magical power; and Benno, a cardinal who owed him a grudge for his opposition to the see of Rome, invented and circulated a tale of his holding converse with the devil.** His Epistles, of which one hundred and sixty-one are still extant, contain many curious particulars respecting natural philosophy.†† Sylvester II. died in the year 1003.

Numerous causes concurred, in the ELEVENTH CENTURY, to rivet the chains of ignorance. The eruptions of barbarous nations spread terror and desolation through many of the more civilized parts of Europe. The Christian world, prompted by superstition, undertook the romantic design of expelling the Turks from Palestine. Besides this, literature and philosophy met with new interruptions and discouragements. The small portion of learning which remained was studiously confined within the walls of monasteries by ecclesiastics, who found that the best way to

* Maibill. Præf. in Sec. v. Bened. Laun. c. 21. Conring. Ant. Acad. Sup. 42.

† Pits. p. 173.

‡ Leland. c. 136.

§ Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. t. v. Conring. Ant. Supp. 43.

|| Chron. l. vi. p. 309. Conf. Trithem. c. 304. Laun. p. 79.

¶ Telescopes not being yet in use, this was probably nothing more than an open tube, intended to keep off the surrounding rays of light.

** Leo Urbevit. in Deliciis Erudit. Lamii, t. ii. p. 163. Baron. Ann. 1003.

†† Ed Masson. Par. 1611. 4to. Fabr. Bib. L. Med. t. iii. p. 827.

preserve the undisturbed possession of their wealth and power, was to keep the laity still more ignorant than themselves. At the same time, the laity were, through superstitious credulity, not disinclined, for the safety of their souls, to submit their understandings to the direction of the priests; and were easily persuaded, that learning and philosophy were nothing more than handmaids to theology, and therefore could be of no use but to the clergy. And, indeed, how could the unlearned think otherwise, when they saw, that the learned themselves made no other use of philosophy than to furnish them with weapons, with which they fought against each other with as much violence, as the Christians against the Saracens? Men employed in civil or military life would take little interest in these controversies; they would freely leave the clergy in possession of their philosophy, whatever it might be, and be content to admire, without imitating, a kind of excellence which they did not fully comprehend, and which they saw productive of no good effects. Even among the clergy, most of those who aspired after some distinction were contented with making themselves masters of the principles and practice of music; an art which was at this time in such high repute, that no one who was ignorant of it was judged qualified for any scholastic or theological office; and they who excelled in it were ranked among philosophers of consummate erudition. So violent was the passion for music, that even princes were ambitious of excelling in it. Robert, a king of France, was eminently skilled in this art, and acquired great credit by singing with his clergy.* Notwithstanding all this, it does not appear that music was commonly studied or taught upon mathematical principles. Some improvement, however, the art received from the monks of this period. Guido Aretine, a Benedictine, acquired great fame, by expressing the musical notes in a new scale, *ut, re, mi, fa, so, la*, in order to facilitate the learning of this art.† He is said to have taken the words from a hymn of Paulus Diaconus on John Baptist:‡

UT <i>queant laxis</i>	RE <i>sonare fibris</i>
MI <i>ra gestorum</i>	FA <i>mul tuorum</i>
So <i>lve pollutis</i>	LA <i>biis reatum,</i>
	<i>Sancte Joannes.</i>

He made this invention public in his *Micrologos*, or two books *De Musica*. After all, this invention was no very material improvement upon the ancients; for before Guido, the musical scale had twenty notes; and the octaves were as well distinguished among the Egyptians by seven vowels, or, by the method which Pope Gregory introduced, the use of the first seven letters of the alphabet.§

Nevertheless, the eleventh century was not without its learned men. Though science and the arts met with little encouragement from the princes of this period, there were not wanting scholars, whose genius and industry enabled them in some measure to rise above the difficulties of their situations, and whose literary and philosophical labours cast some rays of light upon this gloomy period. OLIVER of MALMSBURY excelled his contemporaries in the knowledge of mathematical and natural philosophy. INGULPHUS, secretary to William the Conqueror, devoted himself to study, in the university of Oxford, and made Aristotle his guide in philosophy, and Cicero in rhetoric. || FULBERT, a pupil of Gerbert, who

* Trithem. c. 304.

† Sigebert, c. 144. et in Chron. ad Ann. 1028.

‡ Weizius in Heortologio, p. 263.

§ Voss. de Scient. Math. c. 22. sect. 7. Et de Viribus Rythmi, p. 91.

|| Fabr. t. iii. p. 89.

enjoyed the patronage of Robert king of France, and of Canute king of England, was esteemed one of the most learned men of the age.* BERENGER, of Cologne,† was a great master of the dialectic art, and displayed much courage as well as good sense by the opposition which he made against the doctrine of transubstantiation; an absurd dogma, which nothing but such a total neglect of philosophy as disgraced the Middle Age could have produced. BRUNO,‡ of Cologne, a pupil of Berenger, and preceptor and counsellor to Pope Urban the Second, retired into monastic life, and founded the order of Carthusians. LANFRANC, archbishop of Canterbury, opposed the heresy of Berenger, and employed the weapons of dialectics with great ingenuity and address in defence of transubstantiation. His writings§ are celebrated for the purity of their Latinity. ANSELM,|| who was also preferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury, applied the subtlety of logic to theology. As an example of his refinement may be mentioned his arguments for the being of God, derived from the abstract idea of Deity, afterwards resumed by Des Cartes. His writings,¶ On the Will of God; Free Will; Truth; The Consistency of the Doctrine of Divine Prescience, with that of predestination, and other points, which abound in logical and metaphysical abstractions, entitle him to the honour of having largely contributed towards preparing the way for the Scholastic system, which soon afterwards universally prevailed. To this list must be added HERMANNUS,** a self-taught German, who wrote Latin corrections of some part of Aristotle's works, and who seems to have been the first writer in the West who translated Arabic books into Latin.

On the whole, though Gerbert, Anselm, and some others, were versed in the subtleties of logic and metaphysics, they were so far from restoring true science, that they involved the study of philosophy in new embarrassments. The few who, by the help of superior genius and industry, raised themselves above the ordinary level of the times, lost themselves in the clouds of metaphysics. They were wholly employed in attempting to explain abstract notions of theology, by terms almost without meaning; hereby accumulating frivolous controversies, and obtruding upon the church new refinements in theological speculations, which soon grew up into that monstrous form, to be described in the next book, the Scholastic philosophy.

A circumstance which greatly increased the confusion and obscurity which prevailed in the schools at this period was, that for want of an accurate knowledge of the Greek tongue, dialectics were not studied in the original writings of Aristotle, but in the wretched Manual of Augustine, which was generally used in the public schools. The original works of Aristotle, notwithstanding the pains which Nannus, Hermannus, and others, had taken to translate select parts, lay neglected till the beginning of the twelfth century, when his logical and metaphysical writings, lately brought from Constantinople, were rendered into Latin, and read in the university of Paris. From this and other causes, the study of dialectics produced nothing but frivolous disputes and fruitless logomachies; of which this century affords a memorable example in the controversy which was raised by Rosceline,†† whether the personal distinctions in the Trinity be *real* or

* Trithem. c. 315. Laun. c. 40.

† Laun. c. 5. W. Malmsb. Hist. Angl. l. iii. p. 113. Sigebert, c. 154.

‡ Laun. c. 4. § Ed. Par. 1646. || Trithem. c. 351.

¶ Par. 1675. 1721. ** Trithem. Ann. Hers. t. i. p. 148. Fabr. L. Med. t. iii. p. 705.

†† H. Gandavensis de Sc. Ec. c. 5. p. 118.

nominal; whence afterwards arose the metaphysical sects of the Realists and Nominalists.*

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

SECTION I.

OF THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY TO THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS.

THE dialectic philosophy, loaded with metaphysical subtleties, which had been studied and professed by several of the clergy towards the close of the eleventh century, began, at the opening of the twelfth, to be publicly taught in the schools, and to take the lead of every kind of learning. Abelard, who was a young man at this time, gave this account of the commencement of his studies at Paris:† “Preferring the study of logic to all others, and the disputation of the schools to the trophies of war, I entirely devoted myself to this pursuit, and, like a Peripatetic philosopher, travelled through different countries, exercising myself, wherever an opportunity offered, in these contests. At length I came to Paris, where this kind of learning had for some time been cultivated, and put myself under the tuition of an eminent and able preceptor, William de Champeaux.” He proceeds to relate several particulars concerning the disputes which were carried on in this school upon the subject of universals, which sufficiently prove, that philosophy was wasting its strength upon trifles, and that it was now, perhaps, more than ever, the employment of the philosophical world, to dispute *de lana caprina*.

If it be asked, why dialectic philosophy was at this time in such high esteem, the obvious answer is, that it was supposed to be the key of theology, without which it would be impossible to unlock the mysteries of sacred wisdom. It was on account of this supposed alliance between logic and theology, that the former was made the principal object of study in all the schools, and that those who excelled in the dialectic art were regarded with the highest admiration, and attended by crowds of pupils. Besides this general cause for the universal prevalence of a taste for logical disquisitions, there were other collateral circumstances, which at this period contributed to produce the same effect.

The Aristotelian philosophy had now for several centuries been studied by the Saracens, and was at this time taught in their schools in Spain. These schools were visited by many of the Western Christians, who learned

* Vidend. Fabric. Bibl. Eccl. Hamb. 1718. fol. Trithemius de Script. Eccl. Miræi Auctarium de Script. Eccl. J. Sarisber. Policrat. et Metalog. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1638. Laun. de Scholis celeb. Hamb. 1717. Conrin. Antiq. Acad. Diss. iii. Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Rechenberg. de Orig. Theol. Myst. ap. Exerc. in N. Test.

† Hist. Calam. suar. c. iii.

Arabic, that they might be able to read translations of Aristotle, and other philosophical writers, in that language, and who afterwards translated many Arabic books into the European tongues. The first person who undertook this task, seems to have been CONSTANTINE AFER,* a monk of Cassino. He travelled into the East, and spent thirty years among the Arabians, Persians, Indians, and Egyptians, making himself master of the learning of each nation; after which he returned to the monastery of Cassino, and spent the rest of his days in translating books from various languages. He is said to have been master of Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Indian, Greek, Latin, and Italian. Others were inspired with the same desire of acquiring that learning among the Arabians, which their own country would not afford. DANIEL MORLEY,† of Norfolk, a student in the universities of Oxford and Paris, visited Spain, and learned mathematics in the Arabic tongue at Toledo; and after his return wrote a book, *De inferiori et superiori Parte Mundi*, "On the Lower and Upper Part of the World," which he dedicated to John Bishop of Norwich; and another, *De Principiis Mathematicis*, "On the Principles of Mathematics." ROBERT RETIN,‡ archdeacon of Pampelona, in Spain, after travelling among the Saracens, both in Europe and Arabia, wrote a Latin translation of the Koran. ADELARD,§ an English monk of the Benedictine monastery at Bath, in the reign of Henry the First, went among the Saracens in search of mathematical and physical science, and, having learned Arabic, translated from that language many Greek writings, among which were the Elements of Euclid. Other translators appeared about the same time, by whose industry the logical and metaphysical writings of Aristotle were dispersed through France, Germany, and Italy.||

Another cause which served to establish a general taste for the Peripatetic philosophy, and particularly for the Aristotelian logic, was, that about this period many Greek copies of the writings of Aristotle were brought from Constantinople into the West. Before this time, though they had been read in the original by a few monks more learned than the rest, the greater part had been contented with the translations of Victorinus and Boëthius. But, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the original writings of Aristotle were studied in Paris; whence they were introduced among the Germans, by Otho of Freisingen, in the time of Abelard.¶

The guardians of the church observed with an apprehensive and jealous eye, the inundation of new opinions, which this fondness for logical disputations introduced. ALMARIC, who taught theology at Paris, appeared to the second Parisian council, in the year 1209, to have imbibed many errors from the study of Aristotle, and fell under their ecclesiastical censure. DAVID DE DINANTO, a disciple of Almaric, soon after shared the same fate: and the writings of both, which, after all, contained doctrines rather Platonic than Peripatetic, were sentenced to be publicly burned. This sentence was followed by a general prohibition of the use of the physical and metaphysical writings of Aristotle in the schools, by the Synod of Paris, and afterwards, under Pope Innocent the Third, by the Council of the Lateran.**

These violent measures, however, were so far from exterminating the

* Pet. Diacon. Auct. ad Leonis Chron. Cassin. l. iii. c. 35. Trithem. c. 286.

† Leland, c. 220. Pits. p. 254. ‡ Huet. de clar. Int. p. 230.

§ W. Malmsh. l. ii. c. 10. Leland, c. 171.

|| Trithem. c. 477. Ann. Hirs. t. i. p. 596.

¶ Gassend. Exerc. Parad. adv. Arist. Ex. iii. Laun. de Fort. Arist. c. 1. Helmold. de Slavis, l. ii. c. 9.

** Laun. de Fort. Ar. l. c. Rigord. in Pithoei und. Script. p. 208.

evils against which they were directed, that they in fact increased them; for when those who adopted this new method of philosophising perceived the jealousy and displeasure which it raised among the heads of councils and synods, they became so much the more tenacious of the right which had been invaded, and zealous in support of their innovations. The fondness for the subtleties of Aristotelian logic and metaphysics became so general, that the orthodox clergy complained, that scholars spent their whole time in disputation.* Their complaints and their prohibitions were, however, alike ineffectual; and it was at length found necessary, by degrees, and under certain restrictions, to favour the study of Aristotle. His dialectics, physics, and metaphysics, were by express statute received into the university of Paris; but it was with this limitation,† that no one should be permitted to enter upon the study of them, who had not previously devoted six years to learning; a prudent precaution, by means of which the professors in the ancient schools secured to themselves a succession of scholars. It was further ordered,‡ in the year 1231, by a bull of Pope Gregory the Ninth, that only such books of Aristotle should be used in the schools, as had been examined and purged from errors; and that students in theology should not be ambitious of the reputation of philosophers, but should confine themselves to such subjects of disputation, as might be determined by the theological writings of the fathers.

In several other countries, the Aristotelian philosophy was received with less opposition. In England the writings of the Stagirite were read with great avidity; and in Germany and Italy, the Emperor Frederic the Second, a patron of letters, greatly encouraged the study of Aristotle, and other ancient writers, by employing learned men to translate their works into Latin; but for want of a competent knowledge of the Greek language, or through a scarcity of copies of the Greek text, translations were chiefly made from the Arabic corrections. It was in this imperfect representation of the original that Aristotle was commonly read, till the time of the taking of Constantinople, when many copies of his works were brought into the West. Whence it is easy to perceive, that the philosophers of this period must have had no very perfect knowledge of the doctrines of this obscure and subtle writer, which, nevertheless, they acknowledged as of oracular authority. The truth is, that they received the Peripatetic philosophy through the medium of the Saracenic, and were in reality as much indebted to Averroës as to Aristotle. The name of Aristotle, however, from the end of the twelfth century, obtained universal dominion; and so far were his writings, after this time, from falling under the censure of councils and popes, that the Aristotelian and Saracenic philosophy became the main pillars of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the year 1366,§ cardinals were appointed by Pope Urban the Fifth to settle the manner in which the writings of Aristotle should be studied in the university of Paris; and in the year 1452, Charles the Seventh ordered the works of Aristotle to be read and publicly explained in that university. Thus the union between the Peripatetic philosophy and the Christian religion was confirmed, and Aristotle became not only the interpreter, but even the judge, of St. Paul.||

During the period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, though multitudes professed to philosophise, true philosophy and learning made little progress. Instead of uniting their endeavours to enlighten mankind the Scholastics lost themselves in metaphysical darkness. They carried

* Gualter contr. Hæres. apud Laun. p. 187.

† Laun. de Fort. Arist. c. iv.

‡ L. c. c. vi.

§ Laun. l. c. p. 202.

|| Laun. c. ix. p. 210. Patric. Discuss. Perip. t. i. l. xii. p. 162. l. xiii. p. 613.

on their disputes with such vehemence and acrimony, that many ludicrous, and many bloody, frays happened among them. Nominalists, Realists, Verbalists, Formalists, Thomists, Scotists and Occamists, were at open war among each other. The whole world was disturbed with the idle contests of the Scholastic philosophy from the twelfth century to the Reformation; and so deeply did this philosophy take root, that even to this day it has not been entirely extirpated.

The compilation of the canon law, in the twelfth century, by Gratian, in his *Discordantium Canonum Concordia*, "Harmony of Discordant Canons," and the subsequent union of the canon law with that of theology and philosophy, must also be mentioned among the causes which prevented the revival of knowledge.* This compilation, made without judgment, under the authority of the Emperor Frederic the First, became a body of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, which the clergy were required to study and observe. This code was even made an authoritative guide in moral doctrine and discipline, and prevented the study of ethics till the middle of the fifteenth century, when the morals of Aristotle were again permitted to be read. But the worst evil was, that they who had framed this unnatural union of canon law, scholastic philosophy and theology, finding it exceedingly conducive to their own emolument, resolutely set their faces against all innovations, and proscribed with their whole authority those learned men, who had the boldness to attempt further improvements in philosophy. Of this the history of the persecution of Reuchlin will, in the sequel, afford a memorable example.†

SECTION II.—OF THE SCHOLASTICS.

THE Scholastics, whose history we now proceed to relate in detail, seem to have borrowed their names from those professors, who, in the public schools of cathedrals and monasteries, taught philosophy and the liberal arts. In the colleges of Canons, which, in the times of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, were erected near the episcopal churches or cathedrals, and in the abbacies of monasteries, it was customary to have preceptors, or Scholastic doctors, to whom the charge of the education of youth was committed: and great care was at first taken, by those who founded or supported these schools, that able and learned men should be appointed to perform the offices of instruction.‡ The name, thus introduced, remained, when the care of the schools was no longer in the hands of Scholastic doctors. For when emperors, princes, and bishops, had, from a desire of banishing ignorance and barbarism, enriched this useful office with ample endowments, wealth produced indolence; the labour of teaching was transferred to those who would undertake it for the smallest salary; and the Scholastic doctors themselves (for, that they might enjoy the profits of this establishment, they still retained the name) paid little attention to letters,

* Ziegler. de Orig. et Increm. Jur. Canon.

† Vidend. J. Sarisb. Metalog. l. ii. c. 7. l. iv. c. 24, 25. Friend. Hist. Med. p. iii. p. 2. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 123. Bibl. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 29. t. v. p. 551. Jamesii Eclog. MSS. Ox. et Cantab. Lud. Vives de Caus. Corr. Art. l. v. Campanella de Gentilismo non retinendo, p. 19. Hottinger, Hist. Ecc. Sec. xii. Martene Anecd. t. iv. p. 163. Bulæi Hist. Ac. Par. t. iii. p. 24. N. Alex. Hist. Ec. t. vii. p. 75. Buddeus de Hæres. ex Phil. Arist. Obs. Hal. Lat. t. i. Obs. 15. Thomas, de Exust. Mundi Stoic. Diss. xiv. Petri de Vineis. l. iii. Ep. 69.

‡ Conring. Ant. Ac. Supp. 39. Tribbechov. de Div. Scholast. c. i. p. 32.

and only vied with each other in luxury and debauchery. A lively picture of the infamous lives of these Scholastics is drawn in *Speculum Humanæ Vitæ*, "Mirror of Human Life," written by Roderic bishop of Zamora, in Spain, in which he complains,* "that they were no longer learned themselves, nor able to teach others; that they never visited the schools; that they united, with the most contemptible ignorance, the most shameful depravity of manners; and that, through fear lest their places should be filled up by men more learned than themselves, they gave no encouragement to erudition." In the schools of several monasteries, this noble institution was less abused; and some of the Scholastics were employed in instructing, not only those young men who were devoted to a monastic life, but the sons of noblemen and others of the laity. And this was the chief means of preserving alive the embers of science and learning, in the dark period between the eighth and the twelfth century.

From the schools of monasteries and cathedrals, at length, sprung public schools and academies, in which the liberal arts and sacred learning were taught; and the method of philosophising, which had prevailed in the monasteries, and among the ecclesiastics, was transferred to the professors of philosophy and literature in these public schools. What that method was, sufficiently appears from the particulars which have been already related concerning the philosophy of the Middle Age. An opinion having commonly prevailed, that philosophy was only to be considered as a handmaid to theology, and to be pursued merely to furnish weapons for theological controversy, the dialectical branch of philosophy was chiefly studied, first in the Institutes of Augustine, a book written in the manner of the Stoics, and afterwards in the writings of Aristotle. The professors of philosophy, or the Scholastics, perceiving that eminence in the dialectic art was the sure road to popularity and preferment, devoted their principal attention to this study; and the schools, now confided to men who placed their chief merit in the skill with which they handled the weapons of intellectual warfare, produced nothing but polemics. The spirit of disputation, transferred from the old seminaries of learning to every new establishment, was disseminated through Europe; and education was, every where, nothing else but a course of instruction in dialectics and in metaphysics. The general introduction of the writings of Aristotle into the schools established a taste for this study. The whole body of the clergy employed themselves in solving abstruse and subtle questions, which were always merely speculative, and often merely verbal. In this manner, the Aristotelian dialectics became by degrees intimately connected with theology, and on this account obtained the zealous patronage of those who presided in the church; so that almost the whole Christian church became Scholastics.†

Under all this appearance of philosophising, it must, however, be remarked, that nothing of the true spirit of philosophy was to be found. The art of reasoning was employed, not in the free investigation of truth, but merely in supporting the doctrines of the Romish church, the canons of which denounced a perpetual anathema and excommunication upon all who should attempt to corrupt the faith; and bound the clergy, in the form of a solemn oath to defend the papal see, and the institutions of the holy fathers, against all opposition.‡ Hence philosophy became nothing more than an instrument in the hands of the pontiff, to confirm and extend his spiritual dominion. Some opposition, indeed, the speculative philosophy of

* L. ii. c. 17.

† Tribbechov. de Div. Scholasticis, c. iii. p. 96. Ib. Præf. Humanni, p. 20.

‡ Decret. Dist. 23. Decr. Greg. de Jur. p. 287.

the Scholastics met with, from that mystical system, derived from the enthusiasm of the Alexandrian school, which Joannes Scotus Erigena, from the spurious books of Dionysius, introduced into the Christian church; a system which professed to raise the mind from the barren pursuit of Scholastic controversy, to the pure and sublime contemplation of God and Divine things. But the only consequence of this opposition was, at first, to excite mutual jealousies and animosity between the Mystics and Scholastics, and afterwards to produce a coalition between them highly injurious to the church.

Many disputes have arisen concerning the origin of the Scholastic philosophy, which may easily be settled by a careful comparison of the facts, which have been already related, concerning the state of philosophy in the Middle Age. The case was briefly this:

The high reputation which St. Augustine obtained in the Christian church, gave his treatise on dialectics universal authority, and led those who were inclined to philosophise, implicitly to follow his method of applying the subtleties of Stoic reasoning, and the mysteries of the Platonic doctrine, to the explanation of the sacred doctrines of Revelation. The dialectic art, thus introduced, was further encouraged by Latin versions of some of the writings of Aristotle and of Porphyry's Introduction to the Categories. The study of logical subtleties was pursued under these guides in the schools of the monasteries, particularly in Ireland, whence many scholars from England and Scotland carried this kind of philosophy into their own countries; and from Britain it afterwards passed into France, and other parts of Europe.

From this time, the ecclesiastics, who, during a long period of tumult and barbarism, kept the small remains of learning and philosophy in their own hands, made no other use of them than as pillars to support the hierarchy, or as weapons of defence against its adversaries. The whole history of the church, from the eighth to the eleventh century, proves that Scholastic men, that is, the professors of philosophy and theology in the monastic schools, studied and taught philosophy only for this purpose; and there can be no doubt, that the violent ecclesiastical disputes of these times fostered that disposition towards subtle refinement in speculation, which at length brought the Scholastic philosophy to maturity. Towards the close of the eleventh century, this spirit so generally prevailed, that disputation upon theology and philosophy became the chief occupation and amusement of the learned; and, in process of time, various sects sprung up, in which questions purely logical were confounded with points of theology, and dialectics were applied to the explanation of the scriptures. This kind of philosophy was taught, not only in the monastic schools, but in public academies; and Aristotle, at first imperfectly represented in Arabic and Latin versions, and afterwards brought into full view in his own original writings, obtained sovereign authority in the whole Christian world. Thus the Scholastic philosophy appears not to have been the invention of any one man, but to have risen up by almost imperceptible degrees from the fifth to the twelfth century, when it attained its maturity.*

The Scholastics are commonly divided into three distinct ages; the first, from Lanfranc, or Abelard, and his disciple Peter Lombard, to the middle of the thirteenth century, when Albert flourished; the second, from that

* Budd. Isag. Hist. Theol. l. ii. c. 1. sect. 7. Dupin. Meth. Stud. Theol. c. ii. p. 19. 21. Alsted. Encyclop. t. i. p. 105. Thomas, Orat. xii. p. 266. Heumann. Præf. p. 13. J. Sarisbur. Metalog. l. ii. c. 9. Thom. Hist. Sap. et Stult. p. iii. p. 226. 228. Maibillon. de Stud. Monast. p. ii.

time to the year 1330; and the third, from the last period to the reformation.

After Lanfranc, Anselm, and Rosceline, who have been already mentioned, in the first age of the Scholastics arose WILLIAM DE CHAMPEAUX,* appointed bishop of Catalaun in the year 1113, and afterwards archbishop of Paris. He taught dialectics in the university of Paris with great applause. He maintained the doctrine of the Realists, who held that all individual things partake of the one essence of their species, and are only modified by accident. He had the appellation of the VENERABLE DOCTOR.

From the school of William de Champeaux arose PETER ABELARD, born in Palais, in Bretagne, in the year 1079. He early applied himself, with great success, to the study of metaphysics and logic, under Rosceline, who established the sect of the Nominalists, maintaining, in opposition to the Realists, that universals have no real existence out of the mind, and are to be referred wholly to words or names. From nature and habit Abelard† possessed a wonderful subtlety of thought, a most retentive memory, and uncommon facility and fluency of speech. After travelling through several countries to improve himself in the arts of disputation, he became a student of dialectics under William de Champeaux, in Paris. But he soon ventured to contradict the opinions of his master, and held disputations with him, in which, in the judgment of many of his fellow-students, he was frequently victorious. This circumstance, at length, awakened the jealousy of the preceptor, and inflamed the ambition of the pupil. The consequence was, that Abelard soon left William de Champeaux, and opened a school of his own, at Melun, in the vicinity of Paris, where the splendour of his superior talents in disputation attracted general admiration, and eclipsed the fame of Champeaux.

The violent exertions which were necessary to support his rising reputation, and maintain his ground against his numerous enemies (for Champeaux had many followers) brought Abelard into a state of debility, which rendered it necessary that he should for a while retire from his labours. After an absence of two years, which he passed in his native country, he found, upon his return, that his preceptor had taken the monastic habit among the regular canons, but still continued to teach rhetoric and logic in the schools of the monasteries. In hope of regaining his popularity, Abelard again visited his school, and renewed his controversy with Champeaux on the points then agitated between the Nominalists and Realists; and he argued with such strength and subtlety, that the pupils of Champeaux came over in crowds to Abelard. Even the professor of the former school of Champeaux resigned his chair to the young philosopher. This created a violent opposition on the part of Champeaux, who had interest sufficient to obtain the appointment of a new professor: upon which Abelard retired for a while to Melun; but as soon as he heard that Champeaux had withdrawn into the country, he went to Paris and opened a school upon Mount St. Genevieve, where he easily vanquished his rival, the new professor of the cathedral school, who, through mortification, entered into a monastery. Champeaux now resumed the contest; and it was continued with great violence, till the former was preferred to the see of Chalons, and the latter, probably through an envious desire of attaining equal honours with his antagonist, removed to Laon, to study theology under

* Abelard. Hist. Cal. suar. c. 2. Pagi ad Ann. 1121. Oudin. de Sc. E. t. ii. p. 964. Sammarthan. t. ii. p. 504. Martene Anecd. t. v. p. 877.

† Hist. Calamitatum suarum, Par. 1616. 4to. cum. Annot. Du Chesne. Vit. Pet. Abelard, a Gervasio, Par. 1720. Bayle.

Anselm. But finding his lectures (as he himself says) like trees abounding with leaves but barren of fruit, he soon left him, and began himself to lecture in theology, after the manner of Anselm, by commenting upon some part of the sacred scriptures. To give the hearers of Anselm an unequivocal proof of his extensive learning and ready ability, he undertook to explain, on the shortest notice, any portion of the scriptures, and illustrate it by pertinent quotations from the fathers. The passage given him for this purpose was the beginning of the prophesy of Ezekiel, which he the next day explained, in a theological lecture, with so much success, that all his hearers expressed the highest admiration of his talents. Anselm, through jealousy, pretended that Abelard was too young a man to read theology, and obliged him to desist from his lectures. Abelard upon this, returned to Paris, where his explanations of the scriptures soon raised his reputation to such a height, that he had crowded auditories, and obtained great profit from his lectures.

In these philosophical and sacred labours, Abelard was interrupted by his celebrated amour with Heloise, the beautiful niece of an avaricious canon named Fulbert, who *prudently* employed this young man, upon easy terms, to become her private preceptor. The particulars of the story are well known, and might not perhaps perfectly comport with the gravity of philosophical history. Suffice it to say, that Abelard's fair pupil made a much more rapid progress in the lessons of love, than in those of philosophy; and that when Fulbert discovered that his niece's studies had taken a turn so contrary to his wishes, his indignation fell with such *cruel severity* upon the young preceptor, that in vexation and despair, rather than from devotion, he gave himself up to the monastic life in the abbey of St. Denys. Heloise, who had already retired into the convent of Argenteuil, gave the only proof that now remained of her unalienable attachment to Abelard, by taking the veil.

Abelard, in consequence of the freedom with which he censured the monks of St. Denys, became so obnoxious to them that he was obliged to leave the monastery. He now withdrew to the monastery of Theobard, count of Champagne, where he resumed his public lectures with a degree of popularity which rendered him an object of jealousy to other professors. Alberic and Lotulf, two preceptors in the school at Rheims, apprehensive for the reputation and success of their seminary, became inveterate enemies of Abelard, and took occasion, from a treatise which he wrote upon the Trinity, to charge him with heresy. The archbishop of Rheims listened to this accusation, and summoned a council at Soissons, in the year 1120, which convicted him of heresy,* without knowledge enough of his system to understand wherein the heresy consisted. The persecution was carried on with unrelenting severity; the book was ordered to be burned, and its author, after making his recantation by reciting the Athanasian creed, to retire to the cloister of St. Medard. He was soon, indeed, by the command of the pope's legate, restored to the convent of St. Denys; but he here found himself still surrounded with enemies. Happening in private conversation to maintain that St. Denys, the founder of the monastery, was not Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned in scripture, but a Corinthian bishop, the abbot threatened to complain to the king of the indignity which Abelard had cast upon St. Denys. Abelard perceived the storm which was gathering, and again fled into Champagne, where he was obliged to

* Abelard illustrates the doctrine of the Trinity by comparing it to a syllogistic argument, in which the major, the minor, and the conclusion, though three propositions, make one syllogism.

remain till the death of the abbot, which happened in the year 1122. His successor permitted Abelard to lead a monastic life wherever he pleased, and he retired to a pleasant retreat in the diocese of Troyes, near Nogent, where he built an oratory, which he consecrated to the Paraclete. Here he soon found himself surrounded by pupils, and was again harassed by persecution. Norbart and Bernard, two fanatic teachers, made grievous complaints of the heretical tenets of Abelard, and rendered his situation so uncomfortable and dangerous, that he had almost resolved to fly to some country where Christianity was not professed, when, through the interest of the duke of Bretagne, he was, in the forty-seventh year of his age, elected Superior of the Benedictine Monastery of Saint Gildas, in the diocese of Vannes.

At first, this monastery seemed to promise him a tranquil retreat; but the zeal with which he reprobated the disorders of the monks, raised against him such a violent spirit of opposition, that several attempts were made upon his life.

The nuns of the convent of Argenteuil, over which Heloise presided, being expelled by the abbot of St. Denys, Abelard presented her with his oratory of the Paraclete, and she retired thither with some of the sisterhood. Pope Innocent the Second appointed her abbess of this convent, in the year 1137.

It is probable, that about this time Abelard returned to Paris, and resumed his former situation at Mount St. Genevieve, as preceptor of learning and philosophy; for John of Salisbury says,* that he attended the Palatian Peripatetic, (under which name he frequently speaks of Abelard,) who preached in Mount St. Genevieve, the second year after the death of Henry the Second, that is, in the year 1137. This may account for the renewed persecution which he suffered through the instigation of Bernard, who appeared as his accuser before the archbishop of Sens. In this trial, which happened in 1140, several propositions from the writings of Abelard were adjudged heretical, and he was condemned unheard. The sentence was confirmed by the Pope, who ordered the books to be burned, and pronounced *anathema* upon the writer. Through the solicitation of Peter Maurice, abbot of Clugni, Abelard was, however, absolved from the sentence, and permitted to pass his days in this monastery. Here he enjoyed great tranquillity, and consecrated his time to religion. On account of his infirmities, he was, in his last days, removed to the priory of St. Marcellus, a pleasant and healthful situation on the Saon, near Chalons, where to the last he applied with great assiduity to his studies, and seldom suffered a moment to pass, in which he was not either praying, or reading, or writing, or dictating. Abelard died at the age of sixty-three, in the year 1142.† After his death his body was sent to Heloise, and interred in the convent of the Paraclete. Heloise survived him twenty-two years. Abelard, a man of ready talents, extensive erudition, and elegant taste, who rose superior to the prejudices of his age, affords, in the history of his life, an instructive example of the danger of neglecting the dictates of prudence in the pursuit of distinction, or pleasure. He wrote many philosophical treatises, which have never been edited. His "Christian Theology," Epistles, and several other works, have been published in one volume.‡

* Metalog. l. ii. c. 10.

† Conf. Berengar. Apol. pro Abel. J. Sarisber. Met. l. ii. passim. Pet. Ven. Ep. l. iv. c. 24. Otto Frising. l. i. c. 47. Pet. Cluniac. Ep. l. iv. c. 24. Abel. Op. p. 337. Berrington's Life of Abelard, 1789.

‡ Paris, 1717.

From the school of Abelard, besides many other disciples, of whom he had great numbers, was PETER LOMBARD,* a celebrated theologian, born in Lombardy, and educated at Paris. He was advanced to the episcopal see of Paris, in the year 1159. He wrote a theological system, which he entitled, *Magister Sententiarum*, "The Master of Sentences," in which, after the method of Augustine, he illustrated the doctrines of the church by sentences collected from the fathers, with select questions for disputation; a work which obtained universal authority in the theological schools, and upon which innumerable commentaries were written. He followed the track marked out by his preceptor Abelard. He died in the year 1164.

This age also produced ROBERT PULLEYN,† who, in the time of the civil wars then raging in England, withdrew into France, where he enjoyed the friendship of Bernard. On his return to England, he revived the study of the scriptures, and taught theology for five years in Oxford. His *Sententiarum Libri*,‡ "Books of Sentences," differ in some measure from the general character of the times; preferring the same simple authority of reason and scripture to the testimony of the fathers, or the subtlety of metaphysics. He was admitted into the college of cardinals in the year 1144.

GILBERT PORRETAN,§ bishop of Poitiers, is memorable in the history of the Gallic church, for the introduction of new phrases and subtle distinctions into theology, which brought upon him a suspicion of heresy in the doctrine of the Divine nature. Bernard, the great champion for the orthodox faith, who was better qualified for invective than argument, bitterly complained of Gilbert to the Pope, for asserting, that the Divine essence was not God himself; that the properties of a person are not the person himself; that the Divine nature was not incarnate, and the like: assertions which arose entirely from the subtlety of logical and metaphysical distinctions concerning the meaning of the terms, essence, person, and nature, and which afford a curious example of the cobweb-refinements which metaphysical philosophy at this time introduced into religion. Gilbert consented to acknowledge before the Pope, that in theology there is no distinction between nature and person, and that the Divine essence may not only be said to belong to God, but to be God; and he was confirmed in his ecclesiastical dignities. This happened in the year 1147. This most subtle philosopher died in the year 1154.

In this first age of the Scholastics, another celebrated name is PETER COMESTOR,|| dean of Troyes. He wrote a Breviary of the historical books of the Old and New Testaments, for the use of the schools, under the title of *Historia Scholastica*; a work, in the judgment of Father Simon, of great use in biblical learning.

One of the most learned and valuable men of this age was JOHN OF SALISBURY,¶ surnamed The Little. He visited Paris in the year 1137, and attended upon the lectures of Abelard and other masters, with such industry and success, that he acquired an uncommon share of knowledge both in philosophy and letters. At an early period of life, his poverty

* Hen. Gandav. c. xxxi. App. p. 123. Trithem. de Scrip. Eccl. c. 377. p. 96. Annal. Hirsaug. t. i. p. 435. Vinc. Bellovac. Spec. Hist. l. xxix. c. 1. Laun. de Fort. Arist. p. 182. 192.

† Cave. Hist. Lit. p. 582. J. Sarisb. Met. l. ii. c. 10.

‡ Paris 1651. fol.

§ Hen. Gandav. de S. E. c. 17. App. c. 7. p. 121. Trithem. de S. E. c. 368. p. 94. Otto Frising. de Jestis Frid. l. i. c. 46.

|| Henr. Andegav. c. 31. p. 123. Trithem. de S. E. c. 380. Ann. Hirs. t. i. p. 435.

¶ Bulæi Hist. Ac. Par. t. ii. p. 750. Fabr. Bib. L. M. t. iii. p. 380.

obliged him to undertake the office of preceptor; notwithstanding which, he made such good use of his leisure, that he acquired a competent knowledge of dialectics, physics, and morals, as well as an acquaintance with the Greek, and (what was at that time a rare accomplishment) with the Hebrew languages. He may justly be ranked among the first scholars of his age. After many years had elapsed, he resolved to revisit the companions of his early studies on Mount St. Genevieve, in order to confer with them on the topics on which they had formerly disputed. His account of this visit* affords a striking picture of the philosophical character of this age. "I found them," says he, "the same men, and in the same place; nor had they advanced a single step towards resolving our ancient questions, nor added a single proposition, however small, to their stock of knowledge. Whence I inferred, what indeed it was easy to collect, that dialectic studies, however useful they may be when connected with other branches of learning, are in themselves barren and useless." Speaking in another place of the philosophers of his time, he complains, that they collected auditors solely for the ostentation of science, and designedly rendered their discourses obscure, that they might appear loaded with the mysteries of wisdom; and that though all professed to follow Aristotle, they were so ignorant of his true doctrine, that in attempting to explain his meaning, they often advanced a Platonic notion, or some erroneous tenet equally distant from the true system of Aristotle and of Plato. From these observations, and from many similar passages to be found in his writings, it appears, that John of Salisbury was aware of the trifling character both of the philosophy and the philosophers of his age; owing, probably, to the uncommon share of good sense which he possessed, as well as to the unusual extent and variety of his learning. Throughout his writings there are evident traces of a fruitful genius, of sound understanding, of various erudition, and, with due allowance for the age in which he lived, of correct taste. He was a strenuous advocate for Thomas Becket; and, in the year 1163, became a companion of his exile. He died about the year 1182. His writings leave no room to doubt, that if he had lived in a more fortunate period, he would have shone in the class of learned men. His *Metalogicum*, or apology for grammar, philology, and the Aristotelian logic, his *Policraticum*, and his Letters, are his most valuable works.

Other Scholastics of some repute at this period are the following:† ALEXANDER HALES, of the order of Minors, who belonged to a monastery in the county of Gloucester. He was educated in Paris, and became a famous preceptor in philosophical theology. He wrote a commentary upon the sentences of Peter Lombard, and another upon Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. For his profound knowledge of philosophy and theology, he obtained the title of the IRREFRAGABLE DOCTOR.—STEPHEN LANGTON, who, in 1207, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. He is said to have been inferior to none of his contemporaries in the knowledge of the Aristotelian dialectics, or in the application of them to the doctrines of scripture. The first division of the books of the Old and New Testaments into chapters is ascribed to him.‡ —VINCENT, a monk of Beavais, who, under the patronage of the king of France, about the year 1244, wrote a famous summary of knowledge, or Encyclopedia, under the title of *Speculum doctrinale, historiale, naturale, et morale*, "A doctrinal, historical, natural, and moral Mirror," which is chiefly valuable for quotations from authors

* Metal. l. i. c. 2, 3. l. ii. c. 17. 19.

† Hen. Gandav. c. 46. p. 126. Trithem. de S. E. c. 457, 8. p. 111. Oudin. de S. E. t. iii. p. 451. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 170. Bayle.

‡ Pits. p. 304.

whose writings are now lost.—ALFRED, who translated many of the physical writings of Aristotle.—And ROBERT GREATHEAD,* bishop of Lincoln, whom Roger Bacon, for his learning and wisdom, ranked with Aristotle and Solomon; and whose name deserves particular honour, on account of the freedom with which he censured the avarice and tyranny of the court of Rome, in a letter to Pope Innocent the Fourth. He wrote a commentary upon the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, and many other pieces.

The SECOND AGE of the Scholastic philosophy, in which Aristotelian metaphysics, obscured by passing through the Arabian channel, were applied with wonderful subtlety to the elucidation of Christian doctrine, began with Albert, and ended with Durand.

ALBERT† was born at Lawingen, in Suabia, in the year 1193, and became a Dominican friar in 1221: from this time he was an instructor of youth, first at Cologne, where he acquired great reputation, and afterwards at Paris. In the year 1260, he was appointed bishop of Ratisbon; but, finding the labours of the episcopal office inconsistent with his love of retirement and study, after three years, he resigned this dignity, and returned to a monastic life. He remained in the monastery at Cologne till his death, which happened in the year 1280, at the age of eighty-seven. In the subtleties of the times, and in the ingenious application of these to theology, Albert was excelled by none of his contemporaries; but it is more to his credit to add, that the age produced few men equally skilled in natural history, natural philosophy, and chemistry. He is said to have constructed a machine which sent forth distinct vocal sounds; at which Thomas Aquinas was so much terrified, that he struck it with his stick, and broke it, to the great mortification of Albert, who had been thirty years in bringing this curious machine to perfection. In this age of profound ignorance with respect to the powers of nature and art, it is no wonder that a man who was capable of producing such a machine should commonly pass for a magician.‡ Albert is also said to have suddenly reproduced the flowers of spring in the midst of winter, for the entertainment of the Emperor William, when he visited Cologne. What this ingenious philosopher really did, or how far he was indebted to the arts of deception, in this and other wonderful performances, it is difficult to determine; one thing is very certain, that had he lived in a more enlightened age, he would neither have had the honour, nor the discredit, of being thought to have performed his curious feats by the aid either of God or of evil spirits. Albert wrote many works in logic, ethics, metaphysics, theology, and astronomy: the books ascribed to him were published in twenty-one volumes in folio, at Lyons, in the year 1615. His treatises on speculative science are written in the abstract and subtle manner of the age; those on natural subjects contain some gems, which would perhaps, even in the present age, repay the labour of searching for them. His Commentaries on Aristotle are of little value, on account of his ignorance of the Greek language and the ancient philosophy. His style is gothic and barbarous.

Though ignorance and superstition gave Albert the surname of Great, he was not only rivalled, but far exceeded, in fame by his pupil THOMAS AQUINAS, commonly distinguished by the appellation of the

* Bulaeus, t. iii. p. 260. Godwin de Præsul. Ang. p. 348. Blount. Cens. p. 408.

† Vinc. Justin. in Vit. Alb. Trithem. Ann. Hirs. t. i. p. 592. Chron. Spanheim. Ann. 1254. Lang. Chron. 1258. Bayle.

‡ Naude Apol. Mag. Acc. c. 18. p. 370. Paschius de Inv. c. vii. sect. 43.

ANGELICAL DOCTOR. Thomas Aquinas,* of the illustrious family of Aquino, in the Terra di Lavoro, in Italy, was born in the year 1224. At five years of age he was sent for education to Mount Cassino, whence, after he had acquired the elements of learning, he was removed to the university of Naples. Here his fondness for a retired and studious life induced him to enter himself, without the knowledge of his parents, among the Dominicans, in the order of the Preaching Friars. His mother was much offended at this step, and took great pains to obtain an interview with him, in order, if possible, to disengage him from this society. The monks, who were loth to part with a youth of such distinction and ability, that they might keep him from her sight, removed him from one place to another. But at last, as they were conducting him to Paris, her other sons seized him on his way, and conveyed him to her castle, where he was confined for two years. Still, however, he resisted the importunities and the threats of his mother; and persisting in his purpose of devoting himself to a monastic life, he let himself down from a window, in the night, and by the help of sundry Dominican brethren, who were apprised of his design, he escaped to Naples. After changing his place of residence several times, he became a disciple of Albert, at Cologne. Under this eminent preceptor, though not favoured by nature with ready talents, he was enabled, by patient assiduity, to make great attainments. Among his fellow-students, his silence and apparent dulness procured him the contemptuous appellation of the Dumb Ox. Albert however, who penetrated further into the mind of his pupil, said, "This ox, if he begin to bellow, will fill the whole world with his roaring."† At length, Thomas Aquinas, having made himself master of the dialectics, philosophy, and theology of the age, became an eminent teacher at Paris, where he was created doctor in divinity, in the year 1256. After a few years he returned to Italy, and spent the remainder of his days at Naples, where he continued his lectures in theology. A council being summoned at Lyons, by Gregory X. in the year 1272, for the purpose of uniting the Greek and Latin Church, Thomas Aquinas was sent thither, to present to the fathers in council a book, which he had written by order of Pope Urban IV. to refute the errors of the Greek church. On his way, he was seized with a violent disorder, and died in the monastery of Fossa Nova, in Campania, in the year 1274.

The whole Western world, after his decease, began to load the memory of Thomas Aquinas with honours. The Dominican fraternity removed his body to Thoulouse; Pope John XXII. canonized him; Pius V. gave him the title of the FIFTH DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH; the learned world honoured him with the appellation of THE UNIVERSAL AND THE ANGELIC DOCTOR; and the vulgar believed, that many miracles were wrought at his tomb, and said, that the soul of Augustine had passed into Thomas Aquinas.‡

Notwithstanding all the extravagant praises and honours which have been heaped upon Thomas Aquinas, it is however certain, that his learning was almost wholly confined to Scholastic theology; and that he was so little conversant with elegant and liberal studies, that he was not even able to read the Greek language. For all his knowledge of the Peripatetic phi-

* G. de Thoco Vit. Aquin. in Act. S. T. iii. p. 655. Fabr. t. iii. p. 502. Oudin de S. E. t. iii. p. 259. Laun. de Fort. Ar. c. x. p. 213. Bulæi Hist. Ac. Par. p. 433.

† R. Fulgus apud Horn. Hist. p. l. iv. c. 4.

‡ Ptolomæus Lucensis ap. Ouden. t. iii. p. 259. Sextus Senens. Bibl. S. l. iv.

losophy, which he so liberally mixed with theology, he was indebted to the defective translations of Aristotle which were supplied by the Arabians, till he obtained, from some unknown hand, a more accurate version of his philosophical writings.* Adopting the general ideas of the age, that theology is best defended by the weapons of logic and metaphysics, he mixed the subtleties of Aristotle with the language of scripture and the Christian fathers; and, after the manner of the Arabians, framed abstruse questions, without end, upon various topics of speculative theology. His most celebrated writings are, his *Summa Theologiæ*, "Heads of Theology," of which the second section, which treats of morals, may be read with advantage; his Commentaries upon the Analytics, Metaphysics, and Ethics of Aristotle, and upon his book *De Interpretatione*.

Another Scholastic of great celebrity, in this age, was BONAVENTURE,† of Tuscany, born in the year 1221. Being early devoted by his mother to a religious life, he entered into the Franciscan order, in the year 1243. He studied philosophy and theology at Paris, where he acquired so much distinction in Scholastic learning, that he was appointed to read public lectures, was admitted doctor, and soon after created head of his order. Pope Gregory X. having previously given him a seat among the cardinals, invited him to the general council at Lyons. In this assembly, Bonaventure greatly distinguished himself by his learning and erudition; but during the council he died suddenly, in the year 1274. His funeral was attended by the Pope, the Latin Emperor Baldwin the Second, in person; the Emperor of the Greeks in his representatives, the Greek nobles; James King of Arragon; the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch; five hundred prelates, and many other persons of high rank, both ecclesiastics and laics. After his death, Bonaventure was distinguished by the high appellation of THE SERAPHIC DOCTOR, and he was canonized by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, in 1482.

Though Bonaventure was well acquainted with the Scholastic philosophy, he chiefly addicted himself to mystic theology, and the enthusiastic worship of the Virgin Mary. His writings are almost entirely theological.‡ His treatise, *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, § "On the Application of Learning to Theology," affords a curious specimen of the manner in which the mystical divines transferred the Scholastic philosophy to theology. Human knowledge he divides into three branches, logical, physical, and moral. Each of these he considers as the effect of supernatural illumination, and as communicated to men through the medium of the holy scriptures. The whole doctrine of scripture he reduces to three heads; that which respects the eternal generation and incarnation of Christ, the study of which is the peculiar province of the doctors of the church; that which concerns the conduct of life, which is the subject of preaching; and that which relates to the union of the soul with God, which is peculiar to the monastic and contemplative life. Physical knowledge he applies to the doctrine of scripture emblematically. For example: the production of the idea of any sensible object from its archetype, is a type of the generation of the *Logos*; the right exercise of the senses typifies the virtuous conduct of life; and the pleasure derived from the senses represents the

* Trithem. c. 467. p. 117. Aventin. Ann. l. vi. p. 566. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 172. Op. Edit. Rom. 1570. Venet. 1594. Antwerp, 1612. Paris, 1640. tom. xvii.

† Hen. Gandav. c. 47. p. 126. Trithem. c. 464. p. 112. Ann. Hirs. t. i. p. 615. Acta S. t. iii. p. 811. Anton. Spec. Hist. p. iii. tit. 24. c. 8.

‡ Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. t. iv. p. 121.

§ T. i. Opuscula, Lugd. 1647. fol. t. vi. Op. Ed. Rom.

union of the soul with God. In like manner, logical philosophy furnishes an emblem of the eternal generation and the incarnation of Christ: a word conceived in the mind resembling the eternal generation; its expression in vocal sounds, the incarnation. Thus, the multiform wisdom of God, according to this mystical writer, lies concealed through all nature; and all human knowledge may, by the help of allegory and analogy, be spiritualised and transferred to theology. How wide a door this method of philosophising opens to every kind of absurdity, the reader will easily perceive from this specimen.

Of a very different and much higher character than Bonaventure, or any other mere Scholastic, was that great man, ROGER BACON,* whose deep penetration into the mysteries of nature justly entitled him, in the ignorant age in which he lived, to the appellation of THE WONDERFUL DOCTOR. He was born at Ilchester, in Somersetshire, in the year 1214. At Oxford, he studied grammar, rhetoric, and logic, under Richard Fisacre, and under Edmund Rich, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; after which, according to the custom of the times, he visited Paris, to attend upon the lectures of the celebrated professors of that university. But it may be easily collected from the particulars which are preserved concerning his early studies, that he was more indebted to his own genius than to any academical instruction: for he read history, learned the Oriental and Western languages, and studied jurisprudence and medicine; subjects little attended to at this period. The knowledge which he could not obtain from living preceptors, he dug, with indefatigable industry, out of the mines of Grecian and Arabian learning. After having been admitted to the degree of doctor, Roger Bacon returned to England; and in the year 1240, that he might prosecute his studies without interruption, devoted himself to the monastic life in the order of St. Francis. He employed his time, not in the idle controversies of the age, but in useful researches into the properties of natural bodies. By the help of mathematical learning and experiment, he acquired a degree of knowledge in physics, which astonished his ignorant contemporaries, and brought upon him the charge of practising magical arts. His writings discover an acquaintance with the laws of mechanics, statics, and optics, with the chemical properties of bodies, and other subjects of natural philosophy, which could only have been the result of a judicious and indefatigable exertion of wonderful powers. He was certainly acquainted with the composition of gunpowder long before it is commonly said to have been invented by Barthold Schwartz.† He speaks of a kind of unextinguishable fire prepared by art, which must have been a species of phosphorus. He was master of many other curious processes in chemistry; and would, doubtless, have produced still greater discoveries in this branch of science, had he not been drawn aside from the path of true science by the philosophical *ignis fatuus*, which led the philosophers of this time to attempt the transmutation of inferior metals into gold. He describes concave and convex lenses, and knew how to use the latter for telescopic and microscopic purposes. His mathematical and astronomical knowledge appeared in the discovery, which he made, of the error which occasioned the Gregorian reformation in the calendar, and in his attempt to square the circle. Nor was this great man less distinguished by his knowledge of theology, and his skill in the Hebrew and Greek languages,

* Wood, Ant. Ox. p. 136. Leland, c. 236. Balæi. Hist. Ac. Cent. iv. 55. Bayle Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 648. Oudin. t. iii. p. 190. Borrich. de Orig. Chem. p. 123.

† Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. c. 38. sect. 3.

as appears from his epistle to Clement IV. in praise of the sacred scriptures.*

The astonishing powers and performances of Roger Bacon, at the same time that they excited universal admiration, kindled a spirit of envy and jealousy among the monks of his fraternity, who industriously circulated a report that he held converse with evil spirits. This rumour, at length, reached the ears of the Pope; and he was obliged, in order to exculpate himself from the charge of necromancy, to send, in the year 1266, his philosophical writings and instruments to Rome, that it might appear to his holiness by what means he had been able to accomplish such wonders. The storm which was gathering around him was thus for a while dispersed; but in the year 1278, whilst he was in France, the same charge was renewed by Jerom de Eseul, the head of the order of Minors, who forbade his fraternity to read the works, and obtained from Pope Nicholas IV. an order that the author should be imprisoned. During his confinement, Bacon wrote a treatise "On the Means of avoiding the Infirmities of Old Age," which he addressed to the Pope. Through the intercession of some of his countrymen, he was at length released from his confinement, and permitted to return to England. He passed the last days of his life at Oxford, and died in the year 1294, at the age of seventy-eight, leaving behind him many valuable writings, and an immortal reputation as, beyond all comparison, the greatest man of his time. Several of his pieces were burnt in the Franciscan library, during the tumults at the reformation. Among those which remain, are some which respect metaphysical and moral subjects; particularly the following: "On the Four Universal Causes of all Human Ignorance;" "On Perfect Wisdom;" "Of Moral Philosophy;" "On Divine Wisdom;" "Of Being and Essence;" "Of the true Character, and the Hinderances of Wisdom," &c. whence it appears that Bacon, even upon these subjects, went far beyond his contemporaries in inquiries directed towards the improvement of the mind.

After Friar Bacon, it may seem of little consequence to mention, among the philosophers of this age, ÆGIDIUS DE COLUMNA,† a Roman monk of the Augustine order, who was preceptor to the sons of Philip III. of France, and who taught philosophy and theology in the university of Paris, with so much reputation, that he was honoured with the appellation of THE MOST PROFOUND DOCTOR. After being advanced to the archbishopric of Berri, he died, in the year 1316, leaving behind upon his monument, the character of *lux in lucem reducens dubia*, the luminary that brought dark things to light. Nevertheless, it appears from those more faithful memorials, his writings, that he treated the abstruse questions of the Aristotelian and Scholastic philosophy with such profound obscurity, that it is impossible to read his works without suspecting that he did not himself always understand his own meaning.

In the subtleties of Scholastic philosophy no one acquired a more distinguished name than JOHN DUNS SCOTUS.‡ The place of his birth is uncertain; but it is most probable that he was born at Dunstan, near Alnwick, in Northumberland. He was educated at Merton Hall, in

* Ejus Epist. de Secret. Art. et Nat. Oper. Ed. Par. 1542. Basil. 1593. Hamb. 1618. Hody de Bibl. Text. origin. p. 419.

† Corn. Curtius Elog. Vir. Illust. p. 61. Sammarthan. in Gall. Christ. t. i. p. 179. Bulæi Hist. t. iii. p. 671.

‡ Trithem. l. c. c. 416. p. 136. Leland. c. 315. Bal. Scr. Ang. Cent. iv. c. 82. Pits. p. 390. Mackenzie de Vit. Scot. Scr. t. i. p. 215. Vit. Oper. Proœm. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. iii. p. 509.

Oxford; and was admitted to the highest honours in the university of Paris, in the year 1304. At first, he was a follower of Thomas Aquinas; but differing from his master on the question concerning the efficacy of Divine grace, he formed a distinct sect, and this separation produced the denominations of the Thomists and Scotists, which still subsist in some of the Roman Catholic schools. Some ascribe to him the introduction of the question concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. In the year 1308, Duns Scotus was sent, by the head of the fraternity of Minors, of which he was a member, to teach theology at Cologne; and he was received there with the greatest pomp, and with the highest expectations; but was soon cut off by a sudden death. The exact time of his death, as well as of his birth, is unknown. On account of his acuteness in disputation, he was called THE MOST SUBTLE DOCTOR; but his ingenuity was wholly employed in embarrassing, with new fictions of abstraction, and with other Scholastic chimeras, subjects already sufficiently perplexed. His works are published in twelve volumes.*

To these more celebrated names, belonging to the second period of the Scholastic age, we must add those of SIMON OF TOURNAY,† who excelled in chemistry and natural philosophy, and was accused by the monks of his fraternity of heresy and impiety; PETER D'APONO,‡ who was chiefly famous for his pretended skill in the arts of astrology; ROBERT DE SORBONNE, who about the middle of the thirteenth century founded the theological college of the Sorbonne in Paris; FRANCIS DE MAYRO,§ a French monk; wholly lost in abstractions, who wrote *De Formalitatibus*, “On Formalities;” *De primo Principio*, “On the First Principle;” *De Univocatione entis*, “On Identity;” and a work entitled *Conflatile*, or Various Questions concerning Distinctions, Relations, and Expressions; ARNAUD DE VILLE NEUF,|| who was devoted to the mysteries of astrology, and practised medicine with great reputation, whose books¶ were reprobated by the inquisition; and PETER THE DANE,** celebrated for his skill in astronomical calculations.

In the third age of the Scholastic period, which commences with Durand, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and continues to the end of the fifteenth, the Scholastic philosophy increased in the number of teachers and learners, in the affectation of subtleties, and in the multiplicity of intricate and trifling disputes, but by no means in the celebrity of its professors. Duns Scotus, and other preceptors of the same cast, having filled the schools with vain subtleties, and established a mode of philosophising, in which important truth and good sense were lost in unprofitable disputes concerning entities, hæcceities, formalities, relations, and other abstractions, the edge of genius was gradually blunted, the way to knowledge was choked up by thorns and briars, and the very name of philosophy became to the young student an object of terror. There are not wanting, however, in this period, philosophers of sufficient distinction to merit particular notice.

Of these the first is WILLIAM DURAND,†† of Clermont; a preaching monk, who, for his attainments in philosophical and theological studies,

* Lugdun. 1639. fol.

† Hen. Gandav. de S. E. c. 24.

‡ Trithem. l. c. c. 556. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. v. p. 715. Acta Phil. v. iii. p. 374. Naud. Apol. Mag. c. 14. p. 271.

§ Wharton. App. to Cave, p. 11.

|| Friend. Hist. Med. p. iii. p. 19.

¶ Trithem. c. 523.

** Ed. Lugd. 1520. Borrich. de Orig. Chem. p. 128. Bas. 1585. N. Anton. Bib. Hist. Vet. t. ii. p. 74.

†† Trithem. c. 567. p. 137. Anton. Sum. Hist. tit. 23. c. 11. sect. 2. t. iii. p. 681. Laun. de Caussa Durandi. Par. 1638. 8vo. Fabric. l. c. t. iii. p. 204.

was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in the university of Paris, in the year 1313, and was afterwards made bishop of Meaux, by Pope John XXII. He pursued his way through the thorny paths of Scholastic disputation with such indefatigable perseverance, that he merited the title of the MOST RESOLUTE DOCTOR. He was at first a follower of Thomas Aquinas, but afterwards became a convert to the Scotists, and defended their cause with great acuteness and zeal; which gave so much offence to the Thomists, that one of them, after his death (which happened in the year 1332) honoured him with this epitaph:

Durus Durandus jacet hic sub marmore duro,
An sit salvandus ego nescio, nec quoque curo.

As the author of another Scholastic sect, must be mentioned WILLIAM OCCAM,* an Englishman, born in the county of Surrey. He was a pupil of the most subtle doctor Duns Scotus, and was little inferior to his master in subtlety. The schools of the Scotists had, till this time, followed the popular opinion of the Realists; but Occam, probably from an ambition of becoming the head of a separate body, revived the opinions of the Nominalists, and formed a sect under the name of Occamists, which vehemently opposed the Scotists, upon the abstract questions concerning universals, which had been formerly introduced by Rosceline. Whatever be thought of the ingenuity, or of the success, of Occam in this dispute, he deserves praise for the courage with which he opposed the tyranny of the papal over the civil power, in a book which he wrote *De Potestate Ecclesiastica et Seculare*,† “On the Ecclesiastic and Secular Power.” The boldness with which he withstood the encroachments of the Roman see, and censured the corruption of the monks, brought upon him the censure of the pontiff, and obliged him to retire into France till the year 1328; when, under the protection of the emperor, he again maintained the independency of the civil with respect to the ecclesiastical power. And though his opposition to the see of Rome brought upon him a sentence of excommunication, he continued to live in security in the emperor’s court, where he died, in the year 1347. He wrote a Commentary upon the Predicables of Porphyry, and the Categories of Aristotle, and many treatises‡ in Scholastic theology and ecclesiastical law; which, if they be admired for their ingenuity, must at the same time be censured for their extreme subtlety and obscurity. He obtained the appellation of THE INVINCIBLE DOCTOR.

One of the most singular geniuses of the fourteenth century was RICHARD OF SWINSHEAD, an Englishman, of the monastery of Swinshead, in Lincolnshire; who devoted himself chiefly to mathematical studies, in which he acquired great renown at the university of Oxford. Little is recorded of this mathematician; probably because few have read his works, which chiefly consist of profound and subtle applications of algebraic calculations to physics and metaphysics. He wrote a treatise “Of Astronomical Calculations;” and another entitled “The Calculator,”§ which is so exceedingly scarce, that it is neither mentioned by any of the writers of the literary history of this period, nor even by that eminent mathematician, Wallis, in his History of Algebra. He was certainly a great master of algebraic operations; but injudiciously applied them to subjects which do not admit of this method of investigation, particularly to questions in Scho-

* Leland. c. 326. Bal. Cent. v. c. 18. Pits. p. 457.

† Apud Goldasti Monarchia, t. i. p. 13.

‡ Fabric. l. c. t. iii. p. 466.

§ Ed. Venet. 1520. Leibn. Ep. ad. Wallis in Op. t. iii. p. 678. Scaliger, Exercit. 340. p. 1068.

lastic philosophy. Probably, some valuable mathematical knowledge might be gathered up from his Calculator, by a reader who should be capable of extracting the pure gold from the heterogeneous mass in which it lies concealed.

Among other disciples of Scotus was WALTER BURLEY,* preceptor to Edward the Third. He wrote many treatises in logic, metaphysics, physics, morals, and policy, with such clearness, that he justly obtained the appellation of the PERSPICUOUS DOCTOR. In a treatise *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*,† “On the Life and Manners of Philosophers,” he runs over the history of philosophy, in three hundred and thirty-one chapters, from Thales to Seneca; but for want of a more perfect acquaintance with the Greek language, and with ancient philosophy, the work is of little value.

The fifteenth century produced, among other Scholastics, JOHN HERMAN WESSEL,‡ born at Groningen, in 1409, and educated in the monastery at Zevole. He not only studied the Greek language, by the help of the Dominican friars, who about this time passed over to the West from Constantinople, but obtained, from certain learned Jews, a knowledge of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues. Having been early instructed in the Scholastic disputes, and having acquired by his industry an uncommon share of biblical learning, he taught philosophy and philology with great applause at Groningen. But his chief claim to distinction in the history of philosophy arises from the penetration which, in the midst of the Scholastic frenzy of his age, enabled him to discover the futility of the controversies which agitated the schools of the Thomists, Scotists, and Occamists. To a young man who consulted him concerning the best method of prosecuting his studies, he said, “You, young man, will live to see the day, when the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and other modern disputants of the same stamp will be exploded by all true Christian divines, and when the Irrefragable Doctors themselves will be little regarded:” a prediction which discovers so much good sense and liberality, that Wessel ought to be immortalized under the appellation of the WISE DOCTOR. He died at Groningen in 1489, about the era of the Revival of Letters.§

* Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. ii. p. 515. Leland. c. 378. Pits. p. 435. Fabr. l. c. t. i. p. 839.

† Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 283.

‡ Suffr. Petri de Scr. Fris. dec. viii. p. 46. Adami Vit. Phil. p. 21. Goetz. Diss. Lub. 1719.

§ Vidend. Lambert. Danæus Proleg. Sentent. Genev. 1580. Binder. de Theol. Schol. Tub. 1624. Himmeliuſ de Theol. Schol. Thomas, Hist. Sap. et Stult. t. iii. p. 225. Barthold. Niemeir. Orat. de Scholast. Helmst. 1675. Tribbechovius de D. Scholast. Jen. 1719. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 13. Roderici Specul. Hum. Vitæ. Rapin, Reflexions sur la Philosophie, Op. t. ii. p. 340. Oudin. de S. E. t. ii. p. 936. Launois de Schol. cel. c. 45. Gandavenses, c. 30. Bulæi, Hist. Univ. Par. Ann. 1101. 1111. 1116. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. t. i. p. 737. t. v. p. 689. 753. 801. t. iii. p. 345. 499. 540. Pezii Anecd. t. iii. p. ii. p. 627. Martene Anecd. t. v. p. 1156. Par. 1717. Labbei, Cavei, Pagi Annal. De Visch. Bibl. Script. Ord. Cisterc. Leyser Hist. Poet. Med. Ævi, p. 765. Elswich. de Fatis Arist. in Schol. Prot. Bayle. Wadding. Bibl. Ord. Men. Waræus de Script. Hiberniæ.

SECTION III.—OF THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING related the history of the Scholastics, who flourished from the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century, it remains that we delineate the features of the Scholastic philosophy, that the reader may be enabled to form an accurate idea of its nature and constitution. This inquiry is the more necessary, as the history of religion is so intimately interwoven with that of philosophy, during this period, that the former cannot be understood without a knowledge of the latter.

We have already seen, in general, whence this philosophy sprung, and what causes concurred to promote its establishment and extension. It has been shown, that from the study of the Stoic and Peripatetic philosophy, blended with theological speculations, arose a vast and confused mass of opinions and questions, which were for ages canvassed in subtle, but vain and fruitless disputations; and that this polemic spirit was greatly encouraged by the example of the Arabians, and by the high repute and general circulation of their writings, particularly those of Averroës; till, in process of time, the evil rose to so great a height, that sober reason was lost in subtlety, and the simple doctrine of religion buried in the refinement of false philosophy.*

To follow the Scholastics in detail, through the mazes of their subtle speculations, would be to lose the reader in a labyrinth of words. We must refer those who wish for this kind of entertainment to the writings of Albert, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and Occam; where they will soon discover, that these wonderful doctors amused themselves and their followers by raising up phantoms of abstraction in the field of truth, the pursuit of which would be as fruitless a labour, as that of tracing elves and fairies in their midnight gambols. A brief review of their method of philosophising is all that is practicable, and all that the intelligent reader will desire, in this part of our work.

The leading character of the Scholastic philosophy was, that it employed itself in an ostentatious display of ingenuity, in which axioms assumed without examination, distinctions without any real difference, and terms without any precise meaning, were made use of as weapons of assault and defence, in controversies upon abstruse questions, which, after endless skirmishes, it was impossible to bring to any issue, and which, notwithstanding all the violence of the contest it was of no importance to determine. The Scholastic logic is not to be confounded with the genuine art of reasoning, from which it differs, as much as dross from pure gold. These disputants made use of dialectics, not to assist the human understanding in discovering truth conducive to the happiness of man, but to secure to themselves the honours of conquest in the field of controversy. John of Salisbury complains,† that the scholars of his time consumed, not ten or twenty years, but their whole lives, in these disputes; and that when, through old age, they became incapable of any other amusement or pleasure, these dialectic questions still dwelt upon their tongues, and dialectic books still remained in their hands.

It is scarcely to be conceived with what ardour, approaching even to

* Conf. Thomas de Caus. Inept. Schol. Præfat. 82. p. 544. Hist. Sap. p. iii. p. 226. Tribbechov. de D. Scholast. cum Præf. Hermanni.

† Metalog. l. ii. c. 10. p. 805. Conf. Lud. Vives de Corrupt. Art. l. iii. p. 112.

madness, the first geniuses of the age applied to this kind of study. Losing themselves in a wood of abstract conceptions and subtle distinctions, the further they proceeded the greater was the darkness and confusion, till at length, what was commonly called philosophy no longer deserved the name. Ludovicus Vives, one of the most intelligent writers of the sixteenth century, speaking of the Scholastic philosophy, says,* “From the writings of Aristotle they have selected, not the most useful, but the most intricate and unprofitable parts; not his Books of Natural History, or his Problems, but his Physics, and those treatises which most resemble theirs in subtlety and obscurity; for example, his Books upon the First Philosophy, upon Heaven, and upon Generation. For as to the treatise on Meteors, they are so entirely unacquainted with the subject, that it seems to have been admitted among the Scholastic books rather by accident than design. The truth is, that these philosophers are less acquainted with nature than husbandmen or mechanics; and so much offended are they with that Nature which they do not understand, that they have framed for themselves another nature, which God never framed, consisting of formalities, hæcceities, realities, relations, Platonic ideas, and other subtleties, which they honour with the name of the *metaphysical world*; and if any man has a turn of mind averse to the study of real nature, but adapted to the pursuit of these visionary fictions, they say, he is possessed of a sublime genius.”

The topics, upon which these philosophers spent the whole force of their ingenuity, were of a kind at once the most difficult and abstruse, and the most trifling and useless. Intention and remission, proportion and degree, infinity, formality, quiddity, individuality, and other abstract ideas, furnished innumerable questions to exercise their subtlety. Not contented with considering properties and relations as they subsist, and are perceived, in natural objects, they separated, in their conceptions, the former from the latter, and by this artifice transferred them into universal notions. Then forgetting that these notions are merely the offspring of the reasoning mind, they considered them as real entities, and made use of them as substantial principles in explaining the nature of things. This they did, not only in metaphysics but in physics, in which these imaginary entities confused and obscured all their reasonings. If these creatures of abstraction be brought back to their natural connexion with real objects, and with the terms which express them, it will appear, that they had nothing more than an imaginary existence, and the whole contest concerning them will vanish into a mere war of words. Whence some judgment may be formed concerning the value of this most profound, angelic, and seraphic philosophy.

The opinion of Vives upon this subject merits attention.† “Some maintain, that studies of this kind are useful to prepare the way for other kinds of learning, by sharpening the ingenuity of the student; and that those who understand these subtle questions, will the more easily acquire a knowledge of less difficult subjects: but neither of these assertions is true. One reason why questions of this kind are thought ingenious is, that they are not understood; for it is not uncommon for men to admire what they do not comprehend, and to think that most profound, which they are not able to fathom. In the opinion of many, however, these enigmatical subtleties are only to be ranked among the trifling amusements of children; being, in truth, not the produce of an understanding

* L. c. i. v. p. 166.

† L. c. i. iii. p. 129.

exercised and improved by erudition, but springing up in an unoccupied mind, from an ignorance of better things, like useless weeds in an uncultivated soil." To the same purpose Lord Bacon, with his usual strength of judgment, says;* "As many natural bodies, whilst they are still entire, are corrupted, and putrefy, so the solid knowledge of things often degenerates into subtle, vain, and silly speculations, which, although they may not seem altogether destitute of ingenuity, are insipid and useless. This kind of unsound learning, which preys upon itself, has often appeared, particularly among the Scholastics, who, having much leisure, quick parts, and little reading; being in mind as closely confined to the writings of a few authors, and especially of their dictator Aristotle, as they are in body to the cells of their monasteries; and being, moreover, in a great measure, ignorant of the history both of nature and of the world; out of very flimsy materials, but with the most rapid and violent motion of the shuttle of thought, they have woven those laborious webs which are preserved in their writings. The truth is, that the human mind, when it is employed upon external objects, is directed in its operations by the nature of the materials upon which its faculties are exercised; but if, like the spider, it draws its materials from within itself, it produces cobwebs of learning, wonderful indeed from the fineness of the threads, and the delicacy of the workmanship, but of no real value or use."†

The general prevalence of this taste for subtle speculations, among the Scholastics, is certainly not to be accounted for, chiefly from the want of more important objects to occupy the leisure of monastic life, and to furnish occasions of generous and useful emulation among those who devoted their days to study. But the particular direction which this idle humour took was owing to the universal authority which, after Augustine, Aristotle, in the manner already explained, by degrees acquired in the Christian schools. The reverence, almost religious, which the Scholastics paid to the Stagirite, naturally led them to follow implicitly his method of philosophising, and to embrace his opinions, as far as they were able to discover them. "There are," says Vives,‡ "both philosophers and divines, who not only say that Aristotle reached the utmost boundaries of science, but that his syllogistic method of reasoning is the most direct and certain path to knowledge; a presumption which has led us to receive, upon the authority of Aristotle, many tenets as fully known and established, which are by no means such; for why should we fatigue ourselves with further inquiry, when it is agreed that nothing can be discovered beyond what may be found in his writings. Hence has sprung up in the mind of men an incredible degree of indolence; so that every one thinks it safest and most pleasant to see with another's eyes, and believe with another's faith, and to examine nothing for himself." There cannot be a clearer proof of the extravagant height to which this *Ἀριστοτελομανία*, rage for Aristotle was carried, than the fact complained of by Melancthon,§ that in sacred assemblies the ethics of Aristotle were read to the people instead of the Gospel.

Notwithstanding all the homage which was paid to the name of Aristotle, it is certain that the Scholastics were very imperfectly acquainted with the true sense of his writings: for not to insist at present upon the difficulties which unavoidably attend the study of his works, arising from the abstract nature of the subjects upon which he treats, from the studied ambiguity with which he frequently writes, from the extreme conciseness

* De Aug. Scient. t. i. Op. l. i. c. 9.

† Conf. Lang. Chron. Ciz. t. i. p. 305. Pistor. p. 836. Erasmi Encom. Moriae.

‡ L. c. l. v. p. 161.

§ Apol. A. C. p. 62.

of his style, and from his obscure and defective report of the opinions of preceding philosophers, it must be recollected that these philosophers engaged in the study of Aristotle without a previous acquaintance with history, or with the Greek philosophy, and even without the knowledge of the Greek language, and saw the doctrines of their master through the obscure medium of very imperfect translations. Hence they never understood his whole system in connexion, and often created monstrous forms, at which the Stagirite himself would have been terrified.

The Scholastic philosophy, thus introduced, and supported by the authority of Aristotle, derived its complete establishment from the firm alliance into which it entered with theology, and the honours and emoluments which were, in consequence of this alliance, bestowed upon those who excelled in this kind of learning. Dialectics having been found an useful instrument in establishing the prevailing theological system, eminence in this art became the sure road to ecclesiastical preferment. Almost all the great men, who have been mentioned in the preceding chapter, rose to distinction through their knowledge of subtle questions in metaphysics, and through their adroitness in wielding the weapons of logic. Excellence in the Scholastic art of trifling was not only sufficient to procure the high titles of Most Profound, Subtle, Resolute, Wonderful, Angelic, or Seraphic Doctor; but to create professors, abbots, bishops, cardinals, and even pontiffs. What wonder, that the Scholastic philosophy universally prevailed?

The effects of its prevalence were of the most serious nature. Besides the extravagant waste of time which these disputes occasioned, they introduced an absurd kind of vanity, which persuaded these sublime doctors to believe that they had arrived at the summit of wisdom, both human and divine, and gave occasion to violent contests, which often terminated in something worse than a mere war of words. Theology, already sufficiently clouded and corrupted by the speculations and disputes of former ages, by admitting into its service Scholastic philosophy, involved itself in new obscurity; so that at length, instead of the plain and simple doctrine of religion, little else was to be found in the writings of theologians, but vague notions and verbal distinctions. As an example of the mischief which arose to theology from this alliance, we may mention the doctrine of transubstantiation, which first sprung up at this period, and concerning which the most violent disputes arose between Berengar and his heretical partisans on the one side, and Lanfranc and his orthodox brethren on the other, till at length this absurd dogma passed into an article of faith.

Another evil which arose from the Scholastic philosophy was, that instead of attempting to distinguish the real differences of things, and to deduce clear conclusions from certain principles, in order to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, it employed all the powers of ingenuity, and all the arts of sophistry, to obscure the principles of science, to mix truth with fallacy, and to open the door to universal scepticism. By the help of confused notions, unmeaning distinctions, barbarous terms, and a sophistical method of reasoning, men were prepared to advance and defend the most frivolous and absurd positions; both theological and philosophical disputations degenerated into a mere trial of skill; and the honest inquirer after truth was left without any certain guide. The consequences were, that tenets destructive of all religion were often publicly maintained in the schools; a corrupt system of moral philosophy, which left open many avenues to dishonesty and debauchery, was taught; and great depravity of manners prevailed.

This corruption of opinions and manners was accompanied with barbarism of language. Little attention was now paid to the study of grammar, or rhetoric; a vast mass of terms, wholly unknown in the Augustine age, was introduced into the Latin tongue, to express the abstract notions of dialectics and metaphysics; and a verbose, puerile, and inelegant mode of writing generally prevailed. John of Salisbury, who took much pains to revive an attention to literature, complained,* that, in his time, those who professed to be acquainted with all arts, both liberal and mechanic, and to teach them in a short time, neglected the study of grammar; whence they were ignorant of the first art, without which it is in vain that any one attempt to become master of the rest. Even the best writers of this period were not wholly free from literary barbarism.†

After this general view of the nature, causes, and effects of the Scholastic philosophy,‡ the reader may perceive, that it would be a most irksome and unprofitable labour to attend these subtle doctors through all the winding paths, in which they wandered from the straight road of simple truth and common sense. The immense variety of their questions, the incomprehensible subtlety of their distinctions, and the uncertainty and obscurity of their mode of reasoning, render it an impracticable task to give a clear and connected view of the doctrines of the Scholastic philosophy. Or if it were possible to pour the light of order upon this chaos, the result would be nothing more than the repetition of Aristotle's dialectics and metaphysics, clothed in barbarous terms and phrases, and encumbered with a vast addition of puerile trifles, and visionary fictions, which it would be an unpardonable abuse of the reader's patience to retail. A few words concerning the manner in which the Scholastics taught logic and metaphysics, physics, politics, and morals, and concerning their sects, shall conclude this part of our work.

Although logic and metaphysics were the peculiar province of the Scholastics, their labours in these branches of learning were of little use. Their logic§ was rather the art of sophistry than that of reasoning; for it was applied to subjects which they did not understand, and employed upon principles which are not ascertained. Their whole business being disputation, they sought out for such thorny questions as were likely to afford them sufficient exercise for their ingenuity. Their whole care was to conduct themselves in the contest by the rules of art, and their whole ambition to obtain the victory. For want of clear principles, and accurate definitions, their metaphysical system was a chaos of abstract notions and obscure terms. They professed, indeed, to follow the metaphysics of Aristotle, but for want of understanding the ancient doctrines of physics and mathematics, or even the language of Aristotle, they frequently substitute the fictions of their own imaginations in the room of the Aristotelian principles.

Of this the manner in which they handled the subject of first matter affords a clear example. The Stagirite, in his metaphysics, had called matter, that of which, considered in itself, neither quantity nor quality can be predicated, and in which being terminates. In this definition Aristotle had a reference to the ancient doctrine, that bodies are composed of corpuscles; and, by mental abstraction, separated from these that which is the

* Metal. l. i. c. 24.

† Lud. Viv. l. c. i. ii. p. 78.

‡ Conf. Laun. de Fort. Aris. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 921. Matt. Paris, ad Ann. 1201.

§ Lud. Viv. l. c. i. iii. p. 111. 128. l. v. p. 177.

first formal cause of their existence, and called it first matter. But the Scholastics, being ignorant of the ancient notion of body, and confounding the purely metaphysical conception of matter with an extended subject endued with form and quantity, fell into trifling disputes, and devised innumerable subtleties, by which the original obscurity of the doctrine of Aristotle concerning the first matter was greatly increased. The first matter, according to the followers of Thomas Aquinas, was simple power without actual energy. Others, who perceived that this was a mere phantom of the imagination, defended the real existence of matter, though they confessed themselves ignorant of its nature; whilst others, concluding that the attributes ascribed to matter could belong only to God, contended that God was the first matter. Nor did these subtle reasoners trifle less on the subject of Divine and spiritual natures. Bonaventure, in his *Compendium of Theology*, treats of angels, their substance, orders, offices, language, and the like, as if he himself had been an inhabitant of the angelic world.

In natural philosophy, instead of attending to the real properties of bodies, and investigating the laws of nature by experiment and observation, they reasoned with subtlety upon vague and obscure principles, and always confounded physics with metaphysics. Many reasonings of this kind may be met with in those parts of the writings of Thomas Aquinas, where he treats of the principles of nature, of the nature of matter, of the occult operations of nature, and the like.* Among other profound observations, he derives the occult operations of nature from the forms of things, which exist in their respective bodies, and supposes the formal principles of such bodies to be celestial bodies, which, by their accession or recession, cause the production or corruption of the inferior body. Whence he concludes, that there is in these occult forms a capacity of being restored to higher principles, namely, celestial bodies, or to powers still higher than these; that is, to separate intellectual substances, which in their respective operations leave traces of themselves. If the reader will apply the mysterious operations of these occult forms to the explanation of magnetic attractions, he will soon perceive how much the science of physics is indebted to this angelic doctor. Bonaventure,† and others, laboured in this field with equal success. Roger Bacon, indeed Albert and a few more, in their inquiries into nature, left the clouds of metaphysics, and descended into the humble vale of experience; but the world was unprepared to receive the information they were able to communicate, and imputed their operations to the power of magic. Boniface, the patron of ignorance and barbarism, summoned Polydore Virgil, bishop of Salisbury, to the court of inquisition, for maintaining the existence of antipodes; for this profound theologian wisely concluded, that such a race of men would be a new world for which Christ had not died.‡

Upon the subject of ethics, we find among the Scholastics surprising proofs of ignorance and weakness. Till the twelfth century, the only books of morals which obtained any authority were that wretched compilation, the *Moralia* of Pope Gregory, and some other injudicious collections of sentences from the scriptures and the writings of the fathers. When the *Ethics* of Aristotle were introduced, and moral doctrine began to be considered as a part of philosophy, we indeed find the Scholastics treating concerning virtues and vices, but always in the dialectic method; substi-

* Opusc. p. 213.

† Opusc. t. ii. p. 728. ed. Lugd. Conf. Viv. l. v. p. 176.

‡ Aventin. Ann. l. iiii. Welser. Ann. Boic. l. v. Bayle, Art. Virg.

tuting useless questions concerning cases which are never likely to happen in real life, in the room of practical inquiries:

Quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non.(a)

If they discoursed upon these topics, they either implicitly followed the definition and arrangement of Aristotle, or injudiciously combined with his moral doctrine the precepts of piety and sanctity which the church had prescribed. The correction and improvement of ethics was indeed attempted by John Scotus Erigena, and other followers of the supposed Dionysius; but these enthusiasts having abandoned the humble path of common sense to soar into the regions of mysticism, the remedy proved scarcely less mischievous than the disease to which it was applied; and the simple doctrine of pure morality, taught by Christ and his apostles, which had hitherto been debased by superstition, was now lost in the extravagances of enthusiasm.

The spirit of disputation which so eminently distinguished the Scholastics, gave birth to many sects, which contended against each other with bitter animosity. The disciples of Albert, called Albertists, who mixed the doctrines of religion with the tenets of the Aristotelian philosophy, were vehemently opposed by Peter Lombard and his followers. The dissensions between Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus laid the foundation of the sects of the Thomists and Scotists, who disputed with great warmth on the doctrines of grace and free-will, and other theological topics. From the school of Duns Scotus arose Occam, the inventor of new subtleties, who became the father of the sect of Occamist: but, among all the sects of the Scholastics, the most memorable, on account of the extent, the violence, and the duration of their contests, are those of the Nominalists and Realists.

To understand the ground of the dispute which gave rise to these sects, it will be necessary to recollect the different tenets of the ancient schools of Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno, concerning ideas, or the universal forms of things. Ideas, according to Plato, are not the universal notions or conceptions of the mind, arising from the contemplation of external objects, but intelligible natures, having a certain and stable existence, whose origin and seat is the Divine mind, and which are the immediate objects of contemplation to the human understanding. Universal essences of this kind, external to matter, Aristotle thought to be the mere fictions of the imagination of Plato, or rather of Pythagoras: but, not daring to deny the existence of essential forms, he affirmed that ideas, or forms, were eternally united to matter, and that from this union of matter and form arose existing bodies. Zeno and the Stoic school acknowledged primary principles of material things, but denied their essentiality, and ridiculed those who asserted the substantial existence of ideas or universals, as distinguished from the conceptions of the mind and the words by which they are expressed. This subtle question was pursued by the Eclectic philosophers, who endeavoured to reconcile the Academic, Peripatetic, and Stoic notions concerning it, by supposing, that ideas have a real essentiality, but only in the Divine understanding, where they subsist as models, by means of which, in framing individual bodies, essential characters of things are impressed upon matter, as by one seal similar impressions are made upon innumerable portions of wax; and that these ideas may be contemplated by the human mind, and may be expressed by universal terms. Others left it undetermined whether

(a) What fair or base, what good or ill, to man,
And what his wisest, safest, happiest plan.

the universals thus contemplated have a real physical existence. Porphyry, in his introduction to the Aristotelian logic, says,* “Concerning *genera* and *species*, whether they have a real essence, or are barely conceptions of the mind, and if they subsist whether corporeally or incorporeally, whether spiritually or only in the objects of sense, I give no opinion, because the subject is abstruse, and requires a larger discussion.” This point, which Porphyry left undetermined, was resumed in the schools; and the opinion of Aristotle, that universals subsist not prior to individual bodies, nor after them, but within them, and are the forms eternally united to matter, which make bodies to be such as they are, universally prevailed; till, in the eleventh century, Rosceline, before mentioned, adopted the Stoic opinion, that universals have no real existence either before or in individuals, but are mere names and words by which the kinds of individuals are expressed: a tenet which was afterwards propagated by Abelard, and produced the sect of the Nominalists.†

This new opinion gave great offence to the philosophers and divines of the eleventh century, perhaps, chiefly because Rosceline, by applying it to the doctrine of the trinity, brought upon himself a suspicion of heresy. Many young persons, however, strenuously adhered to the side of the Nominalists; and the sect, through the ingenuity and ability of Abelard and others, obtained many followers.‡ Some of these, to avoid censure, changed their ground so far as to maintain, that universals consist in notions and conceptions of the mind, formed by abstraction, whence they were called Conceptualists. The Realists, too, were of different opinions; some leaning towards the doctrine of Plato, and others towards that of Aristotle.

In the twelfth century, the controversy still continued; but the doctrine of the Realists found such able supporters in Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, that it almost became triumphant. But Occam, in the fourteenth century, revived the dying cause of the Nominalists, and gave it such a degree of credit, that after his time it was zealously maintained by Suisset, Buridan, Marsilius ab Inghen, Wessel, and many others. The sect of the Nominalists, enjoying the countenance and favour of Louis the Eleventh, almost universally flourished in Germany; whilst that of the Realists, being patronized by Pope John XXIII., was prevalent in Italy and other countries; till at length the Pope's faction became predominant, and harassed the Nominalists with severe persecutions. Louis XI. king of France, published an edict which, in the year 1474, silenced and banished the Nominalists; ordered their books to be fastened up in the libraries with iron chains, that they might not be read by students; and required the academic youth to renounce their doctrines. Upon this the leaders of the sect fled into Germany and England, where, at the beginning of the reformation, they met with a strong reinforcement in Luther, Melancthon, and others.§

Nothing could exceed the violence with which these disputes were conducted. Vives, who himself saw these contests, says,|| “that when the

* Sect. 2. p. 2. Ed. Jul. Pacii.

† Otto Frising. de Gest. Frid. I. i. c. 42. J. Sarisb. Met. I. ii. c. 17. p. 814. Aventin. Ann. Bor. I. vi. p. 396.

‡ Du Chesne Scr. Hist. Fr. t. iv. p. 632. Hist. Crit. Phil. t. iii. p. 906. Abelard, Hist. Cal. c. 3.

§ Plessis d'Argen. Collect. t. i. p. 202. 255. 302. Bulæi Hist. Ac. Par. t. v. p. 678. 739. 747. Baluz. Misc. t. iv. p. 531. Naud. Add. Hist. Ludov. xi. p. 203. Launois Hist. Gymn. Navarr. t. iv. p. 201.

|| L. c. I. i. Conf. Erasin. præf. Enchir. Camer. Vit. Melancthon. p. 213. Wood. Ant. Oxon. ad Ann. 1343. Patric. Disc. Perip. t. i. c. 13.

contending parties had exhausted their stock of verbal abuse, they often came to blows; and it was not uncommon, in these quarrels about universals, to see the combatants engaging, not only with their fists, but with clubs and swords, so that many have been wounded, and some killed." Such were the blessed fruits of Scholastic philosophy! We cannot more properly take leave of this period of our history, than in the words of Martial:

Turpe est difficiles habere nugas,
Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.(a) *

BOOK VIII.

OF THE REVIVAL OF PHILOSOPHY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS UPON PHILOSOPHY.

HAVING at length, not without difficulty, cleared our way through the thorns and briars of the Middle Age, we are now arrived at a more open and pleasant country, where we shall see learning and philosophy recovering their ancient honours. This great effect was not produced instantaneously; but, as the twilight precedes the rising sun, so the dawning of literature prepared the way for the revival of science; till, at length, genius was awakened, rational inquiry was resumed, and the night of the Scholastic age was succeeded by a bright day of learning and true philosophy.

In the thirteenth century, a singular but fanciful attempt was made to introduce a new method of philosophising by RAYMOND LULLY,† long famous for an invention which is called his Great Art. Lully was born in the island of Majorca, in the year 1234. After passing his younger days in pleasure, he was on a sudden induced, by a disappointment in love, to give himself up to retirement and devotion. In his retreat he boasted of visions and revelations. Forming a romantic design of converting the Mahometans to the Christian faith, about the year 1287, he visited Pope Honorius the Fourth, and the ecclesiastics in Rome, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to assist him in his enterprise, and for this purpose to institute schools for teaching the Oriental languages. Finding his proposal, however, treated with contempt, he carried it to the courts of Paris, Genoa, and other states; but met with no better success. At last he determined

(a) 'Tis a folly to sweat o'er a difficult trifle,
And for silly devices invention to rifle.

* Vidend. Hottinger, Hist. Ecc. Sec. xiii. Leyser. Hist. Poet. Med. Ævi. Marnix. Apiar. Rom. Ecc. p. i. c. 10 Flacii Carm. de Corrupt. Eccl. Statu. Maibillon de Stud. Monast. p. ii. c. 7. Dupin Meth. Stud. l. iv. Salabert. Phil. Nomin. vind. Par. 1651, 8°. Ars Rationis ad Mentem Nomin. Ox. 1673, 12°. Maibillon Analect. t. iv. p. 369.

† Bovilli Vit. Lullii. Danat. Hist. Balear.

to attempt the execution of his project, with no other resources than those which his own ingenuity and zeal supplied; and undertook a journey into Asia and Africa, where he visited the principal cities, in hope of making converts. After many disappointments and hazards, he returned home; but the ardour of his enthusiasm remained unabated, and he renewed his application to several European princes. Finding no one, however, who was inclined to favour his design, he entered into the fraternity of Franciscan monks; and, inflamed with an invincible thirst after the glory of martyrdom, he went a second time into Africa, whence he had before been permitted to depart only upon condition that he would never return thither. This proved a most unfortunate adventure; for upon his being again found in this country, he was thrown into prison, where he suffered great torture, and whence he barely escaped with life, through the interest of certain Genoese traders, who took him on board their ship to convey him home. On his passage, when he was just within sight of his native country, he died, in the year 1315. He had the appellation of *THE MOST ENLIGHTENED DOCTOR*.

Wonderful things are related of Lully's chemical and medical skill;* but he is chiefly celebrated for an invention, by which he pretended to enable any one mechanically to invent arguments and illustrations upon any subject, and thus to reach the summit of science at a small expense of time and labour. This *GREAT ART* professes to furnish a general instrument for assisting invention in the study of every kind of science. For this purpose certain general terms, which are common to all the sciences, but principally those of logic, metaphysics, ethics, and theology, are collected and arranged; not however according to any natural division, but merely according to the caprice of the inventor. An alphabetical table of such terms was provided; and subjects and predicates taken from these, were respectively inscribed, in angular spaces, upon circular papers. The essences, qualities, affections, and relations of things being thus mechanically brought together, the circular papers of subjects were fixed in a frame, and those of predicates were so placed upon them as to move freely, and in their revolutions to produce various combinations of subjects and predicates; whence would arise definitions, axioms, and propositions, varying infinitely, according to the different application of general terms, to particular subjects. Such is the general idea of Lully's mechanical logic; the particulars of which it would be wholly uninteresting to detail, since it is very evident, that the invention is perfectly futile: supposing that knowledge of the nature of things, which nevertheless it professes to teach; deriving its rules, not from reason, but from the arbitrary play of the imagination; and furnishing certain repositories of universal notions, without providing any criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood, or any method of discovering the real properties of things. The great Lullian art, though spoken of by certain writers of this period in the highest terms of panegyric, may therefore safely be pronounced an unprofitable and ridiculous invention, wholly unworthy of notice, except as a specimen of the artifice with which men, who have more ingenuity than honesty, frequently impose upon vulgar weakness and credulity.†

To the fanciful and enthusiastic Lully the philosophical world has few

* Borrich de Orig. Chem. p. 129. Fabr. Bib. Lat. Med. t. iv. p. 864. N. Anton. Bib. Hisp. Vet. t. ii. p. 84. Blount. Cens. p. 420.

† Morhoff. Polyh. t. i. c. 5. p. 352. Verulam. Aug. Scient. I. vi. c. 2. Alsted. Clavis Artis Lull. Arg. 1608. Ars Magna, Ed. Argent. 1598. 8vo. cum Comment. Agrippæ. Brunon. Lampad. Combin. p. 685. Leibnitz de Arte Combinat. p. 33.

obligations. But other more cultivated and liberal spirits arose about this period, who rendered essential service to mankind, by reviving a taste for learning and science.

In the meritorious design of banishing barbarism, and reviving a taste for polite literature, the Italian poet, DANTE ALLIGHIERI,* appears to have led the way. He was born at Florence, in the year 1265. In his youth he not only applied himself to the study of poetry, and other branches of elegant learning; but, considering the period in which he lived, acquired a correct acquaintance with philosophy. According to his biographers, he was inferior to none of his age as a philosopher and a poet; in genius he was sublime, in language brilliant, and in reasoning accurate and profound. He studied physics and mathematics at Paris, and wrote a philosophical piece, entitled, *Quæstio de Natura duorum Elementorum Aquæ et Terræ*,† “An Inquiry into the Nature of the Two Elements, Water and Earth.” But his chief work is his dramatic satire, “On Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.” On account of the happy influence which his example had upon the taste and studies of the age in which he lived, he may justly be ranked among the first revivers of learning and reformers of philosophy.

From the school of Dante arose FRANCIS PETRARCH,‡ a star of the first magnitude in the Italian hemisphere, who greatly contributed to dissipate the darkness of the fourteenth century. Petrarch was born at Arezzo, in Tuscany, in the year 1304. His father, with many other Italians, who were discontented with their fortune, removed from Florence to the neighbourhood of Avignon, in France, where a Gascon pope had fixed the Roman see. After the example of his master, Petrarch devoted himself chiefly to polite literature. His father in vain endeavoured to draw his attention from these pursuits to the more profitable, but less elegant, study of the law. After various occurrences in life (of which his amour with Laura was an interesting, and his poetical coronation at Rome was a splendid, part) he resided, during the later period of his life, sometimes in the celebrated vale of Vaucluse, near Avignon, and sometimes at Argua, near Padua, where, in the year 1374, he died, universally known, esteemed, and regretted. To Petrarch the Latin tongue is chiefly indebted for the restoration of its purity; Italian poetry for its perfection; and even philosophy for a considerable share of improvement. The science of ethics he studied with attention, and clothed many excellent precepts of morality with all the graces of pure and classical language. His treatises, *De Remediis utriusque Fortunæ*; *de vera Sapientia*; *de Contemptu Mundi*; *de Republica optime administranda*; *de Avaritia*; “On the Remedies of Fortune; True Wisdom; the Contempt of the World; Government; Avarice;” and above all the rest, *De sua ipsius et aliorum Ignorantia*, “On his own Ignorance of himself and others,” are exceedingly valuable. In reading the moral writings of Petrarch, we visit, not a barren desert of dry disputation, but a fruitful garden of elegant observations, full of the choicest flowers of literature.

Several other Italian writers followed the footsteps of Petrarch, and may be deservedly mentioned among the revivers of learning and philosophy; particularly his pupil and friend JOHN BOCCACE,§ born at Certaldi, in

* Hanck. de Rom. Scrip. p. ii. c. 42. p. 194.

† Fabr. Bib. L. Med. t. v. p. 675. Præf. Ed. Volpi, 1720.

‡ Trithem. de S. E. c. 622. Squarzacich Vit. Pet. Op. præm. Ep. Petr.

§ Erythræus Pinacoth. iii. p. 219. Blount. Cen. p. 437. Bayle. Trithem. c. 647. Fabr. Bib. L. Med. t. i. p. 682.

Tuscany, in the year 1313, who besides his celebrated *Decameron*, wrote a book *De Genealogia Deorum*, "On the Genealogy of the Gods," in which he treats of the fabulous philosophy of the Greeks with greater success than was to be expected in the age in which he lived.

About this period an event occurred, which greatly promoted the revival of letters in Italy and other Western parts of Europe. The oppression which all liberal arts and sciences suffered in the East, under the conquest of the Turks, obliged many eminent Greeks to forsake their native country, and take refuge in Italy. EMANUEL CHRYSOLORAS,* a Constantinopolitan of Roman extraction, having been sent, in the year 1387, by John Palæologus, the son of the younger Andronicus, to solicit the support and protection of the Christian princes in Europe against the Turks, visited first Venice, and afterwards Florence, Rome, and other Italian cities. He remained in the West till his death, which happened in 1414. Other Greeks, driven from their native country by the hostilities of the Turks, followed the example of Chrysoloras, and found an hospitable asylum in Italy. These brought with them many Greek books, and some portion of ancient learning. The consequence was, that Grecian literature, which had lain dormant in the West for seven hundred years, was revived, and ancient books, which had been for ages neglected, were brought to light, and with great avidity read and translated. Dante and Petrarch, and other learned men, having introduced a taste for literature, the princes of Italy entered into a laudable competition with each other, in affording countenance and protection to learning. Learned men from every quarter found a welcome reception at Rome, under the patronage of Pope Nicholas V. who was particularly disposed to encourage translations of Aristotle's works. The Medicean family at Florence expended their wealth, with great liberality, in providing a comfortable asylum for the learned refugees of the East. One of this family, Lorenzo di Medici, sent John Lascaris into Greece to purchase at any expense the most valuable Greek manuscripts.† The effect of this judicious exertion of public spirit upon the state of learning was soon experienced: learned men, both Greeks and Italians, industriously devoted themselves to the necessary labour of multiplying copies, and furnishing versions of the ancient Greek writings; and the knowledge of the Greek language was every where disseminated.‡

JOHN ARGYROPULUS, a Constantinopolitan, who was taken under the patronage of Cosmo di Medici, at the request of his patron, undertook to translate Aristotle's *Physics* and *Ethics*. The natural jealousy and reserve of his temper prevented him from freely communicating his learning to the Italians: and he affected to despise Cicero, whom he maintained to have been ignorant of philosophy and Greek learning. His translations, however, are valuable; and besides these he wrote a commentary upon the *Ethics* of Aristotle, and *Solutions of Questions* proposed to him by certain philosophers and physicians in the island of Cyprus. He taught the Aristotelian philosophy in Rome, with a stipend granted him by the Pope; and died in the year 1486.§

Among the learned Latins of the fifteenth century, were POLITIAN||

* Jovius Elog. c. 23. Bullart, Acad. Sc. t. i. p. 265. Oudin. de S. E. t. iii. p. 123. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 392.

† Nic. Reusner in Icon. Lit. F. 6.

‡ Ficin. Præf. in Plat. Bessario Dedic. Vers. Metaph. Arist. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. ii. p. 172.

§ Bullart, Ac. Sc. t. i. p. 269. Jov. Elog. c. 37. Bayle. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 278.

|| Bayle.

of Tuscany, born in 1454, who translated from the Greek, Alexander Aphrodisæus's "Solution of certain Physical Questions," Epictetus's *Enchiridion*, and Plato's *Charmis*; HERMOLAUS BARBARUS,* who translated the medical writings of Dioscorides, the Rhetoric and other pieces of Aristotle; and is said to have supplicated the assistance of a divinity in explaining the signification of Aristotle's ἐντελέχεια: FRANCISCUS PHILELPHUS,† who wrote a treatise *De Morali Disciplina*, "On Moral Discipline," and two books, *De Conviviis*, "Of Banquets," which discover an extensive knowledge of history and philosophy: PETER VERGER,‡ whose work *De Ingeniis Moribus*, "On Liberal Manners," affords a pleasing specimen of the sobriety with which philosophy now began to be pursued: MANETTUS,§ a Florentine, who translated Aristotle's Categories, with Porphyry's Introduction, and wrote the Lives of Socrates and Seneca, and treatises on wisdom, truth, possibility, the nature of the universe, the nature of the mind, &c. which discover an unusual share of philosophical knowledge: DONATUS ACCIAIUS||, a pupil of Argyropulus, who wrote a commentary on Aristotle's ethics and politics; APOLLINARIS OFFRED,¶ whose commentary on Aristotle, *De Anima*, and *Analytica posterioriore*, obtained him great authority in the schools; and LAURENTIUS VALLA,** born at Rome, in 1415, who freely censured the dialectics of Aristotle and the philosophy of his own time, but discovered more skill in pulling down ancient edifices, than in erecting new ones; and of whom Erasmus says,‡‡ that with great industry and perseverance he refuted the absurdities of barbarians, raised learning from the grave, restored Italy to its ancient splendour of eloquence, and rendered this service to learned men, that he obliged them from that time to speak and write with greater accuracy.

The exertions which these learned men made towards the revival of learning and philosophy, are chiefly to be imputed to the example and influence of Chrysoloras, Argyropulus, and other Greeks, who, as we have seen, became resident about this time in Italy. And it is to be ascribed to the same cause, that the first innovations upon the Scholastic philosophy were made by two different classes of adversaries; those who were attached to the pure Peripatetic system, and those who embraced the doctrine of Plato. The Greeks had, in their own country, followed, some the Platonic or Alexandrian, others the Aristotelian, philosophy; and the Latins, through their example and influence, naturally fell into the same classes. Those of the Greek refugees who followed the Stagirite, finding the Latins in general addicted to a spurious kind of Aristotelianism, endeavoured to persuade them to use their own eyes, and rather to follow Aristotle himself, than to yield an implicit deference to the judgment of the Arabian and Scholastic philosophers. Those, on the contrary, who were admirers of Platonism, strenuously recommended this system as most favourable to religion, and easily drew over to their interest such as were offended with the impiety of the reigning doctrine of Averroism. In this manner it came to pass, that besides the body of Scholastics, who still continued, after their usual manner, to dispute and to trifle, two philosophical families sprung up in Italy; one of whom followed the system of Plato as new-modelled in the Alexandrian schools, and the other professed to adhere to the genuine doctrine of Aristotle.

* Trithem. c. 878.

† Trithem. c. 856. Bayle.

|| Voss. De Hist. Lat. l. iii. c. 8.

** Trithem. c. 750.

† Jov. Elog. c. 17. Trithem. c. 855.

§ Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. iii. c. 7.

¶ Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 11.

‡‡ Ep. l. vii. 7. Viv. l. c. l. iii. p. 130.

The first Greek who gave occasion to the revival of Platonism in Italy was George Gemist, also called PLETHO,* a native of Constantinople, who was born in 1390, and lived one hundred years. He was a zealous advocate for Platonism, and maintained a violent controversy with the Aristotelians. His heretical and philosophical writings afford unquestionable proofs of his learning, and particularly of his intimate knowledge of the Alexandrian philosophy. In his *Expositio Oraculorum Magicorum Zoroastris*, "Explanation of the Magic Oracles of Zoroaster," he exhibits twelve fundamental articles of the Platonic religion, and gives an elegant compendium of the whole Platonic philosophy. Other philosophical writings of Pletho are, *De Virtutibus*, "On the Virtues;" *De Differentia Platonice et Aristotelice Philosophiæ*, "On the Difference between the Platonic and Aristotelian Philosophy;" *Demonstrationes Naturales de Deo*, "Natural Arguments concerning God."

A more moderate adherent to Plato, who maintained his system, without despising the philosophy of Aristotle or trespassing upon the doctrine of Christianity, was BESSARIO,† a learned bishop of Nice, whom the Emperor Manuel Palæologus, about the year 1440, appointed, with other Greek divines, to treat with the Latin church concerning an union. Upon his return, he was nominated by the emperor to the patriarchate of Constantinople; but the zeal which he had shown to reunite the Greek and Latin churches, was so displeasing to the Greeks, that he was obliged, for his safety, to return into Italy, where he was admitted to the conclave by Pope Eugenius IV. Many subsequent honours were conferred upon him. He died at Ravenna in 1472. His house was the general resort of men of letters, whether Grecians or Latins; and he allowed them the free use of his large and valuable library, which he left, by will, to the senate of Venice. A friend to moderation, he made use of all his influence and authority to bring the violent disputes of the times to an amicable termination. He wrote a defence of the Platonic system against George Trebizond, and translated, but with great obscurity, Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, the *Metaphysic* of Aristotle, and that falsely ascribed to Theophrastus.

Under the patronage of Cosmo di Medici, MARSILIUS Ficinus,‡ a Florentine, born in 1433, was educated by Pletho for the express purpose of translating the writings, and reviving the philosophy, of Plato. He was provided with every kind of instruction necessary to qualify him for this undertaking, and applied himself with great industry and success to his studies. At the same time he enjoyed the benefit of conversation with many able and learned men, who frequented the house of his patron, for the most part followers of Plato. Notwithstanding this advantage, it appears from the manner in which he executed his task, and from his other writings, that he was deficient in strength of judgment and correctness of taste. His Latin style wants that richness and dignity which are requisite in a version of Plato. Many proofs may be found in his writings of a degree of weak superstition, wholly inconsistent with the character of a philosopher. He was of a timid and servile spirit, which would naturally lead him to accommodate his version to the judgment of his patron; and he entertained the notion which prevailed among the Christian fathers, that the doctrine of Plato was, in some sort, of Divine origin, and might be fairly construed into a perfect agreement with that of Divine Revelation.

* Allatius de claris Georg. p. 741. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 740.

† Bullart, Acad. Sc. t. i. p. 9. Fabr. l. c. p. 401. Trithem. c. 459. Dupin, Nouv. Bib. Ec. t. xii. p. 122.

‡ Præf. in Platonis Vers. Shelhorn, Amœnitat. Liter. t. i. p. 18.

From these causes, Ficinus is very far from adhering with strictness to his author's meaning; in many instances he rather expresses his own conceptions than those of Plato, and often gives his interpretation a bias towards the Alexandrian or Christian doctrine, for which he had no sufficient authority in the original. On the whole, Ficinus was rather an industrious than a judicious translator, and his version of Plato should be read with caution. He died in the year 1499.

A fellow-labourer with Ficinus, in the task of editing and translating the writings of Plato and his followers, was JOANNES PICUS, of Mirandola,* born in 1463, who, for his success in reviving the Platonic philosophy, was honoured with the title of the Phoenix of his Age. Before he was twenty-four years of age, he had acquired such a knowledge of science and of languages, that he went to Rome; and proposed for disputation nine hundred questions in dialectics, mathematics, philosophy, and theology, which he also hung up in all the open schools in Europe, challenging their professors to public disputation, and promising to defray the travelling expenses of any one who would undertake a journey to Rome for this purpose. The issue of the challenge did not correspond with the expectations of this ambitious youth: he became an object of universal jealousy and envy, and was suspected of magic, and charged with heresy. A few years afterwards, probably through disappointment and mortification, he gave himself up to solitude and devotion, and formed a resolution to distribute all his property among the poor, and to travel, barefooted, through the world, in order to propagate the Gospel. But death put an end to this extravagant project, in the thirty-second year of his age. He was a zealous supporter of Platonism, after the model of the Alexandrian school; but not without blending with its doctrine a large portion of Cabbalistic mystery, and confounding with both these the doctrine of Divine Revelation.

Another body of Greek scholars were at this time advocates for the genuine Aristotelian philosophy, and employed their time and learning in editing and translating the writings of the Stagirite. Before the revival of letters, though the name of Aristotle was idolized, his writings were, as we have seen, read only in imperfect Latin translations. But after many learned Greeks had settled in Italy, and introduced a taste for Greek literature, his works were studied in the original; and, whilst Plato's writings were translated and commented upon by many learned men, under the patronage of the Medicean family, others, under the direction and authority of Pope Nicholas V., rendered the same service to literature with respect to the works of Aristotle. This task, though of uncommon difficulty, on account of the obscurity of the author, and the defective state of the manuscripts, was executed with tolerable success. Of those who laboured in this undertaking, the principal were Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and Georgius Scholarius.

THEODORE GAZA,† a native of Thessalonica, came over into Italy under the protection of the Cardinal Bessarion and Cosmo di Medici; and applied himself so diligently and successfully to the study of the Latin tongue, under Victorinus, that, according to Jovius, it was not easy to say whether he translated more correctly from Latin into Greek, or from Greek into Latin. He particularly admired and imitated the style of Pliny the Elder. Through the bounty of his patron, he lived for several years in plenty; but, for want of economy, he involved himself in debt, and was reduced to

* Jo. Moller. Homonym. p. 883. Vit. a J. Fr. Pico in Bates Vet. Select. Politian. Misc. Cent. i. c. 100.

† Jov. Elog. c. 26. Trithem. c. 848. Volater. Anthr. l. xxi. p. 775.

poverty. To extricate himself from those difficulties, he set about a translation of Aristotle, "On the History of Animals;" and, when he had finished the work, dedicated it to Pope Sextus IV., in hopes of receiving from his holiness a liberal recompense. The Pope, however, only made him a small present; upon which Gaza, through vexation and resentment, immediately went and threw the money into the Tiber. From that time he withdrew from Rome, and passed his days in Calabria, till disappointment preyed upon his constitution, and put an end to his life. He died in the year 1478.

GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS, or GEORGE of TREBIZOND,* born in the year 1396, came into Italy at the time of the celebrated council of Florence, held for the purpose of uniting the Greek and Latin churches. He taught rhetoric and philosophy, first at Venice, and afterwards at Rome. Pope Nicholas V. honoured him with his particular friendship. He defended the Peripatetic philosophy against the Platonists with great vehemence and acrimony; nor did even his fellow-labourers in the task of translating Aristotle escape the effects of his haughtiness and ill-temper. A violent quarrel arose between him and Gaza, in their joint undertaking of translating Aristotle "On Animals;" each claiming to himself the exclusive merit of having overcome the difficulties which arose from the great number of names of animals, which are found in that work. He wrote, "A Comparison of Aristotle and Plato," full of bitter invective. He translated Plato's dialogue *de Legibus*, and Aristotle's treatise *de Animalibus*; but he must not be allowed the credit either of accuracy or fidelity. He frequently violated the duty of a translator by unpardonable variations, omissions, or additions. Trapezuntius died in 1484.

GEORGIUS SCHOLARIUS,† a learned Greek, studied letters, philosophy, theology, and jurisprudence in his native city, Constantinople. In the council of Florence he opposed the union of the Eastern and Western churches, and hereby displeased the emperor. Upon his return home, he retired into a monastery near Constantinople, and took the name of Gennadius. At the taking of Constantinople he fled into Italy, and spent his last days in the monastery of John Baptist, at Monaco, where he died, about the year 1464. He wrote an Introduction to Porphyry on Universals, and a Commentary on the Categories of Aristotle, and on the book *de Interpretatione*.

Between these two bodies of philosophers, those on the one part who followed Plato, and those who on the other followed Aristotle, a dispute arose concerning the merit and authority of their respective masters, which was carried to a most ridiculous and extravagant height. It was begun by Pletho, whose veneration for Plato led him to oppose with great violence the unrivalled dominion which Aristotle had for ages possessed in the schools. Georgius Scholarius took up the pen so zealously in defence of Aristotle, that he maintained, after Marcus Eugenius, bishop of Ephesus, that the opinions of Aristotle are consonant to the truest and best doctrines of the Christian religion, and are *even more true*; and that the tenets of Plato differ from those of Aristotle, and are *therefore* false. George of Trebizond supported Scholarius with extreme virulence of temper and rudeness of language. On the other side, Pletho was ably and strenuously seconded by Gaza. Other combatants of inferior note engaged in the

* Jov. c. 25. Allat. de Georg. sect. 50. Nicéron. Mem. t. xiv. p. 322. Wharton, App. Cave, p. 97.

† Allat. l. c. p. 760. T. Smith, Misc. p. 4. Renaudot. Diss. de Vit. et Op. Gennadii. Fabr. Bib. Gr. v. x. p. 343.

contest; but the dispute produced no better effect than that of exposing the contending parties to ridicule; and, therefore, only deserves to be mentioned, as an example of the power of prejudice to pervert the judgment, and inflame the passions, of men.*

CHAPTER II.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION UPON THE STATE OF PHILOSOPHY.

IF, at this period, philosophy was much indebted to the revival of letters, it was not less benefited by the reformation of religion. For, no sooner did the friends of truth and virtue apply themselves to the correction of religious errors, and endeavour to free mankind from the yoke of ecclesiastical domination, to which the whole Western world had for many ages tamely submitted, than philosophy, which had been loaded with the same chains with religion, began to lift up her head, and to breath a freer air. Determined no longer to yield implicit obedience to human authority, but to exercise their own understandings, and follow their own judgments, these bold reformers prosecuted religious and philosophical inquiries with an independent spirit, which soon led them to discover the futility and absurdity of the Scholastic method of philosophising, and enabled them at the same time, in a great measure, to correct the errors of philosophy, and to reform the corruptions of religion.

The study of ancient languages being now revived, and the arts of eloquence and criticism having now resumed their ancient station, the reformers were soon convinced, that ignorance and barbarism had been among the principal causes of the corruption of doctrine and discipline in the church. Hence, whilst these honest and zealous friends of truth ardently longed for the reformation of religion, they were earnestly desirous to see philosophy restored to its former purity; and their bold attempts to subdue religious error and prejudice indirectly contributed to the correction of philosophy, and the advancement of learning.†

So extensively and powerful was the operation of this reforming spirit, that it diffused its influence beyond the reformers themselves, to those who still chose to remain within the verge of the Romish church. Many of these secretly approved of the design in which the reformers were engaged; but, either because they were dissatisfied with the manner in which it was

* Diss. Boivin. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. t. ii. p. 775. Heumann, Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 537.

Vidend. Paul. Jov. Elog. Wharton ad Cave. Oudin de Scrip. Eccl. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Med. Reusner in Iconibus Lit. Clar. Vir. Gundling, Hist. Erud. Wadding. Ann. Ord. Men. Soleri Acta S. t. v. Dupin, Nouv. Bibl. des Auct. Eccl. t. xi. Borrich. de Orig. et Prog. Chemiæ. Nich. Anton. Bibl. Hisp. Blount, Cens. cel. Auct. Bzovii Annal. Als. Horn. Hist. Phil. l. vi. Niger de Script. Florent. Pocciantius de Script. Flor. Nicéron. Memoires. Papadopoli Hist. Gymn. Patav. Trithemii Cat S. E. Annal. Hirsaug. Theissier Eloges. Ghilini Theat. Vir. Erud. Morhoff. Polyhistor. Huet. de claris Interpret. Adami Vit. Phil. Miræus in Auct. Bayle.

† Seckendorf. Hist. Lutheran. l. i. sect. 69. Ep. ad Reuchlin. p. 13.

conducted, or because they were afraid to encounter the hazards which attended the undertaking, contented themselves with admiring the courage of the reformers, and lending them concealed and indirect assistance. Perceiving that the Scholastic method of philosophising had been the chief cause of the evils which had arisen in the church, these men, several of whom were eminently distinguished for genius and learning, judiciously endeavoured to correct religion, by first correcting philosophy. Some inveighed seriously against the prevailing corruptions of science and learning, and painted, in strong colours, the distorted features of the Scholastic philosophy, and the mischiefs which it had produced in the learned world. Others, calling in the aid of wit and satire, held up its deformities to public ridicule. These attacks upon the established institutions and practices of the schools, raised a violent ferment among those who were interested in their support, and brought upon the heads of their opponents a load of calumny, reproach, and persecution. But this violence served no other purpose, than to expose the weakness of the cause of the assailants, and to bring Scholastic philosophy into general contempt. The interests of learning and religion were so much indebted to these castigators of the Scholastics, that it would be injustice to their memory, not to give the principal of them a place in this work.*

The learning and ability of that great man, ERASMUS† of Rotterdam, and the services which he rendered to learning and religion, are well known. But his serious labours having been chiefly of the philological kind: he appears as a philosopher in no other light than as a keen observer and humorous censor of false philosophy, in his incomparable treatise intitled "The Praise of Folly," and in other parts of his writings. His penetrating genius, extensive reading, and elegant taste, gave him great weight among his contemporaries, and added much efficacy to his useful labours. The severe sarcasms which he cast upon the Scholastics, created him enemies, and subjected him to hardships; but he never ceased to chastise folly, and to approve himself a true friend to solid learning and sound philosophy. Erasmus was born in the year 1467, and died in 1536. His numerous works were published in ten volumes folio, at Leyden, 1706.

The footsteps of Erasmus were closely followed by LUDOVICUS VIVES,‡ a native of Valentia, in Spain, who, though well-trained in all the subtleties of the Scholastic philosophy at Paris, had the good sense to discover its futility, and diligently applied himself to more useful studies. At Louvain, he undertook the office of a preceptor, and exerted himself with great ability and success in correcting barbarism, chastising the corrupters of learning, and reviving a taste for true science and elegant letters. Erasmus, with whom he lived upon the footing of intimate friendship, speaking of Vives when he was only twenty-six years of age, says§ that there was no part of philosophy in which he did not excel; and that he had made such proficiency in learning, and in the arts of speaking and writing, that he scarcely knew his equal. He wrote a commentary upon Augustine's treatise *De Civitate Dei*, which discovers an extensive acquaintance with ancient philosophy. Henry VIII. of England, to whom he dedicated this work, was so pleased with it, that he invited the author to his court, and made him preceptor to his daughter Mary. Though he discharged his

* Conf. Adam. Vit. Phil. p. 336. Thaan. an Ann. 1547. Teissier Eloges, t. i. p. 7. Blount, Cens. p. 595. Erasmi Encom. Moriae. Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum.

† Adami Vit. p. 98. Le Clerc. Bibl. t. vii. p. 215. Bayle. Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

‡ Blount. l. c. p. 519. Teissier Elog. t. i. p. 266. Nic. Anton. Bib. Hisp. N. t. i. p. 109. Colomes. Hisp. Orient. p. 223.

§ Ep. xix. 101.

office with great fidelity; yet, in consequence of his opposition to the king's divorce, he fell under his displeasure; and it was not without difficulty that he escaped to Bruges, where he devoted the remainder of his days to study. He died in the year 1537, or according to Thuanas, in 1541. With Erasmus and Buddæus, he formed a triumvirate of literature, which did honour to the age. He wrote *De Prima Philosophia*, "On the First Philosophy;" *De Explanatione Essentiarum*, "On the Explanation of Essences;" *De Censura Veri*, "On the Test of Truth;" *De Initiiis, Sectis, et Laudibus Philosophiæ*, "On the Origin, Sects, and Praises of Philosophy;" and *De Corruptis Artibus et Tradendis Disciplinis*,* "On the Corruption of Science, and on Education." These writings, of which the two last are the most valuable, discover great strength of judgment, an extensive knowledge of philosophy, much enlargement of conception, uncommon sagacity in detecting the errors of ancient and modern philosophers, particularly of Aristotle and his followers; and, in fine, a mind capable of attempting things beyond the standard of the age in which he lived. To all this he added great perspicuity and elegance of style, not unworthy of the friend of Erasmus. Morhoff† calls the writings of Vives, Golden Remains, which are worthy to be carefully perused by all learned men.

A third scourge of Scholastic barbarism was JAMES FABER, or LE FEVRE,‡ a native of Picardy. He was educated at Paris; but not contented with the learning he acquired there, he travelled through various parts of the world to converse with the learned. On his return to France, he declared open war against the Scholastic philosophy, and attempted to introduce the genuine Aristotelian philosophy, and to disseminate a taste for mathematical learning. Besides theological works, he wrote commentaries upon the dialectics, physics, politics, economics of Aristotle. One of his contemporaries, speaking of these commentaries, says, § "Faber has rendered the Peripatetic doctrine so clear, that we have no longer any occasion for Animonius, Simplicius, or Philoponus." Another says, || "Faber was the first among the French, as Cicero among the Romans, who united philosophy and eloquence." The boldness with which he opposed the corruption of philosophy brought upon him a suspicion of heresy, and the persecution of the doctors of the Sorbonne; but he found a secure asylum in the court of Margaret Queen of Navarre, where he is said to have lived to the age of a hundred years.

About the same time arose MARIUS NIZOLIUS,¶ of Brussels, a severe castigator of barbarism. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the purity and eloquence of the style of Tully; and to promote a taste for correct and elegant literature, he wrote his *Thesaurus Ciceronianus*, "Ciceronian Treasury." By a natural association, he extended his attachment to Cicero from his language to his philosophy; and maintained a strenuous contest in favour of Cicero with several learned men. In the course of the dispute he wrote a treatise *De veris Principiis et vera Ratione Philosophandi*,** "On the true Principles and Method of Philosophising," in which he vehemently censured the followers of the Stagirite, and particularly the Scholastics, chiefly for the corruption they had introduced into the Latin language.

But the most direct and successful attack upon the Scholastic philosophy

* Ed. Lugd. 1551, 8°.

† Polyhist. t. i. l. ii. c. 2. sect. 34.

‡ Jovius. c. 121. Bayle. Art. Le Fevre. Blount, p. 521.

§ Rhenan Ep. ad Reuchlin, p. 52.

|| Wimpfeling, c. 15. p. 236.

¶ Morhoff. t. i. l. i. c. 25. sect. 26.

** Ed. 1553. Leibn. 1670. Ep. Leibn. t. ii. p. 63.

was made by the reformers. Perceiving that the human understanding was clouded, and the freedom of inquiry restrained, by the forms of the schools, and that nothing contributed so much to perpetuate superstition and error in the church, as false philosophy, these great and able men concluded, that the disease admitted of no palliative; that, in order to produce any great and lasting effect, it was not sufficient barely to lop off the heads of the tares which had sprung up in the church, but that it was become necessary to tear them up by the roots. They therefore, with a degree of magnanimity which entitles them to immortal honour, made a bold and open attack at once upon the corruption of philosophy and theology; laying open the numerous evils which the Scholastic mode of philosophising had introduced into religion; showing by what puerile arts, and with how much injury to truth, both natural and Divine, it had maintained its authority; and exhorting young men to leave such faithless guides, and give themselves up wholly to the direction of Reason and Revelation.

The leader in this arduous and meritorious undertaking was the great reformer MARTIN LUTHER,* born at Eislaben, in Saxony, in the year 1483. He was early initiated in the Peripatetic philosophy, but soon opened his eyes to discover its defects. During his residence at Wittemburg, in the year 1516, he wrote to Jodocus, a zealous Aristotelian, who had been his preceptor in the university at Erford, stating his doubts both respecting the doctrines of Aristotle and of Porphyry. Jodocus was so much offended with the freedom of his remarks, that, upon his next visit to Erford, he refused to see him. Luther, far from being intimidated by this mark of displeasure, afterwards wrote him a second letter, in which he boldly gave it as his opinion, that it would be impossible to reform the church, without entirely abolishing the canons and decretals, and with them, the Scholastic theology, philosophy, and logic, and instituting others in their stead.†

In the early part of his life, Luther had studied the writings of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and others, and in the dispute concerning universals, attached himself to the party of the Nominalists; but maturer age and reflection instructed him to treat the whole controversy, and indeed all the subtleties of the Scholastics, with contempt. This was probably in part owing to his early acquaintance with the ancients, but chiefly to that peculiar strength and ardour of mind, which led him easily to discover the weakness and absurdity of the prevailing modes of reasoning and judging upon theological and philosophical subjects, and to observe, with regret and indignation, the fatal effects of corrupt philosophy united with ecclesiastical tyranny. He saw much reason to consider the Scholastic philosophy as the foundation of the principal errors which had been introduced into theology, and the chief support of that oppressive dominion which the see of Rome exercised over the consciences of men; and he regarded the logical and metaphysical parts of Aristotle as the immediate grounds of those disputes, which had given rise to the factions of the Thomists, Scotists, Occamists, and others. He therefore rejected both the Scholastic and Aristotelian philosophy, as not only irreconcilable with the Christian system, but the cause of endless controversies in the Christian church. In various parts of his writings he expresses great contempt for Aristotle and his followers. He asserts, that the study of Aristotle was wholly useless, not only in theology and sacred learning, but in natural

* Melancthon. Vit. Luth. ap. Op. L. recus. cum Ann. Heumann, Gotting. 1741. 4to. Seckendorf. Hist. Lutheran. p. 103. 121. Fabric. Centifol. Luth. p. i. p. 367.

† Lutheri Epist. i. 10.

philosophy.* “What doth it contribute,” says he, “towards the knowledge of things, to be perpetually trifling and cavilling, in language conceived and prescribed by Aristotle, concerning matter, form, motion, and time.” And again:† “I am persuaded that neither Thomas, nor all the Thomists together, ever understood a single chapter of Aristotle.” On some occasions, perhaps, the heat of controversy might lead Luther to make use of language too contemptuous and indignant, in speaking of Aristotle and his writings. His indignation, however, was chiefly directed against that false philosophy which had been built upon his doctrine, ill understood; and his great object was to free the world from the yoke of authority in philosophy and religion. It is sufficiently manifest from the life and writings of Luther, that he was no enemy to sound philosophy.

Melancthon, though he differed in judgment, on many topics, from Luther, and though he so far espoused the doctrine of Aristotle as to attempt the revival of the pure Peripatetic philosophy in the schools (on which account we shall afterwards give him a place among the Peripatetics of this period) nevertheless perfectly agreed with the Father of the Reformation in his judgment concerning the nature and effects of the Scholastic philosophy. In his writings, we find him frequently complaining of the mischiefs which these subtle speculations had occasioned:‡ “Ever since this method of philosophising has been introduced, ancient learning has been despised, mathematics deserted, and sacred studies more negligently cultivated. Among the variety of opinions which prevail in the different Scholastic factions, you will scarcely find one that is consistent with itself. Truth is every where confounded with error, and every doctor is more concerned to gather crowds by his noisy disputations, than to discover and establish sound philosophy. In the mean time, dissensions every where arise; enmities are cherished; rancour supplies the place of that candid spirit which ought ever to accompany learning; and the ancient union between the Muses and Graces is dissolved.” Many other followers of Luther, and friends of the Reformation, opposed the Scholastic mode of philosophising, and exerted themselves to introduce a spirit of liberal inquiry.

The cultivation of polite learning, which had revived in Italy, and was now spread still further, promoted the same good design. Though few of those who engaged in critical studies addicted themselves to any particular sect of philosophy, they served the cause of science, as well as of literature, by editing and interpreting the philosophical writings of the ancients. In the sixteenth century, JAMES SADOLET,§ a great admirer of Ciceronian eloquence, wrote an elegant treatise *De Laudibus Philosophiæ*, “On the Praises of Philosophy:” HIERONYMUS FRACASTORIUS|| studied nature, and was well acquainted with mathematics and astronomy: CAMERARIUS¶ edited, with valuable notes, many ancient Greek authors; and among the rest, Archytas *De Decem Prædicamentis*, “On the Ten Predicaments,” Nicomachus *De Theologia Arithmetica*, “On Arithmetical Theology,” and Aristotle’s *Ethics*: GRYNÆUS,** whose translations from Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch, ranked him among the learned men of his age; and of whom Erasmus speaks,†† as a man who with an accurate knowledge of the

* Declarationes ad Heidelbergenses apud Werensdorf. Diss. de Progressu emendatæ per Luth. Relig. p. 20.

† De Stud. corrigend. t. i. p. 489.

§ Blount, p. 573. Teisser, t. i. 29.

¶ Fabric. Bib. Gr. v. xiii. p. 493.

†† L. xxvi. Ep. 39.

† T. i. Ep. 45.

Conf. Orat. adv. Rhadin. t. iii. p. 38.

|| Thuan. ap. Adam. Vit. Med. p. 77.

** Adami, p. 118.

Grecian and Latin tongues, and an extensive acquaintance with philosophical and mathematical science, united an uncommon share of modesty. Through the aid of such men as these, with which the age abounded, philosophy, as well as literature, revived.

In this manner, and from these causes, it happened, that the reformation of religion was accompanied with the correction and enlargement of philosophy; so that from that time to the present, the study of science, in all its branches, has been cultivated with great industry and success, and it may be truly asserted, that since the commencement of the sixteenth century, more has been done towards the advancement of knowledge, than was done in all the preceding ages of the world.*

CHAPTER III.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE ANCIENT SECTARIAN PHILOSOPHY.

SECTION I.—OF THE REMAINS OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

WITH what assiduity the Scholastic philosophy was opposed, with what clearness its futility and pernicious tendency were laid open, from the time of the revival of letters to the completion of the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, we have already seen; and how successful these attempts were, with men of sound understandings and honest minds, who preferred truth to every other consideration, the whole history of the revival and improvement of philosophy will show: but, since nothing in human affairs is brought to perfection at once, it is not surprising that some predilection for Scholastic subtleties still remained. In the midst of the general spirit of reformation and improvement which distinguished this period, there were not wanting men, who, from their zealous attachment to ancient systems, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, judged it inexpedient to dismiss an ally, to which they had been so much indebted. In order therefore to retain this Palladium of the church of Rome, the advocates for established forms pleaded, that the evils so violently complained of, had originated, not from the Scholastic method of philosophising, but from the abuse of it; and that nothing more was necessary to render this philosophy a useful auxiliary to religion, than to chastise its subtleties, and moderate the spirit of vain curiosity and idle disputation, which had prevailed in the schools. Under this futile pretence, the friends of the Romish hierarchy retained in their hands an instrument, which had been found so useful in establishing and perpetuating the reign of ignorance and superstition. Hence, whilst a better method of philosophising was

* Vidend. Diss. de Relig. Erasmi, Hamb. 1717. Warton ad Cave. Chassanæi Catal. Glor. Mundi. l. x. p. 204. Beyschlagius Syll. ii. opusc. p. 263. Rexinger. et Edzard. Diss. de Lutheri Ref. Hamb. 1717. Wucherer. de Increm. Phys. a Reform. Temp. Jen. 1717. Lehman. de Utilitate Morali Discip. Ref. ib. Stockii de bon. Lit. renov. post Ref. ib. Elswich de Fort. Arist. in Ac. Prot. Halbauer. Diss. de Luth. polit. Lit. Werensdorf. de Prog. emend. Rel. Crenius de Sing. Script. Struvii Bibl. Phil.

every where else adopted, the Scholastic philosophy, somewhat corrected by the introduction of Aristotle's logic and metaphysics, was still studied and professed in the colleges and monasteries belonging to the church of Rome. Even into these schools indeed some rays of light penetrated. A few men of superior genius, and a more liberal spirit, even this unfavourable soil produced, who saw the weakness of the pleas upon which the Scholastic philosophy was retained, and who ventured, though with little success, to recommend salutary innovations.

TOLETUS,* of Cordova, a Jesuit, who flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century, and is celebrated for his learning and the perspicuity of his writings, philosophised after the genuine manner of the Peripatetic school. RICCIOLUS,† an Italian Jesuit, who in the seventeenth century, taught at Bologna and at Parma, studied with great success the sciences of mathematics and astronomy. CARAMUEL DE LOBKOWITZ,‡ a native of Madrid, born in 1606, obtained a great name for the extent and variety of his learning, and for a surprising fertility of genius. He pretended to introduce wonderful improvements into every branch of science; but the luxuriancy of his imagination obstructed the growth of the substantial fruits of sound judgment, and his voluminous writings, notwithstanding all their originality, were soon forgotten. HONORATUS FABER,§ born in 1626, and professor of mathematics and philosophy at Lyons, wrote upon philosophy, logic, and physics. He implicitly followed neither the Scholastics nor the Aristotelians; but borrowed light from modern philosophers, particularly the Cartesians. His innovations, however, brought him under a strong suspicion of heresy, and produced little effect.

The generality of the Romish clergy still retained so much of the Scholastic spirit, that instead of promoting, they only retarded, the progress of true philosophy. It would therefore be a tedious and fruitless task to detail their history. Their writings chiefly consist of systems of philosophy, summaries of logic, theses upon Scholastic topics, and commentaries upon the works of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.

The bigotted attachment to ancient systems, which has prevailed in the Romish church with respect to religion, has always extended itself to philosophy, and has given a permanent establishment to the Scholastic method of philosophising, which all the wisdom of modern times has not been able to overturn. It is, however, a happy omen of the entire exorcism of the demons which have so long haunted the schools, that in many universities a better and more extensive plan of instruction has been adopted, which has in a great measure precluded the idle dreams of dialectic subtlety. In an age in which a rational plan of philosophising was generally followed; in which vague conceptions, unmeaning terms, and uncertain principles were commonly exploded; in which the accurate method of mathematical reasoning was applied with success to other sciences; in which experimental philosophy was every where studied and encouraged; and in which the correct use of language was an object of attention, it could not but happen that the empty shadow of abstraction would be thrown out of the philosophical world, to make room for more substantial and profitable studies.||

* Pinacothec. i. p. 136.

† Bibl. Soc. Jes. p. 416.

‡ N. Anton. B. Hisp. n. t. i.

§ Bibl. Soc. Jes. p. 350.

|| Vidend. Melchior. Camus. L. Theol. l. viii, ix. Præf. ad Maibillon. de Stud. Monast. Le Cerf Bibl. des Auteurs de la Cong. de S. Maur. N. Anton. Bibl. Hisp. N. Jac. Echard. de Sc. Domin. Wadding Annal. Ord. Min. Carol. de Vish. Bibl. Scrip. Ord. Cisterc. F. Rothfisher. Ep. ad Cardin. Lettres Provinciales de Montalte. Vavasor Op. p. 240.

SECTION II.—OF THE REVIVAL OF THE GENUINE
ARISTOTELIAN PHILOSOPHY.

ALTHOUGH, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Scholastic philosophy began to fall into general contempt, Aristotle still retained, in a great degree, his authority. It required more enlargement of thought than the age afforded to discard at once a system of philosophy, which had been received with almost universal approbation, and been supported by the united labours of the learned for so many centuries; nor was it merely the power of prescription which established the dominion of Aristotle, several other causes concurred to produce this effect.

The partisans of the Platonic system, who, under the patronage of the Medicean family, for a long time maintained their ground against the Aristotelians, declining with the fortunes of their patrons, the advocates for the Peripatetic philosophy proportionally increased, and, after a violent struggle, established a victory. It greatly contributed towards this issue, that men began at this time to extend their inquiries beyond the region of metaphysics and theology, into the subjects of natural history and philosophy. Finding little assistance in their researches into nature in the writings of Plato, they had recourse to the Stagirite, who was at this time universally allowed to be the best guide in the study of physics: and, though in his treatises upon this branch of science they met with much obscurity, and many difficulties, the persuasion that they were a rich mine of knowledge, which would amply repay the labour bestowed upon it, induced them to spare no pains to come at his true meaning.

Among the followers of the Church of Rome, the Peripatetic philosophy continued to be zealously maintained, on account of the assistance which its dialectics afforded them in the defence of the established system; and because many of the doctrines of this system coincided with those of the school of Aristotle.

The deference which had been long paid to the decisions of Aristotle, (even whilst his works were only read in very imperfect translations,) induced the first restorers of learning to make his writings a principal object of their attention; and to rest much of their reputation, as editors, translators, and commentators, upon the manner in which they executed this part of their office; and the brevity and obscurity of Aristotle's style, his frequent reference to preceding writers, and the injuries which his works had sustained from time, and from the ignorance, negligence, or dishonesty of transcribers, furnished those who were desirous of distinguishing themselves as philologists, with an ample field for the display of learning and ingenuity. The first race of critics upon Aristotle, after the revival of letters and the invention of printing, employed themselves in verbal rather than in philosophical criticism; and took more pains to fix the true reading, and explain the grammatical construction of their author, than to investigate or illustrate his philosophical tenets. But it was soon found that a knowledge of philosophy, as well as an attention to the rules of criticism, was necessary in writing notes upon Aristotle; and the second race of commentators, from Pomponatius to the middle of the seventeenth century, were chiefly employed in ascertaining and restoring the true Aristotelian philosophy.

Even among the reformers, though Luther was a professed enemy to Aristotle, his philosophy had many admirers. Melancthon, as we shall

afterwards see, approved of and encouraged the study of his dialectics and metaphysics, as a useful exercise of the understanding, and only objected to the misapplication of them in theological questions. It is to be regretted, that a man of such superior abilities, and in every other respect of so independent a spirit, should addict himself to any sect, and choose rather to be an interpreter of Aristotle, than to follow the course of his own ideas, and philosophise for himself. The consequence was, that Aristotle, who, in the zeal of Reformation, had been driven out of the church, was again suffered to steal in; and that, after the thorns which Scholastic philosophy and subtlety had planted were extirpated, the ground was again encumbered with barren weeds. This was the only reason why, among Protestants, (to whom the authority of Aristotle could be of little use, and who ought to have exercised the same freedom of thinking in philosophy as in religion,) the doctrine of Aristotle prevailed even till the time of Bacon, Grotius, and Des Cartes.

It would be an endless undertaking to enumerate all the learned men, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, attached themselves to the Aristotelian system. We shall select a few of the more celebrated names.

Among the Roman Catholics, NICHOLAS LEONICUS THOMÆUS,* a Venetian, born in the year 1457, seems to have been among the first who attempted to restore the genuine Aristotelian philosophy. His preceptor in Grecian learning, and other branches of literature, was Demetrius Chalcondylas, of Florence. He derived his knowledge both of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy from their purest fountains; and preferring the latter, opened a Peripatetic school in Padua, and wrote commentaries upon Aristotle's physics. Erasmus† speaks of him as an excellent philosopher, a profound scholar, and a good man. He died in the year 1521.

At this period flourished POMPONATIUS,‡ of Mantua, who was born in the year 1462, and died in 1525. He taught the doctrines of Aristotle and Averroës in the schools of Padua and Bologna. Though much addicted to superstition and fanaticism, and a zealous advocate for judicial astrology, as appears from his book *De Incantationibus*, "On Enchantments," he had an understanding capable of penetrating into the depths of the Peripatetic system, in the study of which he chiefly followed the commentaries of Aphrodisæus. His writings, though barbarous and inelegant in style, discover great acuteness and subtlety of thought. He publicly taught the natural mortality of the soul, and maintained that the whole proof of a future existence depends upon Revelation. His doctrine upon this subject became so popular, that Pope Leo X. thought it necessary to issue a bull to suppress it. His book *De Immortalitate Animæ*, "On the Immortality of the Soul," was publicly burnt at Venice; and it was only through the interest of Cardinal Bembo, that the author escaped the flames. He also wrote a treatise "On Fate and Free-will." Notwithstanding all his pretended reverence for the doctrines of the church, there can be little doubt that Pomponatius had more respect for the authority of Aristotle, than for that of Jesus Christ.§

Pomponatius had many followers of great celebrity; among whom were, SIMON PORTA,|| a Neapolitan, who wrote a treatise upon the Peripatetic system, *De rerum Naturalium Principiis*, "On the Principles of Nature;"

* Jovius, l. c. c. 91. Fabr. Bib. L. M. t. iv. p. 788. Patricii Disq. Perip. l. iii. p. 149. Bayle.

† In Ciceroniano. Jovius, l. c. c. 71. Nicéron. Memoires, t. xxv. Bayle. J. Olearius de Pomponatio. Jenæ, 1709.

§ Reimann. Hist. Ath. s. iii. c. 4. sect. 8.

|| Thuan. l. xiii. p. 276. Teisser. Elog. t. i. p. 197.

and another, *De Anima et Mente Humana*, "On the Human Soul and Mind," in which he followed the doctrine of his master; JULIUS CÆSAR SCALIGER,* a celebrated philologist; and LAZARUS BONAMICUS,† who rivalled Erasmus in elegant Latinity. VANINI the Atheist, who wrote two treatises, *De Natura, Regina Deaque Mortalium*, "On Nature, the Queen and Goddess of Mortals; and *Amphitheatrum*, "The Amphitheatre," is said by some to have been his pupil; but this is impossible, for Pomponatius died in the year 1525, and Vanini was not born till the year 1586.

Pomponatius found an able opponent in AUGUSTINE NIPHUS,‡ a native of Calabria, who, like many other learned men of this age, practised medicine, at the same time that he taught philosophy. He wrote his treatise, *De Immortalitate Animæ*, "On the Immortality of the Soul," by order of Pope Leo X.; in which he undertook to prove that this doctrine is not contrary to the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy. Niphus, like many other learned men of this period, affected in his writings a gross kind of wit, which was not very consistent either with the dignity of philosophy, or with purity of morals: an unquestionable proof of great corruption of principle, as well as depravity of taste.

MAJORAGIUS, of Milan; SEPULVEDA, of Cordova; PETER VICTOR, of Florence; ZABARELLA, of Padua; STROZZA, of Florence; with many others, whose names are preserved in the literary histories of these times, are chiefly known as commentators upon Aristotle.§ CÆSALPINUS,|| an Italian, born in the year 1509, was an eminent physician, who made a considerable progress in the discovery of the circulation of the blood, afterwards completed by Harvey. He wrote *Questiones Peripateticæ*,¶ "Peripatetic Questions." He adopted opinions similar to those which were afterwards held by Spinoza. CÆSAR CREMONINUS,** of Modena, born in the year 1550, was a zealous follower of Aristotle, and privately maintained opinions contrary to the Christian faith.

Among the Protestants, especially in Germany, philosophy was at this period diligently studied; and in their public schools we find many learned men, who, as far as their superior reverence for Jesus Christ would permit, were followers of Aristotle. At the commencement of the Reformation, indeed, both the Scholastic philosophy, and the dogmas of Aristotle, were rejected with great indignation, particularly, as we have seen, by Martin Luther; but afterwards, when men of the soundest judgment and best erudition perceived the value of philosophy as a guard against fanaticism, much pains was taken to promote learning, and encourage a love of science.††

The first place in this class of reformers is unquestionably due to PHILIP MELANCTHON,‡‡ who was born at Bretten, in Upper Saxony, in the year 1497. At twelve years of age he was sent to Heidelberg, where he soon distinguished himself by his excellent abilities, sweetness of temper, and urbanity of manners, and obtained the confidence and friendship of many learned men. Before he was fourteen years old, he studied the Greek language with such attention that he wrote rudiments of that language, which were afterwards published. From Heidelberg he was removed to

* Epist. 90.

† Teisser. p. 126.

‡ Niceron. Mem. t. xviii. Bayle.

§ Conf. Teisser. N. Anton. Imp. Mus. Hist. Huet. de clar. Interp. Bayle. Eurithr. Pinacoth.

|| Vit. Select. Uratisl. 1711. Ep. Richter. p. 23.

¶ Ed. Franckf. 1597.

** Imp. Mus. p. 173. Crass. Elog. t. ii. p. 124. Bayle.

†† Elswich de Fort. Arist. in Acad. Protest. Laun. de Fort. Arist. Flacius Clav. Script. p. i.

‡‡ Vit. Mel. a Camerario, Winshemio, Adamo. Seckendorf. Hist. Luth.

Tubingen, where he attended upon various branches of science, and acquired a large store of erudition. Having early formed a taste for perspicuity and correctness in writing, and being convinced that every literary and scientific pursuit is valuable, only in proportion as it admits of some useful application, he was much dissatisfied with the subtle and uninteresting speculations which still occupied the schools, and frequently amused himself with exposing them to ridicule. He spent the greater part of his time in the study of the ancients and the holy scriptures. At seventeen years of age, in the year 1513, he received the degree of master of philosophy, and immediately undertook the office of preceptor. His first instructions were confined to the Latin tongue, which he was even at that time well qualified to teach. He was then requested to give lectures upon oratory, which he did, by commenting upon Cicero and Livy as the best models. In the Scholastic controversy between the Realists and Nominalists, in which he ranked among the latter, he distinguished himself by his mildness and moderation, no less than by the strength and clearness with which he maintained his opinions.

From Tubingen, Melancthon was removed by the favour of Frederic, Elector of Saxony, in the year 1518, to a new college established by that prince at Wittenburg, in which he was appointed professor of the Greek language. Through the zeal of Martin Luther, the Reformation had at this time made a considerable progress; but the clouds of barbarism were not yet dispersed from the philosophical and literary world. This was a matter of infinite regret to Luther, whose active mind was impatient to dissipate the darkness which surrounded it. He therefore gladly embraced the opportunity, which the residence of Melancthon in Wittenburg gave him, of entering into friendship with a man so well inclined to second his views, and so able to assist him in accomplishing his designs. Literature, philosophy, and theology soon experienced the happy effects of this alliance. The profound learning, sound judgment, and cultivated taste of Melancthon enabled him to correct many errors and abuses which had crept into the public schools. The honest zeal and the independent spirit of Martin Luther supported him in the prosecution of his great undertaking, the Reformation of the church. Both adopted the same leading views; both were inspired with the same love of truth, the same integrity, and the same desire of rescuing mankind from the dominion of ignorance and bigotry. Yet their natural tempers were different; the one having perhaps too much gentleness of disposition, whilst the other possessed a degree of ardour which required some restraint. The best effects were therefore to be expected from the strict friendship, which, at this time, took place between Luther and Melancthon; and the subsequent history of this period corresponds to this expectation.

Philosophy, however, was chiefly indebted to Melancthon. The deep interest which he took in the reformation of religion, did not prevent his attention to the improvement of literature and science. In order to excite a spirit of emulation in the public schools, and suggest hints of improvement, he frequently delivered public discourses on the best method of prosecuting the study of philosophy, which abounded with good sense and sound learning. With the same design he wrote, for the use of students, compendiums of Dialectics, Ethics, and Physics, and a treatise "On the Soul," the design of which was,* to free the schools from the nugatory subtleties and idle labours of the Scholastics, and to confine the attention

* Ep. l. i. p. 350.

of young men to useful studies. He industriously ransacked the writings of the ancients, to collect from them, in every branch of learning, whatever was most deserving of attention. Mathematical studies he held in high estimation, as appears from his Declamation* *De Mathematicis Disciplinis*, "On Mathematical Learning," which will very well repay the trouble of perusal. In philosophy he followed Aristotle as, in his judgment, the most scientific and methodical guide, but always in due subordination to Revelation, and only so far as was likely to answer some valuable purpose. "I would have no one," says he, "trifle in philosophising, lest he should at length even lose sight of common sense; rather let him be careful both in the study of physics and morals to select the best things from the best sources."†

If the particular cast of Melancthon's mind be considered, it will not be thought surprising, that in philosophy he preferred a moderate attachment to a particular sect, to any bold attempt at perfect innovation. Though he possessed a sound understanding and amiable temper, he wanted that strength and hardiness of spirit, which might have enabled him to have done in philosophy, what Luther did in religion. He therefore chose rather to correct the established mode of philosophising, than to introduce a method entirely new. If it be a just occasion of regret, that in consequence of the natural gentleness, and perhaps timidity, of his temper, he proceeded no further, it ought not to be forgotten, that while religion was much indebted to his cool and temperate, but honest, exertions, philosophy was not without obligation to him, for the pains which he took to correct its eccentricities, and to adorn it with the graces of eloquence.

After a life, in which temperance had enabled him to maintain a long struggle with infirmity, and in which integrity, moderation, candour, and meekness, had given him a just title to the character of a Christian philosopher, Melancthon died, in the year 1560, leaving behind him a name immortalised by learning and piety.

Melancthon made use of the extensive influence, which his high reputation, and the favour of the reigning Elector of Saxony, gave him in the German schools, in which he was considered as a kind of common preceptor, to unite the study of the Aristotelian philosophy with that of ancient learning in general. And he was much assisted in the execution of this design, by the labours of many learned Protestants of the Germanic schools from Italy and Great Britain, who brought with them an attachment to the Peripatetic system; and wherever they were appointed public preceptors, made that system the basis of their philosophical instructions. From Wittenburg, Tübingen, Leipsic, and other seminaries conducted after the manner which was introduced by Melancthon, many learned men arose, who, becoming themselves preceptors, adopted the same plan of instruction, which from Melancthon was called the Philipian Method; and thus disseminated the Peripatetic doctrine, till at length it was almost every where taught in the German Protestant schools, under the sanction of civil and ecclesiastical authority.‡

At Leipsic, SIMON SIMON, of Lucca, left his native country to join the reformers at Geneva.§ Here, after having, through the injudicious zeal of Beza and other Genevan divines, fallen under ecclesiastical censure, and suffered imprisonment for holding antitrinitarian tenets, he was admitted to the professorship of philosophy. He for some time enjoyed the patron-

* Op. t. iii. p. 239.

† De Stud. Corrig. t. i. Decl. p. 506.

‡ Declam. t. i. p. 334. 353. 506. t. ii. p. 360. 370. t. iii. p. 371. Mayer. de nimia Lenitate Phil. Melanc.

§ Bayle.

age and confidence of Augustus, Elector of Saxony; but his colleagues, through bigotry or envy, soon found means to bring against him new accusations of heresy, and obliged him to resign his station. He withdrew to Poland, where he practised physic, and lived several years, under the protection of the reigning prince. Besides several medical works, he wrote a treatise *De Sensuum Instrumentis*, "On the Instruments of the Senses;" and another *De vera Nobilitate*, "On True Nobility;" and Commentaries upon Aristotle *de Memoria*, and upon his books *To Nichomachus*.

In the academy at Tubingen, flourished JACOBUS SCHEGKIUS,* and in that of Altdorf, PHILIP SCHERBIUS.† Both acquired great reputation as preceptors of the pure doctrine of Aristotle, and both defended the Peripatetic philosophy against the followers of Ramus.

Contemporary with Scherbius, and of the same school, was NICHOLAS TAURELLUS,‡ who, though he, for the most part, followed Aristotle in logic, physics, and metaphysics, corrected his doctrines with great freedom, and ventured to reject them wherever he judged them to be contrary to reason and Revelation. His professed maxim was, in matters of philosophy, to submit implicitly to the authority of no master. His freedom subjected him to much obloquy.

ERNESTUS SONERUS,§ a native of Nuremberg, and a pupil of Scherbius, taught medicine and the Aristotelian philosophy at Altdorf. He travelled with two young men of noble rank through Italy, France, Holland, and Great Britain, and formed an extensive acquaintance with men of learning. After his return home, he became a popular preceptor in physics and medicine, in which he chiefly followed Aristotle and Galen. He was a zealous and able advocate for the doctrines of Socinus, which had at this time many defenders in Poland and Lithuania. Besides his Socinian tracts, a treatise against the eternity of future punishment, and other theological works, (which are exceedingly scarce,) he wrote, in philosophy, a paraphrase on Aristotle *de Interpretatione*, and *Disputationes Philosophicæ*, "Philosophical Disputations." He was born in 1572 and died in 1612.

Besides these, there were many other celebrated Germanic philosophers of this period, whom, for the sake of brevity, we omit. We must not, however, pass over without notice the eminent scholar HERMANNUS CONRINGIUS,|| one of the most illustrious ornaments of the Germanic schools. He was born at Embden, in the year 1606, and was educated at Leyden, where he made himself acquainted with the whole circle of sciences, but chiefly applied to the study of theology and medicine. His eminent attainments soon procured him distinction in the schools, and he was appointed professor, first of natural philosophy, and afterwards of medicine, in the university of Brunswick. Turning his attention to the study of history and policy, he became so famous in these branches of knowledge as to attract the attention of princes. Christina, Queen of Sweden, who was a general patroness of learned men, invited Conringius to her court, and upon his arrival received him with the highest marks of respect. The offer of a liberal appointment could not, however, induce him to relinquish the academic life; and after a short time he returned to Juliers. But his uncommon talents for deciding intricate questions on policy were not long suffered to lie dormant. The Elector Palatine, the Elector of Mentz, the

* Adami Vit. Medic. German. p. 200.

† Baier. Vit. Medic. Altdorf. p. 15.

‡ Adami Vit. Med. p. 403. Bayle. Baier. l. c. p. 16. Feuerlin. Apol. pro Taurello.

§ Richter Vit. Son. Nuremb. 1614. Zeltner, Hist. Crypto-Socin. Altdorf. sect. 17. Baier. p. 26.

|| Corberi Vit. Conring. Præf. Synt. Ep. Conring.

Duke of Brunswick, the Emperor of Germany, and Louis XIV. of France, all consulted this great man, and conferred upon him honours and rewards: and, if universal learning, sound judgment, and indefatigable application can entitle a man to respect, Conringius merited all the distinction he obtained. The great extent of his abilities and learning appears from the number and variety of his literary productions. His polemic writings prove him to have been deeply read in theology. His medical knowledge appears from his "Introduction to the Medical Art," and his "Comparison of the Medical Practice of the ancient Egyptians and the modern Paracelsians." The numerous treatises which he has left on the Germanic Institution, and other subjects of policy and law, evinces the depth and accuracy of his juridical learning. His book, *De Hermetica Medicina*, "On Hermetic Medicine," and his *Antiquitates Academicæ*, "Academic Antiquities," discover a correct acquaintance with the history of philosophy. It is to be regretted, that this great man was never able wholly to disengage himself from the prepossession in favour of the Aristotelian philosophy, which he imbibed in his youth. Although he had the good sense to correct the more barren parts of his philosophy, and was not ignorant that his system was in some particulars defective, he still looked up to the Stagirite as the best guide in the pursuit of truth. It was owing to his partiality for ancient philosophy, particularly for that of Aristotle, that Conringius was a violent opponent of the Cartesian system. The term of his life, which was industriously occupied in study, was seventy-six years. His works are published entire in six volumes folio.*

To the list of the learned men of this period, who favoured the Peripatetic doctrine, we shall add CHRISTIANUS DRIERUS,† a native of Stetin, in Pomerania, the author of a treatise entitled *Philosophia prima*, "The First Philosophy," and of several dissertations, which cast much light upon the history and genius of the Peripatetic philosophy: MELCHIOR ZEIDLER,‡ of the same place, the author of "An Introduction to Aristotle," and "A Dissertation on the various Methods of Reasoning made use of by the Ancients:" and JACOBUS THOMASIVS,§ of Leipsic, who wrote several metaphysical treatises, but is chiefly memorable as the preceptor of the illustrious Leibnitz.

The preceding particulars respecting the more eminent adherents to the Peripatetic system, from the revival of letters to the eighteenth century, compared with the view, given in a former part of this work, of the Aristotelian philosophy, may enable the reader to form a judgment concerning the manner in which this philosophy was taught and professed, after it had been in some measure freed from the quibbles and subtleties of the Scholastics. A few general remarks on modern Peripatetic philosophy shall therefore close this section.

Whatever praise may be due to those learned men who endeavoured to restore the dogmas of the Stagirite to their purity, it is to be lamented that they retained so much reverence for his authority, as to think it necessary to follow him as their guide. That this was the prevailing opinion of the learned in Italy, France, Germany, and England, from the restoration of learning to the end of the seventeenth century, appears from the whole history of philosophy during this period. Though they had seen the deformed aspect which philosophy had for several ages

* Ed. Brunsuig. 1730.

† Vit. ap. Op. Helmst. 1689.

‡ Reimann. Hist. Lit. Germ. p. iv. p. 33.

§ Hagen. Mein. Phil. Renov. p. 273.

borne, they imputed this rather to the infelicity of the times, than to any defect in the nature of the Sectarian philosophy; and concluded, that if they could restore this philosophy to its original purity, they should accomplish every thing that could be wished. Wholly unaccustomed to steer their course without a pilot, they distrusted their ability to direct themselves, and thought it safer, as well as more modest, to commit themselves to the direction of so celebrated a guide as Aristotle. Entering upon the study of science with so strong a prejudice in favour of their preceptor, few thought of examining his doctrines, fewer doubted of their truth, and still fewer ventured to forsake them. Learned men were, almost universally, more solicitous to know what Aristotle taught than to discover what reason dictates. Hence, instead of becoming philosophers they became mere interpreters of Aristotle; their labour was employed, not in investigating truth, but in endeavouring to remove the difficulties and obscurities which hung upon the doctrines and writings of their instructor.

The causes which, even after the revival of learning, perpetuated this blind respect for the name and authority of Aristotle, will be easily discovered by any one who attentively observes the circumstances of the times. The prejudice in favour of antiquity had now taken deep root; and it was universally believed, that the ancient Grecians had attained the summit of science, and that nothing could be added to the stores of wisdom which they had transmitted to posterity. Among the Greek philosophers Aristotle was almost universally allowed the first place, for depth of erudition, solidity of judgment, and accuracy of reasoning. His empire had now been so long established, that even those who gave the preference to Plato were afraid wholly to reject the Stagirite, and were willing that these two princes of philosophy should possess united authority. Nor could it possibly be otherwise, so long as the name of Aristotle was held forth to young persons as an object of reverence, by parents, preceptors, and heads of colleges, and his writings continued to be zealously recommended by the general body of the learned. The authority of Aristotle was further confirmed, by the intimate alliance which had, long before this time, been formed between the dogmas of the Peripatetic philosophy and the religious creed of the church. From the metaphysical parts of this philosophy several tenets had been blended with the Christian system, and the whole course of sacred instruction had been formed upon the model of Aristotle's dialectics; whence this philosophy was now so interwoven with the ecclesiastical establishment, that to attempt a separation would be to hazard the whole fabric on which its benefits, powers, honours, and emoluments depended. To these may be added a third cause, immediately arising from the revival of letters. This happy event was, as we have seen, chiefly owing to the arrival of learned Greeks in Italy, at the time of the dissolution of the Eastern empire. By means of their instruction and example, a general taste for ancient learning was introduced, and the Greek writers of every class were read and admired. Among the rest, the philosophers, who were held up by the Grecians as oracles of wisdom, were eagerly studied; particularly Plato, on account of the supposed Divine origin of his theological doctrine; and Aristotle, on account of his strict method of reasoning, and the scientific accuracy of his writings.

The general prepossession in favour of the Aristotelian system, which from these and other causes prevailed for several centuries after the revival of letters, was attended with much inconvenience and mischief. The reformers of philosophy, observing that the Scholastics, in order to

harmonise the Aristotelian system with the doctrines of Christianity, had represented the Stagirite under fictitious colours, determined to embrace his real tenets as they are found in his writings. Whence they imbibed opinions from the Peripatetic philosophy wholly inconsistent with the principles of true religion; such as, for example, that God, the first mover, wholly intent upon the contemplation of his own intellect, disregards the affairs of the world; that the Intelligence, which presides over the lower sphere, is the Universal Soul of the world, of which all men partake; and consequently, that the soul of man has no distinct existence, and will no longer subsist as such, than whilst the body continues to live. These, and other similar tenets, were commonly embraced by the modern Peripatetics, especially in Italy, who thought that they paid sufficient respect to religion, if they pretended, as Christians, to embrace a different creed, though they were not able to reconcile it with the dogmas which they were taught by reason and philosophy. In this manner, Pomponatius, Cæsalpinus, Cremoninus, and others, cast the thin veil of religious profession over real infidelity. This mischief proceeded to such an extreme, that the minds of the multitude, both ecclesiastics and laity, were at this time deeply tinctured with atheism; and this fatal relaxation of principle produced an uncommon depravity of manners. A regard to the providence and authority of God, and the fear of future punishment, having almost wholly lost their influence upon the minds of those who still called themselves, not only philosophers, but Christians, sobriety and decency were abandoned in their conversation, and the grossest impiety and obscenity disgraced their writings.

This swelling torrent of profaneness, the fathers of the Lateran council in vain endeavoured to stem, by a bull which, in the year 1510, was issued against the Aristotelian corruptions. The Peripatetics ridiculed this idle fulmination; for they were not ignorant, that the Pontiff himself, Leo X. and the Cardinal, Peter Bembo, by whom the bull was issued, lay under a strong suspicion of being themselves infidels. Subsequent ecclesiastical decrees lopped off some of the branches of this spreading impiety, but no one saw the necessity, or had the courage to root up the tree. The public guardians of religion were, or seemed to be, ignorant that the errors of the Aristotelian philosophy lay at the foundation of this corruption. Themselves infected with the disease which they undertook to cure, if the Christian faith was professed in words, they thought it of little consequence what tenets were in reality believed. In order to throw dust into the eyes of the people, the ecclesiastics professed to yield such implicit submission to the authority of the church, as to embrace its decrees, though they were wholly irreconcilable with the invincible reasonings of the Peripatetic schools. Under this mask they did not scruple publicly to defend any kind of impiety, only adding this caution, that they proposed positions of this kind merely in the way of speculation, and though they might be true according to Aristotle, they were false according to the decisions of the church, to which they humbly submitted, though they were not able to discover the reasons upon which they were founded. Such pitiful evasions, though they might suffice to secure the credit of the church among an ignorant populace, proved highly injurious to good morals, by encouraging fraud and hypocrisy. The motto of Cremoninus seems to have expressed the general sense of the Peripatetic clergy of this period, *Intus ut libet, foris ut moris est*: "Abroad, with the people; at home, as you please."

The Stagirite having, for many centuries, possessed authority in the

schools little inferior to that of Jesus Christ in the church, and his dogmas being intimately interwoven with those of religion, it was thought exceedingly hazardous to whisper any thing to the discredit of his philosophy. The learned Berigard, who was sensible of many errors in this system, declares,* “that in lecturing upon Aristotle he did not think himself at liberty to give his own opinion, lest he should be thought to treat his master with contempt,† and to trample upon the ashes of the ancients.” This reverence for Aristotle was still supported, in popish universities, by statutes, which required the professors to promise upon oath, that in their public lectures on philosophy they would follow no other guide. It is easy to perceive, that, if freedom of speech, even at the very fountain head of instruction, was thus restricted, there could be little scope for freedom of inquiry, and little probability of the ‘advancement of knowledge.

Among Protestants, the errors and corruptions of the Peripatetic philosophy met with opposition; but it was attended with little success. Luther, whose independent spirit rose superior to all human authority in matters of opinion, and who was fully sensible of the mischiefs which an injudicious respect for philosophy had introduced into religion, was for the entire rejection of Aristotle. But the general prejudice in favour of the Stagirite retained such firm possession of the mind of Melancthon, that he judged it the wiser and safer way to adhere to his system, except in those particulars in which it directly militated against Revelation; and thought, that the best service he could render to the learned world, was to give a perspicuous explanation of the Peripatetic philosophy. His Philippias, which, as we have seen, were founded upon Peripatetic principles, obtained an extensive and lasting authority in the schools; and when this ceased, the preceptors of philosophy returned to their ancient guide, and Scholastic barbarism was in some measure revived. The freedom of inquiry, which at this time prevailed among Protestants, would not, it is true, suffer the defects and errors of the ancient philosophy to remain unnoticed. Several eminent men even ventured to inveigh against Aristotle himself, as the author of many pernicious errors; but still, his system, for the most part, retained its authority; and even those who forsook this master, thought it necessary to make choice of some other ancient guide; so that, after all, the question was, what Aristotle, Plato, or Pythagoras had taught, rather than what was truth.‡

SECTION III.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY, MIXED WITH THE PYTHAGOREAN AND CABBALISTIC.

THE doctrines of the later Platonists having been revived, as we have already related, by the Greek exiles in Italy, their further spread is chiefly to be imputed to the aversion, which many good men entertained against the Peripatetic philosophy, on account of the shameful impieties to which

* Præf. Circul. Pisan.

† Ne in magistrum despuere, et apolactizare, ut ait Plautus, velle videar.

‡ Vidend. Adami Vit. Theol. Reimann. Hist. Lit. Germ. p. iv. v. Apini Vit. Prof. Phil. Altdorf. Zeltner. Vit. Theol. Altdorf. Matthesii Vit. Luther, Budd. Isag. l. i. c. 4. Philosophia Altdorfina, Norimb. 1614. Crenii Animadv. Phil. p. 13. Mayer Diss. de nimia lenitate, 1707. Arnold Hist. Eccl. p. ii. l. xvi. c. 10. Vogtii Catal. Lib. rar. p. 539. 562, &c. Sandii Bibl. Antitrinit. Boecler. Bibl. Crit. c. 40. Morhoff. Polyhist. t. ii. l. i. Bayle.

it had given birth. Perceiving that they could not commit themselves to the direction of Aristotle without hazarding their religious principles, and not having strength of mind sufficient to form a system of opinions for themselves, they adopted the philosophy of Plato, in the corrupted state in which it had been transmitted through the Alexandrian and Christian schools, to modern times. This philosophy was the more readily embraced, because it was believed, that the mysteries of Pythagoras, than which none appeared to approach nearer to those of true religion, had been long since united with the wisdom of Plato. Men hoped to find in this school much Divine instruction; and they were confirmed in this expectation by the persuasion, that its doctrines had been, immediately or remotely, derived from Divine Revelation. And, as one error naturally produces another, these learned men united with this system the secret or Cabbalistic philosophy of the Jews, which, for want of a thorough examination, they conceived to have been the pure doctrine of the ancient Hebrews. Hence a new compound of tenets arose, sufficiently mysterious and paradoxical, which was received by this class of philosophers as the sum of ancient wisdom.

After Pletho, who as we have related, made use of the Jewish Cabbala as a key to unlock the Pythagorean mysteries, flourished JOHN REUCHLIN,* a native of Pforzheim, in Suabia, born in the year 1455. In his youth, when he was a student at Paris, and afterwards when he was a preceptor of languages, first at Basil, and afterwards at Orleans, he was a follower of Aristotle. But upon a tour through Italy, which he made with Eberhard, Count of Wirtemberg, he became acquainted with Ficinus, Politian, Picus, and other Platonists, who resided at Florence, and embraced their opinions. At Rome, a friend who was offended with the harshness of the German name Reuchlin, prevailed upon him to exchange it, after the common practice of the age, into CAPNIO, a Greek name of the same signification; whence he was chiefly known among foreigners by that name. Capnio, at Vienna, during an embassy to the Emperor Frederic III. upon which he was sent by Count Eberhard, and afterwards at Rome while he was upon an embassy to the Pope from the Elector Palatine, prosecuted the study of the Hebrew language under the direction of certain learned Jews, chiefly that he might have access to the Jewish Cabbalistic writings, whence he hoped to cast new light upon the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines. His knowledge of the Hebrew language unfortunately brought him into great trouble and hazard.

A certain Jewish convert, John Pfefferkorn, of Cologne, to show his zeal for Christianity, advised the Guardians of the Christian faith to burn all the Jewish books, except the bible, as full of blasphemy against Christ; and, through the influence of the monks and theologians of Cologne, obtained from the emperor an edict for this purpose. Pfefferkorn himself was employed to collect them, and they were brought to Frankfort, to be publicly committed to the flames. The Jews, who justly considered this proceeding as a grievous persecution, earnestly entreated the emperor to suspend the execution of the order, till the books had passed under the examination of the learned. The emperor consented; and Capnio, who was universally acknowledged to excel in this kind of learning, was appointed by the Elector of Mentz, under the authority of the emperor, to pass a judgment upon these writings. Capnio, though he had not the liberality,

* Melancthon Vit. Reuch. Declam. t. iii. p. 280. Reuchl. Dedic. libr. de Accentibus. Maii Vit. Reuch. Fr. 1687. 8vo. Reuch. Epist. Ed. Tigur. 1558. 8vo. Trithem. c. 920.

or more probably the courage, to oppose the whole project, as a violation of an important natural right, and as a disgrace to Christianity, had, nevertheless, too much good sense to adopt, in its full extent, the wretched policy of the authors and promoters of this design. He therefore gave it as his opinion, that no other books should be destroyed, but those which were found to be written expressly against Jesus Christ, lest, with the Jewish books on liberal arts and sciences, their language itself, so important to the church, should perish. This opinion was approved by the emperor, and the books were by his authority restored to the Jews. Pfefferkorn and his supporters were exceedingly enraged against Capnio, and pursued him with invectives and accusations even to the court of Rome. His high reputation in the learned world, however, protected him; and bigotry met with a most mortifying defeat in his honourable acquittal.

The spleen of the ecclesiastics against Capnio was still further increased by a comedy abounding with keen satire, which this writer, whose genius was not inferior to his learning, produced; the chief design of which was to expose the ignorance of the monks. It was at first only circulated in manuscript, but afterwards found its way into the press.*

In the latter part of his life, the adversaries of Capnio had too much reason to exult over him; for notwithstanding all his learning and celebrity, he was scarcely able, by teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages (which he did in several different schools) to preserve himself from absolute want. He spent his last days at Trebingen, where he died in the year 1522. His faculties, which were naturally vigorous, were cultivated with great industry. His mind was richly stored with various erudition, and his character was eminently distinguished by probity and urbanity.†

Whilst Ficinus was reviving the Platonic philosophy in Italy, and Faber the Aristotelian in France, Capnio professed and taught a mystical system, compounded of Platonic, Pythagoric, and Cabbalistic doctrines. He wrote several profound treatises on philosophy, of which the principal are these; *De Verbo Mirifico*, "On the Wonderful Word," and *De Arte Cabbalistica*, "On the Cabbalistic Art." On the whole, Reuchlin, or Capnio, is certainly to be ranked in the class of Mystics, and deserves more praise for his assiduous and successful attempts towards the revival of learning, than for any service which he rendered to science. His Epistles are full of valuable information concerning the literary history of this period.

A similar track was pursued by GEORGE VENET,‡ an obscure and enthusiastic writer, who mixed sundry Peripatetic notions with the Platonic and Cabbalistic systems. He was of opinion that Pythagoras and Plato, Orpheus and Zoroaster, Job and Solomon, St. John and St. Paul, Origen and Dionysius, all derived their wisdom from one common source, the Divine Logos. His chief works are, *Harmonia Mundi*, "The Harmony of the World;" and *Problemata in Scripturam sacram*, "Problems upon the Sacred Scriptures."

The Mystic system of Cabbalistic Platonism was supported with great ability, and not without a vast display of erudition, by HENRY CORNELIUS AGRIPPA,§ a man of wonderful genius, whose life was distinguished by much vicissitude of fortune. Agrippa was born at Nettesheym, near Cologne, in the year 1486. Whilst young, he was employed for seven years in the service of the Emperor Maximilian, first as his secretary, and afterwards

* Pforzheim, 1507.

† Op. Reuchlin, ed. Hag. 1519. Tigur. 1558.

‡ Wadding. Scr. Ord. Min. p. 119. Wharton, App. Cave, p. 151. Olear. de S. E. 259. Sext. Senens Bib. S. p. 287. Index Exp. Hisp. p. 406. 421.

§ Adami Vit. Med. p. 16. Niceron. t. xix. xx. Amœnit. Liter. t. ii. p. 553. Bayle.

in a military capacity: notwithstanding which, he found leisure to learn several languages, and to gain an extensive knowledge of science. He very early engaged in the study and practice of medicine, and formed a romantic expectation of recommending himself to the patronage of princes, by pretending to an intimate acquaintance with the secrets of nature, and particularly to the power of converting inferior metals into gold. Full of this wild project, he visited Spain, France, and several other countries, every where passing himself upon the world as a wonderful master of occult arts, that is, acting the part of an impostor. His pretensions obtained such a degree of credit, that at twenty-three years of age he obtained a professorship at Dole, in Burgundy, where he read lectures on the mystical work of Reuchlin, *De Verbo Mirifico*. But the novelty and boldness of his doctrine, at the same time that it brought him many hearers, subjected him to severe persecutions from the monks; so that he found it necessary to leave Dole, and pass over into England.

After a short stay in London, he returned, in compliance with the entreaties of his friends, to Cologne, and began to read lectures; but his restless spirit, which would not suffer him to remain long in the same place, soon carried him into Italy. Here he resumed for a while the military character in the emperor's army, and at the same time taught the mystical philosophy at Pavia, not without pretensions to Divine inspiration. From some cause, of which we are not informed, he lost his property, and lived for a while in great poverty, till in 1518, his friends procured for him a civil office in the city of Mentz. But his unrestrained freedom of speech, and the severity with which he still continued his attacks upon monkish superstition, soon created him enemies in this city, and obliged him to return to Cologne; whence, after a short interval of time, he removed to Geneva, then to Friberg, where he practised physic, and afterwards to Lyons. In this city he was appointed physician to the mother of Francis I, and obtained great influence with her by means of his pretended skill in astrology; but upon her departure from Lyons he was dismissed from his office, and it was with great difficulty that he obtained his stipulated salary.

Agrippa next removed to Antwerp, and put himself under the patronage of Margaret of Austria, who appointed him historiographer to the Emperor Charles V. But his restless and cynical humour would not suffer him to enjoy the tranquillity, which this situation might have afforded him. He continued to satirise men of every description, particularly ecclesiastics; and he wrote a treatise "On the Vanity of the Sciences," and another "On Occult Philosophy;" which brought upon him the displeasure of the clerical body, and alienated the affections of the emperor, so that he was dismissed from his office, was reduced to poverty, and at Brussels, in the year 1531, was thrown into prison for debt. Regaining his liberty through the interposition of his friends, he visited the archbishop of Cologne, to whom he had dedicated his treatise on the "Occult Philosophy," and republished the work with numerous corrections and additions. This, together with his "Apology for himself to the Senate of Cologne," which was full of spleen and invective, rekindled such a general spirit of hostility against him, that he found it necessary once more to withdraw into France. When he arrived at Lyons, he was imprisoned for some satirical papers which he had formerly written against the king's mother; and it was not without much importunity, that his friends obtained his release from this confinement. He spent his last days with a friend at Grenoble, where he died in the year 1535.

From the whole history of Agrippa it appears, that he was a man of eccentric genius and restless spirit. In the midst of such numerous changes of situation and fortune, it is surprising that he was able to acquire such extensive erudition, and to leave behind him so many proofs of literary industry. There can be no doubt that he possessed a vigorous understanding, which rose superior to vulgar superstitions, and which prompted him to maintain a constant warfare with priestcraft. Though he did not choose to offend those princes to whom he looked up for patronage, by deserting the church of Rome, he saw with great satisfaction the bold attack made upon its corruptions by Martin Luther; and he himself, like Erasmus, Faber, and others, perpetually harassed the monks by satirical writings.* His cynical severity, and above all the disposition which he discovered to make his fortune by practising upon vulgar credulity, must not pass without censure. His occult philosophy is rather a sketch of the Alexandrian mixed with the Cabbalistic theology, than a treatise on magic. It explains the harmony of nature, and the connexion of the elementary, celestial, and intellectual worlds, on the principles of the emanative system. His treatise "On the Vanity of the Sciences," is not so much intended to traduce science itself, as to ridicule the follies of the learned, and expose the numerous absurdities of the established modes of education.†

Very different was the method of restoring the Platonic philosophy which was pursued by FRANCISCUS PATRICIUS,‡ born at Clissa, in Illyricum, in the year 1529. In the schools of Italy he professed to unite the doctrines of Aristotle and Plato, but in reality undermined the authority of the former. He wholly deserted the obscurity of the Jewish Cabbala, and in teaching philosophy closely followed the ancient Greek writers. He was appointed by Pope Clement VIII. a preceptor in philosophy at Rome; after which he more openly discovered his aversion to the Aristotelian system, and advised the Pope to prohibit the teaching of this philosophy in the schools, and to introduce the doctrine of Plato, as more consonant to the Christian faith. His *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, "Peripatetic Disquisitions," a learned, perspicuous, and elegant work, fully explains the reason on which his disapprobation of the Peripatetic philosophy was founded. Patricius also wrote several historical tracts which have been much admired.

In the seventeenth century, Platonism found many advocates in Great Britain, owing, in a great measure, to the desire which many learned and able divines at this time entertained of refuting the tenets of Hobbes, whose doctrine will be afterwards noticed. For, although they were aware that the writings of Plato afforded little information on subjects of natural philosophy, in which physical experiment now began to take the place of metaphysical speculations, they thought that in theology and morals he had written sublimely, and not without some rays of Divine illumination; and hence concluded, that they could not more effectually oppose the Hobbesian impieties, than by reviving an attention to the doctrine of Plato, both in his own works, and in those of his followers. A numerous band of learned advocates for religion at this time ranged themselves under the banners of Plato, among whom the most celebrated are Gale, Cudworth, and More.§

* Fabr. Hist. Bib. suæ, t. vi. p. 270. Ed. Lugdun. sine ann.

† Naud. Apol. p. 285. Webster de Magia.

‡ Erythr. Pinacoth. i. p. 203. Bayle. Teisser. Elog. t. iv. p. 218. Laun. de Fort. Arist. c. 14. p. 281. Morhoff. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 14. sect. 1.

§ Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, v. ii. p. 187. Parker on the Platonic Philosophy, Oxon. 1664.

THEOPHILUS GALE,* a non-conformist of the Presbyterian sect, born in 1628, a writer of great erudition, was induced to become a zealous advocate for Platonism through a violent antipathy to the Cartesian system, which he thought unfriendly to morals, and contradictory to the doctrine of Revelation. He undertook to trace back philosophy to its origin, and maintained that there was a wonderful agreement between the ancient Barbaric philosophy and the Jewish and Christian theology. He brought every philosophical tenet to the test of the scriptures; and thought that it would not be a difficult undertaking, to separate from the Pagan philosophy those doctrines which originated in Divine Revelation, and had been transmitted by tradition from the Hebrews to the Gentiles. Having persuaded himself that these doctrines had passed in a direct line, and without material corruption, from the Hebrew fountain to Plato, he recommended his philosophical writings as, next to the scriptures, the most valuable remains of ancient wisdom. The chief point which he labours to maintain in his treatise "On Philosophy,"† is, that Plato received his knowledge of theology from the Hebrews, and that the doctrine on this subject taught by him and his followers, for the most part, agrees with that of the holy scriptures. This opinion he implicitly adopts from the ancient fathers, whose authority, with respect to this matter, we have had frequent occasion to call in question. His account of other philosophers is given, without much appearance of accurate discrimination, chiefly from Laertius. He divides the Aristotelian philosophy into *pure* and *impure*, and supposes, gratuitously enough, that the former passed from Moses to the Stagirite through the channel of Plato's instruction. His favourite notion frequently occurs in his other learned work, "The Court of the Gentiles."‡

The Platonic philosophy was, with greater accuracy and sounder judgment, applied to the refutation of impiety by RALPH CUDWORTH,§ the learned author of a valuable work, entitled "The True Intellectual System of the Universe." He was born in the year 1617, at Aller, in Somersetshire, and educated at Cambridge, in Emanuel college, where he took the degree of master of arts in 1639: he was afterwards chosen master of Clare Hall, and regius professor of Hebrew. In 1654, having taken the degree of doctor of divinity, he was chosen master of Christ's college. Cudworth, for thirty years, discharged with great ability and fidelity the office of Hebrew professor in Cambridge; and continued his residence in that university till his death, which happened in the year 1688. The design of his "Intellectual System" is to refute the principles of atheism. In this important undertaking, he very successfully employed a vast fund of erudition: but his partiality for the Platonic philosophy, in judging of which, after the example of his contemporaries, he paid too much respect to the writings of the modern Alexandrian Platonists, led him into frequent mistakes. In physics he adopted the Atomic system; but abandoning Democritus and Epicurus as the first patrons of impiety, he added to the doctrine of Atoms that of a certain middle substance between matter and spirit, to which he gave the appellation of Plastic Nature, which he supposed to be the immediate instrument of the Divine operation. This hypothesis gave rise to a famous controversy between Bayle and Le Clerc. The "Intellectual System" was first published in 1678, and, in the year 1713, was translated into Latin by Mosheim, with many learned and judicious notes.

But no one defended the Platonic doctrine, combined with the Pythagorean and Cabbalistic, with greater learning and subtlety than Cudworth's

* Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 793.

† Ed. Lond. 1676, 8vo.

‡ Lond. 1672.

§ Mosheim. Præf. et Annot. ad Syst. Int.

friend and colleague, HENRY MORE,* born in 1614, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. After having laid a good foundation of classical learning at Eton, he diligently applied, at the university, to the study of philosophy. He early made himself perfect master of the doctrines of Aristotle and the Scholastics; but he met with so little satisfaction in their respective systems, that he determined to search for better guides; and he persuaded himself that he should find them among the Platonists. Wholly occupied with the desire of attaining that purity of mind and Divine illumination which might raise him to a union with God, he devoted his life to the sublime speculation of mystical philosophy, and to the study of the scriptures. He spent his days in the university of Cambridge; where, after having long enjoyed the highest academical honours, in the year 1687, he died, leaving behind him a name highly celebrated among theologians and philosophers. His principal writings are, "The Mystery of Iniquity;" "A Key to the Revelations;" *Enchiridion Ethicum*, "A Manual of Ethics;" *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, "A Manual of Metaphysics;" "An Apology for Des Cartes," and "A Collection of Philosophical Treatises, chiefly on the Jewish Cabbala."

More was strongly under the bias of the opinion so common among his contemporaries, that the wisdom of the Hebrews had been transmitted to Pythagoras, and from him to Plato; and consequently, that the true principles of Divine philosophy were to be found in the writings of the Platonists. At the same time, he was persuaded that the ancient Cabbalistic philosophy sprung from the same fountain; and therefore endeavoured to lay open the mystery of this philosophy, by showing its agreement with the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato, and pointing out the corruptions which had been introduced by the modern Cabbalists. The Cartesian system, which sprung up at this time, was embraced by More, as on the whole consonant to his ideas of nature; and he took much pains to prove that it was not inconsistent with the Cabbalistic doctrine. His penetrating understanding, however, discovered defects in this new system, which he endeavoured to supply. In short, the writings of this great man, though not without a deep tincture of mysticism, are eminently distinguished by profound erudition, an inventive genius, and a liberal spirit.

A clear judgment may, after what has been said, be without much difficulty formed, concerning this new race of Platonists. The peculiar respect which they paid to the doctrines of Plato and Pythagoras, as in some sort of Divine original, rested upon suppositions which have never been established. The story of Pythagoras's journey into the East is extremely uncertain; and it is highly improbable that he should ever have conversed with Hebrew prophets. Of his school, which had failed at a very early period, little was known. The whole notion of the Divine original of Plato's theology is built upon such slight evidence, that it may, without hesitation, be pronounced visionary. The Cabbalistic tenets, upon which these philosophers laid so much stress, were not, as they supposed, the pure doctrines of the Hebrews, but mystical fictions derived from Egyptian and Oriental sources. The tenets of the Platonic and of the Cabbalistic systems differed essentially from the sacred truths which are taught in the Hebrew scriptures. It is not to be conceived, that the fanciful doctrine of emanation, which lies at the foundation of both these systems, could have been derived by tradition from Divine Revelation. Yet, so much were these learned men blinded by prejudice in favour of an hypothesis, that

* Præf. Op. Phil. Lond. 1676. Conf. Knorri Cabb. denud. t. i. p. ii. p. 14.

they could see nothing but a perfect harmony between Platonism and Christianity, and mistook the dreams of the Alexandrian philosophers, and Jewish Cabbalistics, for the pure doctrine of religion. To this we must add, that they suffered themselves, in some instances, to be deceived by impostors; and, with a degree of credulity not wholly to be excused, admitted spurious writings as genuine: such for example, as the remains of Zoroaster, Hermes, and Orpheus. From these and other causes they were led into so many misconceptions and errors, that caution should be exercised in acceding to their judgment concerning either Platonic or Christian doctrines.*

SECTION IV.—OF THE REVIVAL OF THE DOCTRINE OF PARMENIDES.

THOSE circumstances attending the Aristotelian philosophy, which contributed towards the revival of the Grecian sects, led in a single instance to the restoration of the physical doctrine of Parmenides. Aristotle having obscured the subject of natural philosophy, by involving it in metaphysical subtlety, Telesius attempted to raise a new edifice of physics, on the foundation of principles, which Parmenides had long before taught in Greece.

BERNARD TELESIIUS,† a Neapolitan, born in the year 1508, received the first part of his education at Milan, where he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. After passing two years at Rome, where he made great proficiency in polite learning, he removed to Padua, and applied with indefatigable assiduity to the study of mathematics and philosophy. He very judiciously employed mathematical learning in explaining and establishing the laws of physics, and was particularly successful in investigating truths before unknown in the doctrine of optics. Accustomed to mathematical accuracy, he grew dissatisfied with the conjectural explanation of natural appearances given by Aristotle, and expressed great surprise, that this philosopher should have been, for so many ages, followed in his numerous errors by so many learned men, by whole nations, and almost by the whole human race. He pursued his researches with great ingenuity as well as freedom, and wrote two books "On Nature," in which he attempted to overturn the physical doctrine of the Peripatetic school, and to explain the phenomena of the material world upon new principles. When this treatise was first published at Rome, it obtained great and unexpected applause; and Telesius was prevailed upon, by the importunity of his friends at Naples, to open a school of philosophy in that city. The Telesian school soon became famous, not only for the number of its pupils, but for the abilities of its professors, who distinguished themselves by their bold opposition to the doctrines of Aristotle, and by the judicious manner in which they distributed their labours, in order to enlarge the boundaries of natural knowledge. The founder of the school was highly esteemed by all who were desirous of studying nature rather than dialectics; and he was patronised by several great men, particularly by Ferdinand, Duke of

* Vidend. Wierus de Præstig. Dæmon. l. ii. c. 5. Natalis Comes Mythol. l. iii. c. 17. Naud. Apol. Mag. Accus. p. 285. Reimann. Hist. Lit. Germ. p. iii. p. 168. Gimma idea Della Storia Letterata d'Italia, t. ii. c. 39. Budd. Introd. in Hist. Ph. Heb. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 186. Stoll. Introd. in Hist. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. Reimann. in Cat. Crit. t. i. p. 980.

† Toppii Bibl. Neap. p. 344. Pantapolog. Calab. Neap. 1715. Imp. Mus. p. 70. Comnen. Papadopol. Hist. Gymn. Patav. p. ii. c. 32. Lotter. de Vit. Telesii, Lips. 1733. Teisser. Elog. t. iii. p. 449.

Nuceri. But his popularity soon awakened the jealousy and envy of the monks, who loaded him and his school with calumny, for no other offence than that he ventured to call in question the authority of Aristotle. The vexations which he suffered from this quarter brought on a bilious disorder, which, in 1588, terminated in his death.

Although, during the life of Telesius, his innovations were patiently borne, both in Rome and Naples, after his death his writings were proscribed in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the holy inquisition: notwithstanding which, his philosophy continued to have many admirers, and his works were republished at Venice, in the year 1590, by his friend Antonius Persius, who also wrote a compendium of his philosophy in the vernacular tongue. Besides his principal work, *De Natura Rerum*, "On the Nature of Things," he wrote on the Air, the Sea, Comets, the Milky Way, the Rainbow, Colours, Respiration, Sleep, and other subjects. Lord Bacon has given a brief explanation of the philosophy of Telesius.*

The physical system, which Telesius attempted to substitute in the room of the subtleties and fictions of the Stagirite, was founded upon the Parmenidean doctrine, that the first principles in nature, by means of which all natural phenomena are produced, are cold and heat. The sum of his theory is this: matter, which is in itself incapable of action, and admits neither of increase nor diminution, is acted upon by two contrary incorporeal principles, heat and cold. From the perpetual opposition of these, arises the several forms in nature; the prevalence of cold in the lower regions producing the earth and terrestrial bodies; and that of heat in the superior, the heavens and celestial bodies. All the changes of natural bodies are owing to this conflict; and according to the degree in which each principle prevails, are the different degrees of density, resistance, opacity, moisture, dryness, &c. which are found in different substances. In the heavens, heat has its fixed residence, without any opposition from the contrary principle; and within the earth, and in the abyss of the sea, cold remains undisturbed, heat not being able to penetrate thither. At the borders of each of these regions, that contest between the opposite principles begins, which is carried on through all the intermediate space. All animal and vegetable life is from God.†

This system, which Telesius evidently borrowed from Parmenides, whose doctrine is particularly described in Plutarch's treatise *De Primo Frigido*, "On the Principle of Cold," was exceedingly ingenious; but it is, after all, nothing more than a baseless fabric, raised upon a fanciful conversion of mere attributes and properties into substantial principles. For, as Lord Bacon well observes, Telesius, no less than Plato or Aristotle, places abstract notions at the foundation of his system, and produces his world of real beings from nonentities. We readily admit that this philosopher was a lover of truth, and a friend to science; but we think him chiefly commendable for the boldness of his attack upon the principles of Aristotle, in which he succeeded much better than in his attempt to raise a new structure of natural philosophy; for, in changing the attributes of matter into incorporeal principles, he left his doctrine exposed to the same objection, which he himself had brought against that of Aristotle. It was probably owing to this cause, that the Telesian system did not long survive its author.‡

* De Principiis Parmenidis et Telesii.

† Teles. de Natura rerum juxta propria Principia. Neap. 1586. Morhoff. Polyhist. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 13.

‡ Vidend. Bacon's Hist. of Winds, Præf. and on the Fable of Cupid. v. iii. p. 238. Gimma Idea Hist. Lit. Ital. t. ii. c. 38. Campanell. Philos. Sensibus demonstr. Sorrell. de Perfect. Homin. p. iii. p. 413. Arnold Diss. de Novitate Philosophandi. sect. 11.

SECTION V.—OF THE REVIVAL OF THE IONIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE Ionic philosophy, notwithstanding the celebrity of its first professors, soon failed in the Grecian schools, and never afterwards recovered its ancient reputation and authority. This was owing to the suspicion of impiety under which it lay in Athens, to the early growth of new branches from the Socratic stock, and to the rise and spread of the Eleatic and Epicurean philosophy. In later times, the universal prevalence of the Platonic and Aristotelian systems prevented every idea of reviving the physiology of the Ionic school, till, in the seventeenth century, an attempt was made for this purpose by Berigard, but in so circumspect and covert a manner, that this philosopher was commonly ranked among the followers of Aristotle, and even supposed to be deeply tinctured with the impiety of his system.

CLAUD BERIGARD* was born at Molena, in Spain, in the year 1592, and studied first at Aix, then at Paris, and afterwards at Pisa. In this latter school he was, through the favour of the Duke of Tuscany, appointed professor of mathematics and botany. The fame of his learning, which was spread through Italy, induced the republic of Venice, in the year 1640, to appoint him, with a liberal stipend, professor of philosophy in Padua. He was afterwards raised to the dignity of first professor, and received a large augmentation of his salary. He remained in this situation till his death, which happened about the year 1668, and was esteemed one of the most eminent of the Italian philosophers. He published, in 1632, under a fictitious name, a work entitled *Dubitationes in Dialogos Galilæi de Terræ Immobilitate*,† “Doubts on the Dialogues of Galileo in Defence of the Immobility of the Earth;” but his principal work is his *Circuli Pisani*, “Pisan Circles,” in which he relates the disputations which were held at Pisa on the physical writings of Aristotle, and gives his own sentiments upon them.

Berigard, during his education at Paris, where the defects of the Peripatetic system were now freely examined, had been led to compare the doctrines of the Stagirite with those of other philosophers, both ancient and modern, and had perceived the folly of that implicit obedience which had been so long paid to his authority. Hence he became a determined opponent of his philosophy, not indeed openly, for he could not have done this without great hazard, but in the indirect and concealed method of dialogue. Adopting the Ionic system, as it was first instituted by Thales, and afterwards improved by Anaxagoras, he framed a disputation between the Aristotelians and Ionics, in which he made Aristæus refute the reasoning of Charilaus, and support the doctrine of the Ionic school, by an appeal to experience, as well as by many ingenious arguments. This acute reasoner saw indeed, and confessed, that both the Peripatetic and the Ionic systems were materially defective, and in many particulars erroneous, and was on this account much inclined to philosophical scepticism. But he endeavoured to prove, that the followers of Thales approached nearer to truth than those of Aristotle; the dangerous tendency of whose tenets, in several particulars, he clearly exposed. Among the doctrines of the Stagirite, those which he chiefly reprobated were these: that the world is eternal;

* Bayle. Niceron. Mem. t. xxxi. p. 123. Præf. Circ. Pis. Epist. Welschii ad Bosium apud Ep. Reines. et Bos. p. 470.

† Ed. Amst. 1649.

that the residence of the first mover is confined to the outer sphere of the universe; that neither the world, nor any being, can properly be said to have been created; and that there is one soul common to the whole human species. In opposition to these opinions, which he rejected as capital errors whence many others must arise, Berigard maintained the Ionic doctrine of the eternity of the primary particles of matter; of a forming and presiding mind, by whose agency these particles were collected into distinct bodies; and of the combination and dispersion of these, as constituting the formation and dissolution of all things. In short, Berigard seems to have prepared the way for the revival of the Atomic system of Epicurus, which was soon after this time restored and defended by Gassendi.*

SECTION. VI.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY.

As the poverty of the Peripatetic physics occasioned the revival of the Parmenidean and Ionic sects, so the barrenness of the Ethical doctrine taught in the school of Aristotle prompted the design of renewing the Stoic philosophy. Finding little satisfaction in Aristotle's moral precepts, which extended no further than to the conduct of civil life, and disgusted with the thorny disputations of the Scholastics, Lipsius, a name celebrated among the critics of the sixteenth century, determined to pass over into a field of philosophy, in which he hoped to exercise his faculties with greater advantage.

JUSTUS LIPSIUS† was born near Brussels, in the year 1547, and received the first rudiments of learning under his uncle, Martin Lipsius, a learned friend of Erasmus, who was engaged with him in editing several ecclesiastical writings. At twelve years of age, Lipsius was sent to the Jesuit's college at Cologne, where he prosecuted his literary and philosophical studies. Among the ancients, he learned the precepts of morality from Epictetus and Seneca, and the maxims of civil prudence from Tacitus. From Cologne he removed to Louvain, where he studied civil law, and at nineteen wrote his *Varie Lectiones*, "Various Readings," which laid the foundation of his literary fame. Travelling into Italy, he obtained the patronage of the Cardinal Antonius Perenettus, and was appointed his secretary. This situation afforded him leisure and opportunity for prosecuting his philological studies, and gave him access to many learned men, and to the Vatican and other public libraries. After two years, he returned to Louvain, enriched with new stores of learning, but by no means improved in his manners; for at Rome he acquired a fondness for pleasure, which led him, for a time, into many excesses. The public disturbances induced him, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, to leave his native country, and visit Vienna, where he became acquainted with Busbequius and other learned men. On his return, he suffered himself to be detained at Jena, in Thuringia, where he accepted the professorship of eloquence, and became a disciple of Luther. This latter circumstance obliged him, after a year's residence, to leave Jena; and he removed to Cologne, where

* Vidend. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 154. Laun. de Fortuna Arist. in Acad. Par. c. 15. Seb. Basson. Præf. Nat. Phil. Ed. Genæv. Sorell. de Perfect. Hom. p. iii. p. 484. Reimann. Hist. Ath. s. iii. c. 5. Villemandy Scept. debell. p. 11.

† Lips. Vit. a Miræo. Antw. 1608. Adami Vit. Phil. p. 465. Euryth. Pinacoth. iii. c. 1. Bayle. Teisser. Elog. t. iv. p. 524. Blount, p. 840. Patin Lettres, t. ii. Lett. 294.

he married a widow, whose ill-temper occasioned him much uneasiness. At Cologne, where he remained only a few months, he wrote his *Antiquæ Lectiones*, "Ancient Readings." He now determined to return to his native place, and devote himself wholly to study; but the civil commotions of the country obliged him to remove first to Louvain, and afterwards to Leyden, where he spent thirteen years in literary labours. Here, though nominally a convert to the Reformation, he publicly maintained the principles of persecution, and wrote a treatise "On Politics," in which he inveighed against toleration, and maintained, that one religion only should be professed in one state, and that those who opposed that religion ought to be pursued with fire and sword; it being better that one member should be destroyed, than that the whole body should perish. This doctrine so favourable to the cruel persecution at this time exercised by the Spaniards against the Protestants, excited a just indignation against Lipsius, in a state which owed its existence to a brave and successful assertion of the rights of conscience. The resentment which on this account fell upon him from various quarters, created him so much vexation, that upon republishing his works, he subjoined a note to one of his most offensive passages, in which he says, *Verba nata in turbas! periissent illa et calamus, cum hæc scripsi!* "Mischievous words! Oh! that they had perished with the pen that wrote them!"* It does not appear, however, that Lipsius ever abandoned his intolerant principles; for after a short time he left Leyden; and, through the solicitation of the Jesuits, or, as some say, through the importunity of his wife, he returned into the bosom of the Roman church. He spent the remainder of his life at Louvain, and tarnished his literary reputation by writing several books which were tinctured with the weakest credulity and superstition, particularly his *Laudes divæ Virginis Halensis*, "Praise of the Holy Virgin of Hall," in which he celebrates the miracles of that famous image. After giving these and other unequivocal proofs of anility, Lipsius died in the year 1606.

It appears both from the life and writings of Lipsius, that he had more learning than either genius or judgment. His ambition disturbed the tenor of his life with various vicissitudes; and he had a degree of fickleness in religious principles, which carried him at one time to the verge of scepticism, and at another time into the borders of enthusiasm. His writings, which are numerous, chiefly turn upon subjects of antiquity and criticism. In his early pieces he imitated, with tolerable success, the style of Cicero; but afterwards chose rather to adopt the concise and pointed manner of Seneca and Tacitus. For this corruption of taste he was severely censured by Scioppius and Henry Stephens; but his example was followed by several contemporary writers. On this innovation Huet justly remarks,† that although the abrupt and antithetical style may obtain the applauses of unskilful youth, or an illiterate multitude, it cannot be pleasing to ears which have been long inured to genuine Ciceronian eloquence.

Captivated with the appearance of superior wisdom and virtue which he observed in the ancient school of Zeno, Lipsius sought for consolation from the precepts of the Stoic philosophy, and attempted to reconcile its doctrines with those of Christianity. But he was imposed upon by the vaunting language of this school concerning fate and Providence; and explains its tenets in a manner which cannot be reconciled with the history and general system of Stoicism. In order to revive an attention to the doctrines of this ancient sect, he wrote two treatises, *Manuductio ad Phi-*

* Politic. l. iv. c. 3. Not.

† De clar. Interp. p. 282.

losophicam Stoicam, "An Introduction to the Stoic Philosophy;" and *Dissertationes de Physiologia Stoica*, "Dissertations on Stoic Physiology;" to which he intended to have added a treatise on the moral doctrine of the Stoics, but was prevented by death. His edition of Seneca is enriched with many valuable notes; but he was too much biased by his partiality for Stoicism to perceive the feeble and unsound parts of the system, and gave too easy credit to the arrogant claims of this school, to be a judicious and useful interpreter of its doctrine. Besides the philosophical works already mentioned, he wrote a treatise *De Constantia*, "On Constancy," and *Politicorum Libri Sex*, "A Treatise on Politics, in six books." This latter work, though highly censurable for its intolerant spirit, is of some value as a compilation of the sentiments of the ancients on the subject of policy.

A few learned men followed the footsteps of Lipsius, and endeavoured to revive the credit of the Stoic philosophy. GASPER SCIOPIUS,* a German writer, who flourished about the beginning of the seventeenth century, more famous for the violence of his temper, and the severity with which he censured the writings of others, than for any essential service to learning or philosophy, wrote *Elementa Philosophiæ Stoicæ Moralis*, "Elements of the Moral Philosophy of the Stoics." DANIEL HEINSIUS was a great admirer of the moral doctrine of the Stoics, and wrote an elegant "Oration in praise of the Stoic philosophy." But the most able advocate for this system among the moderns was THOMAS GATAKER, born at London, in the year 1574, and educated at St. John's college, Cambridge. He was afterwards fellow of Sydney college, and lecturer at Lincoln's Inn. Among other learned works, he wrote a "Commentary on the Meditations of Antoninus," containing every thing, which a most extensive knowledge of the ancients could furnish, towards the illustration of his author, and of the Stoic system. It is, however, to be regretted, that such a learned and able writer should have suffered himself to be so far blinded by partiality for the Porch, as to give a representation of its doctrines by no means consistent with the fundamental principles of the sect.†

SECTION VII.

OF THE REVIVAL OF THE EPICUREAN PHILOSOPHY.

THE Atomic doctrine concerning the origin of nature, which was taught by Democritus, and was reduced into a regular system by Epicurus, through the general prevalence given in later times to the Platonic or the Aristotelian philosophy, had now for many centuries lain dormant; but, after the revival of letters, there were not wanting several learned men, who, finding little satisfaction in the obscure and subtle speculations of metaphysics, had recourse to the doctrine of Epicurus, as the true key to the mysteries of nature.

The first restorer of the Epicurean system among the moderns, was DANIEL SENNERT,‡ an eminent physician of Wittenburg, who flourished at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In a distinct chapter of his

* Bayle. Reimann. Hist. Lit. Germ. p. v. p. 188.

† Vidend. Budd. in Phil. St. in Analectis Hist. Ph. Thomas de Exustione Mundi. Boecler. Diss. de Polit. Lipsii.

‡ Ejus Hypomnemata. Phys. l. iii. c. 1. p. 86. Ed. 1638.

Hypomnemata Physica, "Heads of Physics," treating of atoms and mixture, he embraces the Atomic system, which he derives from Mochus the Phœnician. He supposes that the primary corpuscles not only unite in the formation of bodies, but that in their mutual action and passion they undergo such modifications, that they cease to be what they were before their union; and maintains, that by their combination all material forms are produced. Sennert, however, confounded the corpuscles of the more ancient philosophers with the atoms of Democritus and Epictetus, and held that each element has primary particles peculiar to itself.

The same doctrine was taught, with some inconsiderable variations, by CHRYSOSTOM MAGNENUS,* professor of medicine in the university of Pavia, who, in the year 1646, published "A treatise on the Life and Philosophy of Democritus."† His system is rendered obscure by an attempt to unite the incompatible dogmas of Epicurus and Aristotle.

The ablest and most successful attempt towards the revival of the physical and moral philosophy of Epicurus was made by PETER GASSENDI,‡ who deservedly holds an eminent place among the philosophers of the last century. He was born in the year 1592, near Digne, in Provence, and studied first at Digne, and afterwards at Aix, where, at the age of sixteen, he was appointed teacher of rhetoric, and at nineteen, professor of philosophy. Although the authority of Aristotle was still acknowledged in almost all public schools, Gassendi, after the example of Vives, Ramus, and others, ventured publicly to expose the defects of his system. The lectures which contained his censures of the Aristotelian philosophy, delivered in the indirect form of paradoxical problems, were published under the title of *Exercitationes Paradoxicæ adversus Aristotelem*,§ "Paradoxical Exercises against Aristotle." This work, at the same time that it gave great offence to those who still retained their predilection for Scholastic subtlety, obtained the author no small degree of reputation with several learned men, particularly with Nicolas Pieresc, the president of the university at Aix, through whose interest Gassendi was admitted to the degree of doctor of divinity, and created a canon of the church of Digne. A second volume of this work was afterwards published, the immediate design of which was to expose the futility of the Aristotelian logic. It was his first intention to pursue the plan still further; but the violent opposition which he met with from the zealous and powerful advocates for the authority of Aristotle, induced him to desist from all direct attacks upon his philosophy. He still, however, professed his attachment to the system of Epicurus, and defended it with great learning and ability.

In order to extend his acquaintance with the learned, Gassendi visited Holland, where his philosophical and literary merit soon procured him many admirers and friends; he formed an intimacy with the learned Mersenus, and wrote an elegant and judicious apology for him in reply to the censures of Robert Fludd, on the subject of the Mosaic philosophy. On his return to France, he was, through the interest of Cardinal Richlieu's brother, appointed regius professor of mathematics at Paris. In this university he also read lectures on astronomy, a science which he had studied from his earliest years. In this situation Gassendi acquired great popularity, and rose to high expectations; but after a few years, the fatigues of his office brought an inflammation upon his lungs, which obliged him to leave Paris,

* Morhoff. t. ii. l. ii. p. ii. c. 27.

† Lugd. Bat. 1648. Hag. Com. 1658.

‡ Sorbiere de Vit. Gass. Præf. Synt. Phil. Epic. Blount, p. 965. Bayle.

§ Amst. 1649. Hag. Comet. 1656. 8°.

and return to Digne. Here he obtained some relief, and came back to Paris; but his complaint shortly returned, and he died in the year 1655. Just before he expired, he laid his hand upon his heart, and remarking the feeble state of its pulsation, he said to his attendant, "See how frail is the life of man!"

The sound judgment, extensive reading, and capacious memory of Gassendi, qualified him to attain great distinction among philosophers. He is ranked by Barrow among the most eminent mathematicians of the age, and mentioned with Galileo, Gilbert, and Des Cartes. His commentary on the tenth book of Diogenes Laertius is a sufficient proof of his erudition. With uncommon abilities for the task, he undertook to frame from Lucretius, Laertius, and other ancient writers, a consistent scheme of Epicurean doctrine, in which the phenomena of nature are immediately derived from the motion of primary atoms. But he was aware of the fundamental defect of this system, and added to it the important doctrine of a Divine Superintending Mind, from whom he conceived the first motion and subsequent arrangement of atoms to have been derived, and whom he regarded as the wise governor of the world. Gassendi strenuously maintained the Atomic doctrine in opposition to the fictions of the Cartesian philosophy, which were at that time obtaining great credit; and particularly asserted, in opposition to Des Cartes, the doctrine of a vacuum. On the subject of morals, Gassendi explained the permanent pleasure or indolence of Epicurus, in a manner perfectly consistent with the purest precepts of virtue.

Gassendi wrote many treatises, which were, after his death, collected, and published in six volumes,* by Sorbriere. Among these, one of the most valuable is his "Life of Epicurus," in which he undertakes to rescue that philosopher from the load of calumny under which his memory had for many ages lain, as well as to give a fair and impartial representation of his doctrine.

The most celebrated followers of Gassendi were FRANCIS BERNIER,† a physician of Montpellier; who, besides his "Travels into the East," wrote an "Abridgment of Gassendi's philosophy;"‡ WALTER CHARLTON, an Englishman, who wrote a treatise entitled *Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charletoniana*,§ in which he attempts to establish natural science upon atomic principles. A similar treatise was published by G. B. DE SANCTO ROMANO, a physician at Paris, under the title of *Physica à Scholasticis Tricis liberata*,|| "Physics rescued from Scholastic Jargon."

The doctrine of atoms and a vacuum has been embraced by the most eminent modern philosophers. Huygens applies it to explain the cause of gravitation, and Newton admits it into his theory of natural philosophy.¶

* Lugd. 1658.

† Budd. Hist. Ph. p. 376. Morhoff, t. ii. p. 273.

‡ Par. 1678.

§ Lond. 1654.

|| Lugd. Bat. 1684. 12°.

¶ Vidend. Mercklin. Linden. Renov. p. 554. Lettre critique et historique de la Vie Gassendi, Par. 1737. 12°. Desseli Bibl. Belg. Miræus de Scr. Sec. xvi. c. 237. Simon. Bibl. crit. P. iv. p. 100. Stoll. Hist. Lit. P. ii. c. 2. sect. 48. Gerard. de Uries. Diss. de Gassend. Traj. ad Rhen. 1691. Regnaut Entretiens d'Ariste et Eudoxe. Bayle Lettres, t. iii. p. 829.

BOOK IX.

OF MODERN PHILOSOPHERS, WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED NEW METHODS
OF PHILOSOPHISING.

CHAPTER I.

OF MODERN SCEPTICS.

FROM the first revival of letters, the philosophical world was, as we have seen, almost entirely occupied in restoring the Sectarian philosophy of the ancients. Learned men were either too diffident of their talents to suppose themselves capable of any new discoveries, too indolent to attempt them, or too much prejudiced in favour of antiquity to suppose it possible that any improvement could be made upon Grecian wisdom. During the course of several centuries, only a few enterprising or eccentric geniuses arose, who ventured to disengage themselves from the yoke of authority, and presumed to think it possible, that with the same natural faculties which the ancients enjoyed, and with the example before them both of their successes and failures, new and important advances might be made in knowledge. Of these, some availing themselves of all that was valuable in the stores of ancient philosophy, and at the same time exerting their own talents with a happy union of freedom and caution, made important improvements in philosophy; whilst others, either on the one side, through an excessive confidence in the powers of the human mind, or on the other through too much distrust of their weakness, forsook the straight path of rational inquiry, and lost themselves in the mazes of scepticism or enthusiasm. Vanity has inclined some to contradict every decision of philosophy, and hastily to conclude the objections against received opinions, which their fertile imaginations have suggested, to be unanswerable; and it has prompted others to make high pretensions to Divine illumination, and to forsake plain and simple truth in the search of the obscurities of mysticism. On the contrary, a timid, indolent, or volatile temper has often disposed men to prefer the easy task of raising difficulties and cavils, to the more laborious undertaking of investigating truth by a continued course of patient study; and the same temper, united with a gloomy cast of imagination, has led many to mistake the dreams of mysticism for Divine wisdom. From these fountains have arisen the two principal errors of the human understanding, scepticism and enthusiasm.

Modern Scepticism differs in many respects from ancient Pyrrhonism, and appears in several different forms. Some writers have wholly denied the power of the human understanding to investigate truth; and, with the ancient Pyrrhonists, have attempted to bring into discredit both the principles and the method of reasoning, which have been commonly employed in the pursuit of knowledge. Others have busied themselves in starting

doubts and difficulties on particular topics of inquiry, and endeavoured to involve every subject in uncertainty; whilst others, more cautious than the rest, have made use of the weapons of scepticism against the hypothetical method of investigating truth, for the general purpose of curbing the arrogance of dogmatism, or with the particular design of turning the study of nature out of the channel of conjecture into that of experiment. In theology, Scepticism is sometimes labouring, on the one hand, to overturn the sacred edifice of Divine Revelation; and sometimes, on the other, to support the interest of superstition, or of fanaticism, by declaiming on the imbecility of human reason. Though our limits will not permit us to relate at full length the history of modern Scepticism,* we cannot, consistently with our plan, omit to mention some of the more celebrated Sceptics who have appeared since the revival of letters.

FRANCIS SANCHEZ,† a Portuguese physician, born in the year 1562, after having studied in France and Italy, became a preceptor in philosophy in the college of Thoulouse. According to the established law of the college, he lectured upon Peripatetic principles; but his penetrating genius, superior to vulgar prejudices, could not satisfy itself with a kind of philosophy replete with vague opinions, and rather fitted to obstruct than facilitate the pursuit of knowledge. The fate of Peter Ramus, who, about this time, fell a victim to the resentment of the Aristotelians, prevented him, however, from hazarding a direct attack upon their system; and he determined to take the more general ground of Scepticism, in opposition to dogmatists of every sect. In a work, *De multum nobili et prima universali Scientia, quod nihil scitur*,‡ “On the very excellent and first universal Science, that nothing is known,” he reprobates the confidence of those philosophers who advance, as indubitable and fundamental truths, such principles as are in their nature exceedingly doubtful. This treatise, which was chiefly intended as an attack upon the Scholastic philosophy, extends its hostilities even to the foundations of science, discovers much learning and ingenuity.

With different views was the cause of Scepticism espoused by JEROM HERNHAYM, a learned abbot of Prague, who wrote a book *De Typho Generis Humani*,§ “On the vain Glory of Human Nature,” in which he endeavours to expose the presumption, uncertainty, and falsehood of human science; a work, as the author professes, written for the relief of the unlearned, and for the admonition of the learned. The evident design of this writer was to depreciate human learning as inimical to Divine wisdom, and to recommend an indolent life as the only way to attain perfection and felicity. As the most effectual cure of philosophical vanity, he endeavours to prove, that all the vices of mankind are to be ultimately traced up to human science. He maintains the absolute imbecility of the human understanding, and the uncertainty of all information from the senses, and ascribes every appearance of wisdom among men to supernatural Divine illuminations. The Scepticism of this writer appears to have been the effect of perverted piety; and may serve to prove, that religion itself is no sure guide to men who disclaim the use and authority of reason.

Scepticism found a much more able and elegant advocate in FRANCIS VAYER DE LA MOTHE,|| justly reckoned one of the the most learned men

* Fabric. Syllab. Scr. de Ver. Rel. Chr. c. 23. Mersen. de Scepticismo.

† Raymund. Delass. Præf. Op. N. Anton. Bibl. Hisp. p. 262. Bayle.

‡ Frankf. 1618. Rotterd. 1649. § Prague, 1676. 4to.

|| Pellisson. Hist. de l'Ac. Fr. p. 234. Bayle. Boileau, Sat. iv.

of his age. He was born at Paris, in the year 1586. His literary merit recommended him to the attention of the great, and he was appointed preceptor to the Dauphin in 1652. He enjoyed the friendship of the celebrated French ministers, the Cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin. He lived to the age of eighty-six. In the writings of Vayer are found an elegance of genius, and extent of reading, which has obtained him the appellation of the modern Plutarch. Of his numerous works, those which chiefly mark his Sceptical turn are, his treatise "On the Philosophy of the Heathens," in which he treats of the uncertainty of the senses; and his "Five Dialogues," under the name of *Oratius Tubero*, in which he applauds the Sceptic philosophy. To these were afterwards added four other dialogues, which breathe the same spirit. Vayer was an avowed advocate for Scepticism in every branch of science; and though, like many other writers of the same school, he professed great reverence for the authority of the church, and inferred the necessity of Revelation from the uncertainty of all human knowledge, he nevertheless fell under the censure of impiety. Among his disciples were SORBIERE, who translated part of Sextus Empiricus into French; and FOUCHIER, who wrote a "History of the Academic philosophy."*

Another celebrated defender of Scepticism was PETER DANIEL HUET,† born of an illustrious family at Caen, in the year 1630. After passing through the usual course of juvenile learning, in which he discovered no inconsiderable talent for poetry, he applied with great diligence to the study of mathematics and philosophy under a Jesuit, Peter Mambrun. The Cartesian philosophy being now generally received, Huet eagerly embraced it, and for several years continued zealously attached to this new system. At a more mature age, however, when he came to examine its foundations more accurately, he saw reason to abandon it as a visionary fabric. At the age of seventeen, in order to qualify himself for the study of antiquity, the desire of which was excited by reading *Geographia sacra*, the "Sacred Geography" of the learned Bochart, whose personal friendship he enjoyed, the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages became the principal object of his attention. In the university of Paris, to which he removed about the age of twenty, he devoted himself almost entirely to society, and formed an intimate acquaintance with many learned men, among whom were Petau, Labbe, Cossart, Vavassor, and Rapin. With Petau, in particular, he passed much of his time. He was a great admirer of the splendour of his diction, and the variety of his erudition; but he confesses, that in weighing the arguments which he offered in support of his dogmas, he perceived in them a degree of weakness and ambiguity, which obliged him to suspend his assent, and inclined him towards Scepticism. Naturally excelling rather in genius than in judgment, and the vigour of his understanding having been rather repressed than improved by an immense variety of reading, Huet found his mind too feeble to master the difficulties of metaphysical and theological studies, and concluded that his want of success in the search after truth was owing, not to any peculiar infelicity in his own case, but to the general imbecility of the human mind.

With this bias towards Scepticism Huet entered upon his travels. His friend Bochart having, through the recommendation of Isaac Vossius, been invited by that celebrated patroness of learning, Christina, daughter

* Op. Ed. Sex Tomis, Par. 1669.

† Huet. de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus, Ed. 1718. Hag. Nicéron. Mem. t. 1.

of Gustavus Adolphus, Huet accompanied him. On their way, they passed through Holland and Denmark, and became acquainted with the most celebrated scholars of these countries. The queen, upon their arrival, received them with every mark of attention. Huet, during his stay in Stockholm, was usually occupied in examining the ancient manuscripts in the royal library, and made such use of his time, as proved very advantageous to the learned world. He copied certain commentaries of Origen, which he afterwards published and illustrated with excellent notes, explaining the history and opinions of that celebrated father. Having visited on his way several seminaries of learning, he returned to Caen, where he remained for a time, and after completing his *Originenia*, wrote his dialogue *De Interpretatione et claris Interpretibus*, "On Translations and famous Translators," which was well received in the learned world. Here he also instituted a society for the improvement of natural philosophy and anatomy, which, through the interest of Colbert, was liberally endowed by the king, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of philosophical experiments and anatomical dissections. About this time Huet formed a friendship with Cormissus, president of the senate of Aix, who came to reside at Caen. This new intimacy very much contributed to confirm Huet in his propensity towards Scepticism; for Cormissus who was well read in ancient philosophy, was a great admirer of the Pyrrhonic sect, and earnestly recommended to his friend the study of Pyrrhonism in the Institutes of Sextus Empiricus.

The literary reputation of Huet procured him the notice of Louis the Fourteenth, who, by the advice of Colbert, appointed him, together with Bossuet, preceptor to the Dauphin. Upon this he removed to Paris, where the labours of his new office did not prevent him from prosecuting his private studies. It was in this situation that he wrote his celebrated defence of the Christian religion, entitled *Demonstratio Evangelica*, "A Demonstration of the Truth of Christianity," in which he undertakes to exhibit the evidences of Christianity in a geometrical form; a work, which indeed discovers great erudition, but in which the judicious reader will perceive, that the writer was more desirous to display his learning, than to establish the Christian faith upon rational grounds. In his preface to this work, he maintains at large the uncertainty of all human knowledge, whether derived from the senses or from reason, and declares it as his opinion, that those methods of philosophising which lead to a suspension of judgment are by no means hostile to Christianity, but serve to prepare the mind for an implicit submission to Divine Revelation, which it is in vain to attempt to establish by argumentation without the grace of God. Accordingly he professes to write his "Demonstration," merely as an extraneous and adventitious support to faith, by means of which the mind may be more easily inclined to submit itself to the authority of Christ.

After having passed ten years at court, Huet, at the age of forty-five, retired into monastic life, and was chosen abbot of the monastery of Alnet. In this tranquil retreat he prosecuted the design he had long formed of defending the Sceptic philosophy, and wrote a work entitled *Questiones Alnetanæ*,* "Alnetane Queries," in which he endeavours to fix the respective limits of reason and faith, and maintains, that the dogmas and precepts of each have no alliance, and that there is nothing, however contradictory to common sense, or to good morals, which has not been received, and which we may not be bound to receive, as a dictate of faith. He

* Ed. Lips. 1719. 4to.

honestly confesses, that he wrote this work to establish the authority of tradition against the empire of reason. On the same principle, and with no better success, he attempted to refute the principles of the Cartesian philosophy, in his *Censura Philosophiæ Cartesianæ*,* “Censure of the Cartesian Philosophy;” he also wrote a treatise, *De Fabulis Romanensibus*,† “On Romance;” and another, *De Navigationibus Solomonis*, “On the Voyages of Solomon,” which obtained him much applause among the learned.

In the year 1692, Huet was advanced to the episcopal see of Avranches; but after a few years he resigned this honour, and retired to the abbey of Fontenay. He spent his last days in the Jesuit’s college at Paris, and left his valuable library as a legacy to their society. He died in the year 1721. After his death appeared minutes of his life, under the title of *Commentarium de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, “A Commentary on his own Affairs,” written by himself in his old age, and “A Dissertation on the Weakness of the Human Understanding,” in which the Sceptical spirit, which followed Huet through every change of situation, appears in its full vigour. Of this work, which was originally written in French, the author left behind him a Latin translation. Little is done in this treatise more than to exhibit the chief heads of the Sceptic philosophy, as given by Sextus Empiricus, and to collect from the history of philosophy such particulars as might seem to recommend the Pyrrhonic method of philosophising, and prove the insufficiency of the human mind to arrive at the knowledge of truth.

On the whole, though it cannot be questioned that Huet, on account of his great learning and fertile genius, may justly claim to have his name preserved with honour in the republic of letters, several circumstances must prevent us from ranking him among the first philosophers of the seventeenth century. Better qualified to accumulate testimonies than to investigate truth, and more disposed to raise difficulties than to solve them, he was an injudicious advocate for a good cause. If we are not very much mistaken, Huet did not strictly adhere to the Scholastic art of reasoning which he had learned in the schools of the Jesuits; otherwise, he must have seen, that there can be no room for faith, or for, what he artfully conceals under that name, the authority of the church, if every criterion of truth be rejected, and human reason be pronounced a blind and fallacious guide.

Not inferior to Huet in learning, and much his superior in strength of judgment, and keenness of wit, was PETER BAYLE,‡ justly reckoned one of the most powerful advocates for Pyrrhonism. He was born at Carlat in Foix, in the year 1647. His father was a member of the Reformed church, and instructed him in the Greek and Latin languages, and in other branches of learning, till he was nineteen years of age, when he entered upon his academic studies in the Jesuit’s college at Thoulouse. So insatiable was his thirst for knowledge, that by incessant application he impaired his constitution, and was twice in danger of losing his life; notwithstanding which, with the return of health, his love of study returned, and he read with great avidity authors both ancient and modern in every branch of learning. Among the ancients his principal favourite was Plutarch; among the moderns, Montaigne; and from these writers he probably derived his first bias towards Scepticism. About the age of twenty he engaged in the study of logic, and afterwards expressed his regret that he

* Paris, 1670.

† Par. 1694.

‡ Vit. a Des Maizeaux. Basnag. Reuest. Masson. Limier. Nicéron. Conf. Epist. et Diction.

had not sooner made himself master of this art. One of his college companions, a Romish priest, observing the unsettled state of his mind, prevailed upon him to submit his judgment to the authority of the church; and not without much surprise and regret on the part of his friends, he made a public profession of the Catholic faith. Not long afterwards, however, he was induced by the arguments and persuasions of his brother, a Protestant ecclesiastic, to recant his precipitate conversion, and return to the profession of the Reformed religion. As apostacy from the Catholic faith was at that time a capital offence in France, Bayle found it necessary to leave the kingdom, and in the year 1670, retired to Geneva. Here he studied the Cartesian philosophy, and saw reason to adopt it in preference to the barren subtleties of the Scholastic doctrine, which he had learned in the schools of the Jesuits; still, however, retaining that freedom of thought which led him, with Horace, to examine all sects, but adhere tenaciously to none.

Through the intercession of his friends, Bayle, in the year 1675, obtained permission to visit Paris, where the society of the most learned men, and the use of the best libraries, enabled him to prosecute his studies with great advantage. Through the interest of Basnage, who was his intimate friend, he obtained the philosophical chair in the university of Paris; and, within two years from that time, wrote a system of philosophy for the use of his pupils. In this situation he entered into a controversy with Poirét, on the subject of his treatise, entitled *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, Anima, et Malo*, "Rational Thoughts on God, the Soul, and Evil." Whilst Poirét continued a Cartesian, he treated his antagonist with temper; but when he became a Mystic, he inveighed against him with the utmost rancour. In 1680, Bayle engaged in a dispute with Valesius, a Jesuit, on the Cartesian notion of extension, in which he opposed, with great ingenuity, the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The severe persecution which at this time fell upon all Protestants in France, obliged Bayle, with many other learned men, to leave the country and settle in Holland. At the entreaty of one of his former pupils, he made choice of Rotterdam as his place of residence, where, with Jurieu, he founded a new school. He now published a treatise, which, in the year 1681, he had written, but could not obtain license to print at Paris, his "Thoughts on Comets;" a work replete with various learning, and well adapted to expose the folly of superstition. This was succeeded by a "Critical Dissertation on Maimburg's History of Calvinism;" in which the author employs the Cartesian weapons against the Romish church. Although the work was so well written, that the Prince of Condé confessed himself delighted with it, and even Maimburg acknowledged it to be an excellent book, it was ordered to be publicly burnt at Paris: nevertheless, it had many readers and admirers.

The reputation which Bayle had now acquired as a writer, encouraged him to undertake a literary journal, under the title of *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, "Intelligence from the Republic of Letters," in which he undertook to review the most important new publications. He did not content himself, in this work, with a barren detail of contents; but freely passed his judgment upon the merit of authors, and often illustrated the subject on which they treated by original observations. This work, which was begun in 1684, is justly esteemed one of the most valuable literary journals extant. It was afterwards continued by Basnage under the title of *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, "The History of the Works of the Learned." In a metaphysical dispute which arose in France, be-

tween Arnaud and Mallebranche, on Pleasure, Bayle defended Mallebranche. He wrote a treatise on Toleration, entitled "A Philosophical Commentary on the Words of Christ, Compel them to come in," in which he defended the cause of the Protestants with great eloquence; but with so much freedom as to offend the more orthodox of the Protestants themselves, and among the rest his friend and colleague Jurieu, with whom he had a long and severe contest. To console himself under the vexations which he experienced from this and other causes, Bayle undertook the design of writing "An Historical and Critical Dictionary;" a work which he lived to complete, and which remains as the chief monument of his learning, genius, and wit, and an indisputable proof of his propensity towards Scepticism. The first two volumes of this work appeared in the year 1697; and, contrary to the author's usual manner, they were published with his name. This work contains innumerable illustrations of the history of philosophy, both ancient and modern; and treats many difficult points with the hand of a bold and able critic: but the author is justly censured for indulging a degree of latitude, inconsistent with good morals and decency. In the second edition of this work, published in 1702, the author sent it forth *chastised*, amended, and enlarged. It was published in English by P. de la Roche, in 1709. Bayle's sceptical spirit further appears in a controversy which he held towards the close of his life with Le Clerc and others on the doctrine advanced by Cudworth, of "Plastic Nature," and "On the Origin of Evil," and "On the Manicheæan System." The principal works in which these controversies are carried on, are *Responsiones ad Provinciale quendam*, "Answers to a certain Provincial;" and *Entretiens de Maxime et Themiste*, "Dialogues of Maximus and Themistius." In the midst of these contests and labours Bayle died, in the year 1706.

Every impartial judge will acknowledge that Bayle was a man of strong judgment, lively imagination, ready invention, and extensive learning. His friends extol him, too, for many personal virtues. At the same time it must be confessed, that his writings betray a mind impressed with little reverence for religion, and tend to foster that kind of Scepticism which is most pernicious.

Upon a comparison of the writings of modern Sceptics, it will appear, that they have adopted this method of philosophising upon very different grounds, and for very different purposes: but in whatever form Scepticism appears, or from whatever cause it springs, it may be confidently pronounced hostile to true philosophy; for its obvious tendency is to invalidate every principle of human knowledge, to destroy every criterion of truth, and to undermine the foundations of all science, human and Divine.*

* Vidend. Ulric. Wild. Diss. quod aliquid sciatur. Lips. 1664. Marville Melanges de Lit. t. ii. p. 328. Croix du Maine Bibl. de France, p. 84. Budd. Isagog. l. i. c. 4. Le Clerc. Bibl. Univ. t. xv. p. 330. Crousaz. Examen Pyrrhonismi.

CHAPTER II.

OF SCRIPTURAL PHILOSOPHERS.

IF philosophy has its Scylla of Scepticism, it has also its Charybdis of Credulity. Whilst some, in shaking off the ancient prejudice in favour of the Grecian dogmatists, fell into the pernicious error of rejecting at once the authority both of reason and Revelation, others were of opinion, that the only remedy for the weakness of the human understanding was to have recourse to Divine Revelation for all philosophical as well as theological knowledge. Despising the light of reason, as a dim taper, wholly incapable of discovering the path of truth, these philosophers have confounded reason and Revelation, two sources of knowledge, which though they proceed from the same author, have their distinct limits and uses. Among those who have chosen this method of philosophising, some have professed to confine themselves to the literal meaning of scripture, and undertaken to derive a system of physics from the writings of Moses, and from other parts of the sacred volumes; and others, disdaining to employ reason, even as a handmaid to Revelation, have pretended to derive their knowledge of philosophy from immediate inspiration; and, neglecting the literal sense of scripture have, by the help of allegory, adapted its language to their enthusiastic notions. The former may be called **SCRIPTURAL PHILOSOPHERS**, the latter **THEOSOPHISTS**.

In the class of **SCRIPTURAL PHILOSOPHERS** we do not mean to include those, who have applied the sectarian philosophy to the explanation of scripture, or the illustration of its doctrine; which was done very successfully, both in logic and physics, by Alsted, Glass, Valesius, Bochart, and others;* nor those who have endeavoured to show the agreement of their system of philosophy, or of the general principles of reason, and the natural law of morality, with the doctrine of scripture. Under the appellation of Scriptural philosophers we only mean to comprehend those who, after the example of Philo, and all the Jewish cabbalists, as well as many of the Christian fathers, have supposed all philosophy to be derived from Divine Revelation; and who, despairing of being able to arrive at any true knowledge of nature by the light of reason, have had recourse to the sacred oracles, and particularly to the Mosaic history of the creation, and endeavoured upon this foundation to raise a new structure of philosophy. From a great multitude of writers who have pursued this track, many of them with little reputation to themselves or benefit to science, it may suffice to select a few, who have been more distinguished than the rest for their learning or ability.

The first writer of this class, who deserves distinct mention, is OTTO CASMAN,† president of the college of Stade, who flourished about the close of the sixteenth century. He was dissatisfied with the unprofitable subtleties of the Aristotelian philosophy, and determined, in the study of nature, rather to rely upon the decision of the sacred writings than upon the doctrine of the ancient Heathen philosophers. Even in his explanation of scripture he refused to call in the assistance of philosophical rules of

* Kahl. Bibl. Phil. c. 7. sect. 7.

† Budd. Intr. ad Hist. Phil. Heb. sect. 36.

interpretation. In a work entitled *Cosmopaia*, "On the Formation of the World," he derives his physical doctrine from the scriptures; and in his *Modesta Assertio Philosophiæ et Christianæ et Veræ*,* "Modest assertion of True and Christian Philosophy," he professes to write Christian Institutes of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, &c. With Casman may be joined HENRY ALSTED,† professor of divinity at Alba-Julia till 1638, when he died, in his fiftieth year. In his *Encyclopædia Biblica*,‡ he undertakes to deduce the elements of philosophy, jurisprudence, and medicine from the sacred scriptures; a work which shows more good intention than sound judgment. These writers have treated the books of the sacred scripture as some ancient critics treated Homer, who, whilst they pretended to find in him every kind of science and wisdom, suffered the true meaning and spirit of his poems to escape their attention. The *Philosophia Mosaica*, "Mosaic Philosophy," of Pfeiffer is liable to the same censure.

What these writers attempted with respect to philosophy in general, others undertook, but with no better success, in particular branches of science. CONRAD ASLACH, of Bergen, in Norway, after having been instructed in the family of the celebrated astronomer Tycho Brahe, and visited many of the principal schools of Europe, was, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, made professor of philosophy and theology in the university of Copenhagen, and was the author of "A System of Christian Ethics and Physics." LAMBERTUS DANÆUS, a celebrated Protestant divine, who was a professor of theology at Geneva, wrote a treatise of the same kind, entitled *Physica Christiana*, "Christian Physics." A Scriptural System of Politics was also written by SCRIBANUS; and of Natural Law by VALENTINE ALBERT: writers, whose works are more calculated to confound than to discover truth.

Among the scriptural philosophers must also be reckoned those who have written Mosaic Cosmogonies, or attempted to give a philosophical explanation of the origin of the world, on the ground of the Mosaic history of the creation. Of these the two principal are Dickinson and Burnet.

EDMUND DICKINSON, an English physician, born in 1624, wrote a treatise *De Physica veteri et vera*, "On true and ancient Physics;"§ in which he attempts, from the scriptural account of the creation, to explain the manner in which the world was formed. Assuming, as the ground of his theory, the Atomic doctrine, and the existence of an immaterial cause of the concurrence of indivisible atoms, he supposes the particles of matter agitated by a double motion; one gentle and transverse, of the particles among themselves, whence elementary corpuscles are formed; the other circular, by which the whole mass is revolved, and the regions of heaven and earth are produced. By the motion of the elementary corpuscles of different magnitude and form, he supposes the different bodies of nature to have been produced; and attempts, upon this plan, to describe the process of creation through each of the six days. He explains at large the formation of human nature; showing in what manner, by means of a plastic seminal virtue, man became an animated being. The theory, though founded upon conjecture, and loaded with unphilosophical fictions, the author not only pretends to derive from the Mosaic narrative, but maintains to have been consonant to the most ancient Hebrew traditions. The use which this theorist makes of the doctrine of atoms, shows him to have been wholly unacquainted with the true notion of the ancients on this

* Francof. 1601. 8vo.

† Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, t. ii. p. 328. Reimm. Hist. Lit. Germ. p. iii. p. 185.

‡ Francof. 1625. 8vo.

§ Lond. 1702. 4to.

subject; and indeed the whole work seems to have been the offspring of a confused imagination rather than of a sound judgment.

The same design was undertaken and executed with much more learning and ability, by THOMAS BURNET,* born in the year 1635, and educated at Cambridge, under Cudworth and other followers of the Platonic philosophy. Burnet soon discovered; that whatever praise might be due to Plato in theology and morals, he was a very insufficient guide in physics and cosmology. During the course of a literary tour through France, Italy, Holland, and part of Germany, he formed the design of delineating the system of the world according to the Mosaic history of the creation and deluge, and upon his return wrote in Latin the first part of his "Theory of the Earth." The novelty of his ideas, and the perspicuity and elegance of his style, recommended his work to the attention of the learned; and he obtained such a degree of literary reputation, that in the year 1684, he was appointed by Charles the Second master of the Charter-house, with a splendid endowment. Here he employed his first leisure in completing his Theory; the second part of which was dedicated to William the Third; and in writing his *Archæologia Philosophica*, "Philosophical Antiquities," a work replete with learning, and abounding with judicious observations. It must, however, be confessed that Burnet's partiality to his theory led him to find in the ancient theogonies, and in the physical doctrine of the ancient philosophers, things which others have not discovered. His singular opinions concerning the origin of the world, the fall, the deluge, and other subjects, brought upon him the charge of heresy, and involved him in troublesome controversies. He lived to the age of eighty-five. Before his death he committed to the flames all the manuscripts which he had drawn up for the press, except two treatises, *De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium*, "On the State of the Dead, and of the Resurrection," and *De Fide et Officiis Christianorum*, "On the Faith and Duties of Christians;" of which only a few copies were at first printed for the use of his friends.

The Mosaic cosmogony Burnet thus explains: between the beginning and the end of the world he supposes several intermediate periods, in which he conceives that nature undergoes various changes. Those which respect this terraqueous globe, he believes to have been recorded in the sacred scriptures. From these, compared with profane history, he attempts to prove, that the primeval earth, as it rose out of chaos, was of a different form and structure from the present, and was such, that from its dissolution would naturally arise an universal deluge. Such a change in the state of the globe he infers from the general aspect of its surface in the present day; and he argues, that since it is the nature of fluids to form a smooth surface, the earth, which was at first a chaotic mass in a fluid state, as it gradually became solid by the exhalation of the lighter particles of air and water, would still retain its regular superficies, so that the new earth would resemble an egg. The earth, in this paradisaical state, he supposes to be capable of sending forth its vegetable productions without rain, and to enjoy a perpetually serene and cloudless atmosphere. In process of time, he conceived that the surface of the earth, by the continual action of the rays of the sun, would become so parched, as to occasion vast fissures, through which the waters of the great abyss, contained within the bowels of the earth, would be sent forth by means of elastic vapours, expanded by heat, and acting with irresistible force upon their surface; whence a universal deluge would ensue, and in the violent concussion, lofty moun-

* Acta Phil. vol. iii. p. 434.

tains, craggy rocks, and other varieties in the external form of the earth, would appear. Our theorist also conjectures, that the earth, in its original state, owed its universal spring to the coincidence of the plane of the ecliptic with that of the equator; and supposes that, at the deluge, the pole of the ecliptic changed its position, and became oblique to the plane of the equator. From similar causes he conceives, that the final conflagration will be produced. This theory is well imagined, supported with much erudition, and described with great elegance of diction: but it can only be considered as an ingenious fiction, which rests upon no other foundation than mere conjecture. WHISTON,* CLUVERIUS,† and others, have also, upon the ground of the Mosaic cosmogony, formed theories of the earth: but these philosophical romances have contributed little towards the improvement of knowledge.

Another writer who claims a place among the Scriptural philosophers is JOANNES AMOS COMENIUS,‡ a native of Moravia, born in the year 1592, the author of a celebrated and useful grammatical work, entitled *Janua Linguarum*, “The Porch of Languages.” His Protestant principles (for he was a minister of the Reformed church, first in his native country, and afterwards in Poland) led him to inquire freely into the grounds of opinions both philosophical and theological; and he soon discovered the futility of the Peripatetic philosophy, and resolved, if possible, to substitute something better in its stead. Taking sense, reason, and scripture for his guides, he framed a system of physics, which he entitled, *Synopsis physica ad Lumen Divinum reformata*, “A Synopsis of Physics reformed according to Divine Light.” Comenius supposes three principles of nature; matter, spirit, and light: the first a dark, inactive, corporeal substance, which receives forms; the second, the subtle, living, invisible substance, which animates material bodies; the third, a middle substance between the two former, lucid, visible, moveable, capable of penetrating matter, which is the instrument by which spirit acts upon matter, and which performs its office by means of motion, agitation, or vibration. Of these three principles he conceived all created beings to be composed. This doctrine he attempts to derive from the Mosaic history of the creation; but the Scholastic fictions which men of this cast ascribe to Moses, Moses himself would probably never have owned.

The same track was pursued by JOANNES BAYER,§ an Hungarian divine, who flourished about the middle of the last century. He adopted the three principles of Comenius; but introduced distinctions respecting each, which in subtlety may vie with the most subtle speculations of the Scholastic doctors, and which it would be an unpardonable trespass upon the reader's patience to detail. His work is entitled *Atrium Naturæ ichnographice delineatum*,|| “The Court of Nature ichnographically delineated.”

Who does not perceive from the particulars which have been related concerning these Scriptural philosophers, that their labours, however well intended, have been of little benefit to philosophy? Their fundamental error has consisted in supposing, that the sacred scriptures were intended, not only to instruct men in all things necessary to their salvation, but to teach the true principles of physical and metaphysical science. Had these philosophers duly considered that reason and Revelation, though both from the same fountain, has each its proper office and end, which ought not to

* A new Theory of the Earth. Lond. 1698.

† Geologia. Hamb. 1700. 4to.

§ Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 3. sect. 5.

‡ Bayle. Præf. Op. Didact.

|| Cassov. 1662.

be confounded, they would have refrained from that misapplication of Revelation, which has led them to ingraft the fictions of their own imaginations upon the scriptures; a practice which has proved exceedingly injurious both to philosophy and religion: to philosophy, by giving more credit and authority to the conceits of fanciful men than they would otherwise have obtained; to religion, by encouraging writers of more imagination than judgment, to exercise their ingenuity upon the scriptures, in a way which may not only expose themselves, but even the sacred writings, to ridicule.*

CHAPTER III.

OF THE THEOSOPHISTS.

BESIDES the Scripturalists, there is another class of philosophers who profess to derive their knowledge of nature from Divine Revelation, namely the THEOSOPHISTS. These men, neither contented with the natural light of human reason, nor with the simple doctrines of scripture understood in their literal sense, have recourse to an internal supernatural light, superior to all other illuminations, from which they profess to derive a mysterious and Divine philosophy, manifested only to the chosen favourites of heaven. They boast that, by means of this celestial light, they are not only admitted to the intimate knowledge of God and of all Divine truth, but have access to the most sublime secrets of nature. They ascribe it to the singular manifestation of Divine benevolence that they are able to make such a use of the element of fire, in the chemical art, as enables them to discover the essential principles of bodies, and to disclose stupendous mysteries in the physical world. They even pretend to an acquaintance with those celestial beings which form the medium of intercourse between God and man, and to a power of obtaining from them, by the aid of magic, astrology, and other similar arts, various kinds of information and assistance. This they affirm to have been the ancient secret wisdom, first revealed to the Jews under the name of the Cabbala, and transmitted by tradition to posterity. Philosophers of this class have no common system; but every one follows the impulse of his own imagination, and constructs an edifice of fanaticism for himself. The only thing in which they are agreed is, to abandon human reason, and pretend to Divine illumination. The reader will easily perceive, that it must be a difficult task to decipher the systems of such philosophers, and will not be disappointed if he find us unable to illuminate this region of obscurity. In pursuit of our plan, we shall enumerate a few of the principal Theosophists.

Many traces of the spirit of Theosophism may be found through the whole history of philosophy; in which nothing is more frequent than fanatical and hypocritical pretensions to Divine illumination.

* Vidend. Reimann. Cat. Bib. Theol. p. i. p. 691—1108. Gundling. Hist. Phil. Mor. c. 7. Heuman. Act. Ph. v. ii. p. 26—31. v. iii. p. 434. Gonzalez de Salas Diss. Parad. de duplici viventium terra, Lugd. 1650. Abyssinian Philosophy confuted, Lond. 1697. Keil's Examination of Burnet's Theory, Ox. 1698. Whitby's Defence of the Mosaic History of the Creation, Lond. 1705. Barini Mundus nascens, Traj. 1686. Moyses illustr. Amst. 1707. Espagneti Compend. Phys. Theses Phys. Comen. Berolin. 1702.

Among moderns, the first name which appears with distinction in this class of philosophers is PHILIPPUS AUREOLUS THEOPHRASTUS PARACELSUS,* a man of a strange and paradoxical genius. He was born at Einsidlen, near Zurich, in theyear 1493. His family name, which was Bombastus, he afterwards changed, after the custom of the age, into Paracelsus. He was instructed by his father, who was a physician, in languages and medicine. So earnestly desirous was he of penetrating into the mysteries of nature, that, neglecting books, he undertook long and hazardous journeys through Germany, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Hungary, and Moscovy, and probably several parts of Asia and Africa. He not only visited literary and learned men, but frequented the workshops of mechanics, descended into mines; and thought no place mean or hazardous, if it afforded him an opportunity of increasing his knowledge of nature. He consulted all persons who pretended to be possessed of any secret art, particularly such as were skilled in metallurgy. Being in this manner a self-taught philosopher and physician, he despised the medical writings of the ancients, and boasted that the whole contents of his library would not amount to six folios.

Rejecting the tedious method of the Galenic school, Paracelsus had recourse to new and secret medicines procured from metallic substances by the chemical art: and his bold empirical practice was attended, in many cases, with such wonderful success, that he rose to the summit of popular fame, and even obtained the medical chair in the city of Basil. Among other nostrums, he administered a medicine, to which he gave the name of Azoth, which he boasted was the philosopher's stone, the medical *panacea*, and which his disciples extol as the tincture of life, given through the Divine favour to man in these last days. His irregular practice, and the virulence with which he censured the ignorance and indolence of other physicians, created him many enemies. The rewards which he received for the cures he performed, were by no means adequate to the expectations of his vanity and ambition. After meeting with many disappointments and mortifications, an incident occurred which determined him to leave Basil. A wealthy canon of Lichfield, who happened to fall sick at Basil, offered Paracelsus a hundred florins to cure his disease. This Paracelsus easily effected with three pills of *his laudanum*, one of his most powerful medicines. The canon, restored to health so soon, and, as appeared to him, by such slight means, refused to stand to his engagement. Paracelsus brought the matter before the magistrate, who decreed him only the usual fee. Inflamed with violent indignation at the contempt which was, by this decision, thrown upon his art, after inveighing bitterly against the canon, the magistrate, and the whole city, he left Basil, and withdrew into Alsace, whither his medical fame and success followed him. After two years, during which time he practised medicine in the principal families of the country, about the year 1530, he removed into Switzerland, where he conversed with Bullenger and other divines. From this time, he seems, for many years, to have roved through various parts of Germany and Bohemia. At last, in the year 1541, he finished his days in the hospital of St. Sebastian, in Saltsburg.

Different and even contradictory judgments have been formed by the learned concerning Paracelsus. His admirers and followers have celebrated him as a perfect master of all philosophical and medical mysteries. Some, on account of the reformation which he produced in medicine, have called

* Conf. Script. Adami Vit. Med. p. 28. 195. 321. Conring. de Med. Herm. l. ii. p. 338. Arnold, H. E. p. ii. p. 308. p. 18.

him the medical Luther. Many have maintained, as indeed he himself boasted, that he was possessed of the grand secret of converting inferior metals into gold; on the contrary, others have charged his whole medical practice with ignorance, imposture, and impudence. J. Crato, in an epistle to Zwinger, attests, that in Bohemia his medicines, even when they performed an apparent cure, left his patients in such a state, that they soon after died of palsies or epilepsies. Erastus, who was for two years one of his pupils, wrote an entire book to detect his impostures. He is said to have been not only unacquainted with the Greek language, but so bad a Latin scholar, that he dared not speak a word of Latin in the presence of learned men. It is even asserted, that he was so imperfect a master of his vernacular tongue, that he was obliged to have his German writings corrected by another hand. His adversaries also charge him with the most contemptible arrogance, the most vulgar scurrility, the grossest intemperance, and the most detestable impiety. The truth seems to be, that Paracelsus's merit chiefly consisted in improving the art of chemistry, and in inventing, or bringing to light, several chemical medicines, which to this day hold their place in the *Pharmacopœia*. Without either learning, or urbanity, or even decency of manners, by the mere help of physical knowledge and the chemical arts, he obtained an uncommon share of medical fame; and to support his credit with the ignorant, he pretended to an intercourse with invisible spirits and to Divine illuminations.

Paracelsus wrote, or rather dictated to his amanuensis, many treatises; but they are so entirely void of elegance, so immethodical and obscure, that one may almost credit the assertion of his chemical assistant, Oponinus, that he dictated most of his books in the night, when he was intoxicated. They treat of an immense variety of subjects, medical, magical, and philosophical. His *Philosophia sagax*, "Subtle Philosophy," is a most obscure and confused treatise on astrology, necromancy, chiromancy, physiognomy, and other divining arts, calculated for no other purpose than to promote vulgar superstition. Several of his pieces treat of philosophical subjects, such as, "The Production and Fruit of the Four Elements;" "The Secrets of Nature,—their Origin, Causes, Character, and Properties," and the like; but they are such a confused mass of words, that it would be an Herculean labour to draw out from them any thing which would have the least appearance of a consistent philosophical system.*

The chemical or Paracelsic school produced many eminent men, whose memoirs rather belong to the history of medicine than of philosophy. Many of these took great pains to digest the incoherent dogmas of their master into a methodical system. A summary of his doctrine may be seen in the preface to the *Basilica Chymica* of Crollius; which after all is nothing better than a mere jargon of words, with which it is wholly unnecessary to trouble the reader.

What Paracelsus was in the sixteenth century, ROBERT FLUDD,† an English physician, attempted to become in the seventeenth. He was born in the year 1574, at Milgate, in Kent, and became a student in the university of Oxford in 1591. After he had finished his studies, he spent six years in travelling, in order to observe and collect what was curious in nature, mysterious in the arts, or profound in science. Returning to England, he was admitted into the college of physicians in London, where he

* Sennert de Consensu Chem. et Galen, c. 3. Severini Idea Medic. Phil. Basil. 1571, 4to. Naud. Apol. p. 259. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 16.

† Wood, Hist. Ant. Ox. l. ii. p. 390. Athen. Ox. p. 610. Gassend. Exam. Phil. Fluddianæ.

obtained great admiration for his singular piety, and the profundity of his chemical, philosophical, and theological knowledge. After a long course of extensive practice, he died in the year 1637.

So peculiar was this philosopher's turn of mind, that there was nothing which ancient or modern times could afford, under the notion of occult wisdom, which he did not eagerly gather into his magazine of science. All the mysterious and incomprehensible dreams of the Cabbalists and Paracelsians, he compounded into a new mass of absurdity. In hopes of improving the medical and chemical arts, he devised a new system of physics, loaded with wonderful hypotheses and mystical fictions. He supposed two universal principles; the northern or condensing power, and the southern or rarefying power. Over these he placed innumerable intelligences and geniuses, and called together whole troops of spirits from the four winds, to whom he committed the charge of diseases. He applied his thermometer to discover the harmony between the macrocosm and the microcosm, or the world of nature and of man: he introduced many marvellous fictions into natural philosophy and medicine: he attempted to explain the Mosaic cosmogony, in a work entitled *Philosophia Mosaica*, wherein he speaks of three first principles, *darkness*, as the first matter; *water*, as the second matter; and the *Divine light*, as the most central essence, creating, informing, vivifying all things; of secondary principles, two active, cold and heat; and two passive, moisture and dryness; and describes the whole mystery of production and corruption, of regeneration and resurrection, with such vague conceptions and obscure language, as leaves the subject involved in impenetrable darkness. Some of his ideas, such as they were, appear to have been borrowed from the Cabbalists and Alexandrian Platonists. The reader will easily judge what kind of light may be expected from the writings of Robert Fludd, when he is informed that he ascribes the magnetic virtue to the irradiation of angels. His philosophical works are, *Utriusque Cosmi Historia*; *Veritatis Proscenium*; *Monochordium Mundi Symphoniacum*; *Clavis Philosophiæ et Alchymicæ*; *Meteorologia Cosmica*, &c. His extravagances were reprobated by several writers, particularly Kepler and Mersenus. In reply, he wrote an allegoric piece under the title of "The Contest of Wisdom with Folly." Mersenus, who did not choose to continue the controversy, engaged Gassendi to chastise him in his *Examen Philosophiæ Fluddianæ*; "Examination of the Fluddian philosophy;" a work which should be read by those who wish to form an accurate judgment of Fludd and other Theosophists.

One of the most dazzling luminaries in the constellation of Theosophists was JACOB BOEHMEN,* a famous German philosopher, born near Gorlitz, in Upper Lusatia, in the year 1575. He was brought up a shoemaker, and at twenty years of age married a butcher's daughter, with whom he lived happily thirty years. Though he never entirely forsook his occupation, his singular genius soon carried him *ultra crepidam*, "beyond his last." The theological controversies which were at this time spreading through Germany, made their way among the lowest classes of the people; and Boehmen, much disturbed in his mind upon many articles of faith, prayed earnestly for Divine illumination. The consequence, according to his own account, was, that wrapped beyond himself for seven days together, he experienced a sacred sabbatic silence, and was admitted to the intuitive vision of God. Soon afterwards, he had a second ecstasy; in which, as he

* Frankenburg. Vit. Boehm. Sagittar. Intr. in H. E. c. 133. sect. 19. p. 899. Weissen. Hist. E. t. ii. p. 1234. Hist. J. Boehm. Hamb. 1698. Adam. de Vit. B. Calo, Witteberg. 1715.

relates, whilst he was observing the rays which were reflected from a bright pewter vessel, he found himself on a sudden surrounded with celestial irradiations; his spirit was carried to the inmost world of nature, and enabled, from the external forms, lineaments, and colours of bodies, to penetrate into the recess of their essences. In a third vision of the same kind, other still more sublime mysteries were revealed to him, concerning the origin of nature, and the formation of all things, and even concerning Divine principles and intelligent natures. These wonderful communications, in the year 1612, Boehmen committed to writing, and produced his first treatise, entitled *Aurora*; of which, however, the principles, the ideas, and the language, are so new and mysterious, that we find it wholly impracticable to attempt an abridgment. Indeed, the author himself declares these mysteries incomprehensible to flesh and blood; and says, that though the words be read, their meaning will lie concealed, till the reader has by prayer obtained illumination from that heavenly spirit, which is in God, and in all nature, and from which all things proceed.

The *Aurora* falling into the hands of the minister of Gorlitz, he severely reprimanded the author from the pulpit, and procured an order from the senate of the city for repressing the work, in which Boehmen was required to discontinue his attempts to enlighten the world by his writings. Boehmen payed so much regard to this order, which must be confessed to have been as injudicious as it was oppressive, as to refrain from writing for seven years. His projected work, however, found its way to the press at Amsterdam, in the year 1619; and the author was encouraged by this circumstance to resume his pen, and from that time sent forth frequent publications. It is said, but upon uncertain authority, that he was summoned to the supreme ecclesiastical court at Dresden, and there underwent an examination before a body of theologians, in which he pleaded his cause so successfully, that he was dismissed without censure. Boehmen died in the communion of the Lutheran church, in the year 1624.

It will be easily perceived, from the particulars which have been related, that, in Jacob Boehmen, a warm imagination united with a gloomy temper, and unrestrained by solid judgment, produced that kind of enthusiasm, which in its paroxysms disturbs the natural faculties of perception and understanding, and produces a preternatural agitation of the nervous system, during which the mind is filled with wild and wonderful conceptions, which pass for visions and revelations. Every page of his writings, and even the hieroglyphic figures prefixed to his works, speak a disordered imagination, and it is in vain to attempt to derive his Theosophics from any other source; unless indeed we were inclined to believe the account which he gives of himself, when boasting that he was neither indebted to human learning, nor was he to be ranked among ordinary philosophers: he says, that he wrote, "Not from an external view of nature, but from the dictates of the spirit; and that what he delivered concerning the nature of things, and concerning the works and creatures of God, had been laid open before his mind by God himself." The conceptions of this enthusiast, in themselves sufficiently obscure are often rendered still more so by being clothed under allegorical symbols derived from the chemical art. As he frequently uses the same terms with Paracelsus, it is probable that he was conversant with his writings; but he certainly followed no other guides than his own eccentric genius and enthusiastic imagination: and every attempt which has been made by his followers to explain and illustrate his system, has been only raising a fresh *ignis fatuus* to lead the bewildered traveller still further astray.

We honestly confess it to be wholly beyond our power to give any summary of the Boehmian system. This mystic makes God the essence of essences, and supposes a long series of spiritual natures, and even matter itself, to have flowed from the fountain of the Divine nature. His language, upon these subjects, nearly resembles that of the Jewish Cabbala. The whole Divine Trinity, says he, sending forth bodily forms, produces an image of itself, *velut Deum quendam parvum*, "as a God in miniature." If any one name the heavens, the earth, the stars, the elements, and whatever is beneath or above the heavens, he herein names the whole deity, who by a power proceeding from himself, thus makes his own essence corporeal.

The elements of Boehmen's Theosophy may be read in his *Aurora*, and in his treatise *De tribus divinæ Essentiæ Principiis*, "On the Three Principles of the Divine Essence." That Jacob Boehmen had many followers will not be thought surprising, by those who have observed the universal propensity of weak and vulgar minds to be delighted with whatever is mysterious and marvellous, especially when it is clothed in obscure and allegorical language.*

A more scientific Theosophist than Jacob Boehmen we find in JOHN BAPTISTA VAN HELMONT,† a celebrated physician, born at Brussels in 1577. He made such early proficiency in the studies proper to his profession, that, at seventeen years of age, he was appointed lecturer in surgery in the academy of Louvain. But he soon discovered, that he had undertaken this office inconsiderately, and had presumed to teach what he himself did not understand. He found that, though he had read many books, and made large common-place collections, he had not yet acquired true and substantial knowledge; and he lamented that credulous and simple youth are so often deceived by the arrogant pretensions of professors. He now applied with unwearied industry to the study of mathematics, geometry, logistic and algebraic, and of astronomy. But even in these branches of science he did not find the satisfaction he expected. Still complaining of his ignorance, he refused the title of master of arts, and said, that he had hitherto learned no single art in reality, but in appearance only. Under all this seeming modesty, Van Helmont concealed a fastidious contempt of all knowledge but his own, and even of all the learning which had hitherto appeared in the world, and a fond conceit that he was raised up by God to overturn former systems, and to introduce a new method of philosophising. Induced, as he relates, by the pious writings of Thomas-à-Kempis to pray to God that he would enable him to love and pursue the truth, he was instructed by a dream to renounce all Pagan philosophy, and particularly Stoicism, to which he had been inclined, and to wait for Divine illuminations. Dissatisfied with the knowledge of the nature and virtues of plants which he derived from the writings of Matthiolus and Dioscorides, and with the principles of medicine which he found in Galen or Avicenna, he concluded that medical knowledge was not to be obtained from the writings of men, or from human industry. He had again recourse to prayers, and was again admonished by a dream to give himself up to the pursuit of Divine wisdom. About this time he learned, from an illiterate chemist, the practical operations of the chemical art, and devoted himself with great zeal and perseverance to this pursuit, in hopes of finding in a chemical

* *Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque
Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt.*

† Confess. t. i. Op. p. 9. Arnold. H. E. p. iii. c. 8. Reimann. Hist. Germ. Lit. v. iii. p. 437. Blount, Cens. p. 955. Witten. Mem. Med. p. 125. Sedar. Olam. Amst. 1697.

laboratory that knowledge which he had in vain sought for from books. The medical skill, which he by this means acquired, he entirely employed in the service of the poor. He administered medicines *gratis* for several years, and obtained a high reputation both for humanity and medical skill. A cold, which he caught in visiting a poor patient in the night, put an end to his life, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Van Helmont certainly possessed ready talents, read much, and by the help of experiment improved both the chemical and medical art; but his vanity led him into empirical pretensions. He boasted that he was possessed of a fluid, which he called Alcahest, or pure salt, which was the first material principle in nature, and was capable of penetrating into bodies, and producing an entire separation and transmutation of their component parts. But this wonderful fluid was never shown to any person whatever, not even to his son, who also practised chemistry. The contempt which this philosopher entertained for all former systems, led him to frame one of his own, which was a strange compound of theological, medical, and philosophical paradoxes, and in which Theosophic mysticism is united with Scholastic subtleties. Although he professes to erect the structure of his system upon the foundation of experiment, it is in truth nothing more than a baseless fabric, raised in dreams and ecstasies by a luxuriant and disordered imagination. Ambitious of novelty, Van Helmont framed abstractions which never existed, but in his own feverish brain; and, after giving these imaginary entities barbarous names, boasted of them as wonderful inventions. His writings, if we except a few things in practical chemistry and medicine, are, in fact, wholly destitute of that kind of information, which would satisfy a rational inquirer after truth, or an accurate investigator of nature.

The footsteps of this philosopher were closely followed by his son, FRANCIS HELMONT,* who industriously increased the stock of philosophical fictions which he inherited from his father, by incorporating with them the dreams of the Jewish Cabbala. His "Paradoxical Dissertations" are a mass of philosophical, medical, and theological paradoxes, scarcely to be paralleled in the history of letters.

The most elegant and philosophical of all the Theosophists was PETER POIRET,† born at Metz, in 1646, and educated in the academy at Basil. Being interrupted in his attendance upon the schools by ill-health, he employed himself, during a long confinement, in the study of the Cartesian philosophy. In the year 1668, he became a student in the university of Heidelberg, in order to qualify himself for the clerical profession; and in 1672 he assumed the character of an ecclesiastic in the principality of Deux Ponts. Here, after a severe illness, he wrote his *Cogitationes rationales de Deo, Anima, et Malo*, "Rational Thoughts concerning God, the Soul, and Evil," in which he for the most part followed the principles of Des Cartes; a work which engaged much attention among philosophers, and which he afterwards defended against the censures of Bayle. The public tumults obliged him to leave his clerical cure; and he withdrew to Holland, and afterwards to Hamburg, where he met the celebrated French mystic, MADAME BOURIGNON, and was so captivated with her opinions, that he became her zealous disciple. Converted from a Cartesian philosopher into a mystical divine, he determined henceforward to seek for that

* Stoll. Intr. in Hist. Lit. p. 1. c. 2. sect. 8.

† Præf. in Opusc. posth. Arnold Hist. Ecc. p. iii. p. 162. Benthem. Stat. Eccl. et Schol. Holl. p. ii. p. 420. Nicéron. Mem. de Lit. t. iv. Stoll. Hist. Lit. p. ii. c. 2. sect. 7.

illumination from Divine contemplation and prayer, which he could not obtain by the exercise of his rational faculties. From this time Poirer became a violent enemy to the Cartesian philosophy, and took great pains to detect its errors and defects. At the same time, fascinated with Bouignonian mysticism, he rejected the light of reason as useless and dangerous, and inveighed against every kind of philosophy which was not the effect of Divine illuminations. Towards the close of his life, Poirer settled at Rheinsburg, in Holland, and employed the remainder of his days in writing mystical books. He died in the year 1719. His treatises *De Œconomia Divina*, "On the Divine Economy;" and *De Eruditione triplici*, "On Three Kinds of Learning;" and the last edition of his *Cogitationes Rationales*, though in a great measure free from that obscurity which distinguishes the writings of the Theosophists already mentioned, certainly rank him among the class of Mystics. Some of his mystical notions, as they may be gathered from the preliminary dissertation prefixed to his works,* are as follows:

It hath pleased God, in order that he may enjoy a vivid and delightful contemplation of himself, beyond that solitude which belongs to the Divine essence, to create external beings in whom he may produce an image of himself. The essence of the human mind is thought, capable and desirous of light, and joyful complacence; the properties in which it bears a resemblance of the Divine essence. Nothing is more intimate, or essential to the mind, than this desire; by which it is borne always towards the true and infinite good. In order to satisfy this desire, the illumination of faith is necessary; by means of which the mind, conscious of its weakness and impotence, disclaims all the fictions of human reason, and directs itself towards God with an intense and ineffable ardour, till, by the silent contemplation of him, it is filled with tranquilising light and joyful complacence; although, whilst oppressed with the load of mortality, it cannot behold his unveiled face. From this Divine illumination proceeds the most pacific serenity of mind, the most ardent love of God, and the most intimate union with him.

Can there be any doubt concerning the propriety of ranking among fanatics, writers who renounce the light of reason, and seek all wisdom and happiness in submitting the mind, in silence and tranquillity, to the impressions of Divine illumination?

To the class of Theosophists has been commonly referred, the entire society of ROSACRUSIANS,† which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, made so much noise in the ecclesiastical and literary world. The history of this society, which is attended with some obscurity, seems to be as follows: its origin is referred to a certain German, whose name was Rosenkreuz, who, in the fourteenth century, visited the Holy Sepulchre, and, in travelling through Asia and Africa, made himself acquainted with many Oriental secrets; and who, after his return, instituted a small fraternity, to whom he communicated the mysteries he had learned, under an oath of inviolable secrecy. This society remained concealed till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when two books were published, the one entitled, *Fama Fraternitatis laudabilis Ordinis Rosæcrusis*; "The Report of the laudable Fraternity of Rosacrusians;" the other, *Confessio*

* Ed. Amst. 1684.

† Arnold. Hist. Eccl. P. ii. c. 18. p. 613. Sec. 17. p. 58. Struv. Intr. in Hist. Lit. c. 9. sect. 29. p. 466. Biblioth. Phil. c. ii. sect. 13. Colberg. Christ. Plat. Hermet. p. i. c. 6. Serpill. Epitaph. Theol. p. 12. Val. Andreæ Turris Babel, c. 25.

Fraternitatis,* “The Confession of the Fraternity.” In these books the world was informed, that this fraternity was enabled, by Divine Revelation, to explain the most important secrets both of nature and grace; that they were appointed to correct the errors of the learned world, particularly in philosophy and medicine; that they were possessed of the philosopher’s stone, and understood both the art of transmuting metals and of prolonging human life; and, in fine, that by their means the golden age would return. As soon as these grand secrets were divulged, the whole tribe of the Paracelsists, Theosophists, and Chemists, flocked to the Rosacrusian standard, and every new and unheard-of mystery was referred to this fraternity. It is impossible to relate how much noise this wonderful discovery made, or what different opinions were formed concerning it. After all, though the laws and statutes of the society had appeared, no one could tell where the society itself was to be found, or who really belonged to it. It was imagined by some sagacious observers, that a certain important meaning was concealed under the story of the Rosacrusian fraternity, though they were wholly unable to say what it was. One conjectured that some chemical mystery lay hid behind the allegorical tale; another supposed that it foretold some great ecclesiastical revolution. At last, Michael Breler,† in the year 1620, had the courage publicly to declare, that he certainly knew the whole story to have been the contrivance of some ingenious persons, who chose to amuse themselves by imposing upon the public credulity. This declaration raised a general suspicion against the whole story; and, as no one undertook to contradict it, this wonderful society daily vanished, and the rumours which had been spread concerning it ceased. The whole was probably a contrivance to ridicule the pretenders to secret wisdom and wonderful power, particularly the chemists, who boasted that they were possessed of the philosopher’s stone. It has been conjectured, and the satirical turn of his writings and several particular passages in his works, favour the conjecture, that this farce was invented and performed, in part at least, by John Valentine Andrea, a divine of Wartenburg.

The preceding detail may suffice to show in what light the sect of the Theosophists is to be considered. Although the eccentricities of this sect are too various to be reduced into a regular system, they are all to be traced back to one common source, the renunciation of human reason. The whole dependence of these philosophers is upon internal inspiration; in which, while the intellect remains quiescent and passive, they wait, in sacred stillness and silence of the soul, for Divine illuminations; and whatever in these profound reveries is suggested to them by a heated imagination, they receive as Divine instruction. They do not indeed openly condemn the authority of the sacred writings; but they reject their natural meaning; and by the help of childish allegories, convert the words of scripture to whatever signification they please. With no other guide in the search of truth than their own disturbed fancies, they admit the wildest dreams of a feverish brain as sacred truths, and obtrude them upon the world with insufferable arrogance, as oracular decisions not to be controverted.

These enthusiasts seem to be agreed in acknowledging, that all things flow from God, and will return to him; and particularly, that this is the case with the human soul, which must derive its chief felicity from the contemplation of God; and that Divine illumination is only to be expected in that submissive state of the soul, in which it is deprived of all activity, and re-

* Franc. 1614. 1617.

† In *Mysterio Iniquitatis Pseudo-Evang.* c. iii. p. 100. *Alethea*, p. 329.

mains the silent subject of Divine impressions. They have, moreover, fancied, that God has not only enstamped his image upon man, but upon all visible objects; and that this image of God being discovered by certain signs, the hidden nature of things may be understood, the influence of the superior world upon the inferior may be known, and great and wonderful effects may be produced. They have imagined, that by the help of the arts of astrology and chemistry, the mysteries of nature may be so far laid open, that a universal remedy for diseases, and a method of converting inferior metals into gold, or the philosopher's stone, might be discovered.

Little needs be said to prove, that the system of Theosophism is founded in delusion, and that it is productive of mischief both to philosophy and religion. These supposed illuminations are to be ascribed either to fanaticism or to imposture. The fastidious contempt with which these pretenders to Divine wisdom have treated those who are contented to follow the plain dictates of common sense, and the simple doctrine of scriptures, has unquestionably imposed upon the credulous vulgar, and produced an indifference to rational inquiry, which has obstructed the progress of knowledge: and their example has encouraged others to traduce philosophy and theology in general, by representing them as resting upon no better foundation than enthusiasm and absurdity. It is to be charitably presumed, that these deluded visionaries have not been themselves aware of the injury which they have been doing to the interests of science and religion. Nevertheless, it must be regretted, both on their own account, and on account of the multitudes they have misled, that whilst they have thought themselves following a bright and steady luminary, they have been led astray by wandering meteors.*

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE ENEMIES OF PHILOSOPHY.

IN enumerating the deviations from the true method of philosophising, which a dislike of sectarian philosophy has produced, we must not omit to mention a class of men, who, though they are not themselves philosophers, have had some effect upon the state of philosophy, those who have appeared as its professed adversaries. Every period in the history of philosophy has produced men of this description. The wise men of Greece were ridiculed by Damon, a Cyrenian. Socrates was persecuted by the Athenians. Philosophy itself was proscribed in the Roman republic, and by several of the Roman emperors; and its records have more than once fallen a sacrifice

* Vidend. Erastus contra Paracelsum. Crollii Basilica Chymica. Oporini Ep. ad Wier. de Moribus Præceptoris. Clerici Hist. Med. p. 794. 802. Borrich. de Chemia, c. 6. Budd. Isag. p. i. p. 265. Arnold, Hist. Ecc. p. ii. l. 17. Morhoff. Polyph. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 10. 15. Wersendorf, Disp. de Fanaticis Silesiorum. Rapin, Reflexions sur la Philosophie, p. 54. Hinckelman, Detect. fundam Boehm. De Visch. Bib. Ord. Cest. p. 187. Stalkopvii Animadv. in Poiret. Felleri Monum. inedit. Fluddi Tract. Apolog. pro Soc. de Rosea Cruse, 1617. Thomas Præf. ad Poiret de Erudit. Triplici. Conring. de Hermet. Ægypt. et Paracels. Le Compte de Gabalis. Croll. Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Eternæ, Magd. 1608.

to the bigotry of Mahometan and even of Christian princes. Wits have ridiculed philosophers, and priests have condemned them. It is no wonder, then, that philosophy has experienced a similar fate in modern times.

The attacks which have been made upon philosophy since the revival of letters have been of different kinds; some open and direct; some oblique and concealed. Among its indirect opponents may be reckoned those advocates for Revelation, who have maintained that its doctrines cannot be reconciled with the dictates of human reason, and those enthusiasts, who have relinquished the use of reason, and abandoned themselves to the extravagances of fanaticism. Of a direct attack upon philosophy we shall give one example, in the controversy which happened in the university of Helmstadt, towards the close of the sixteenth century.

DANIEL HOFFMAN,* born in 1538, at Hall, in Saxony, and professor, first of logic and ethics, and afterwards of theology, in the university of Helmstadt, had long distinguished himself as a keen and angry disputant. In his time disputes ran high concerning the ubiquity of the human nature of Christ, which was admitted by the more orthodox theologians, but denied by the Brunswick divines, who contented themselves with maintaining, that the man Jesus Christ could be present wherever he pleased. The aid of the Scholastic philosophy being called in by both parties, to decide this controversy, Hoffman, whether through pique or vanity it is not easy to determine, took this occasion to erect his standard against philosophy itself. In an academical disputation, he maintained, that the light of reason, even as it appears in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, is adverse to religion; and that the more the human understanding is cultivated by philosophical study, the more perfectly is the enemy supplied with weapons of defence. The partiality, which at this time universally prevailed in favour of the Aristotelian philosophy, was such, that an opinion of this kind could not be advanced publicly, without exciting general dissatisfaction and alarm. A numerous band of professors, though they differed in opinion among themselves, united to take up arms against the common enemy. At the head of this body was John Cassel; whence the advocates for philosophy were called the Casselian party. They at first challenged Hoffman to a private conference, in expectation of leading him to a sounder judgment concerning philosophy; but their hopes were frustrated. Hoffman, persuaded that interest and envy had armed the philosophers against him, in his reply to his opponents, inveighed with great bitterness against philosophers, and acknowledged, that he meant to oppose not only the abuse of philosophy, but the most prudent and legitimate use of it, as necessarily destructive of theology. This extravagant assertion, accompanied with many contumelious censures of philosophers, produced reciprocal vehemence; and Albert Graver published a book *De Unica Veritate*, which maintained "the Simplicity of Truth;" a doctrine from which the Casselian party were called Simplicists; whilst the followers of Hoffman, (for he found means to engage several persons, particularly among the Theosophists, in his interest,) opposing this doctrine, were called, on the other hand, Duplicitists. John Angel Werdenhagen, a Boehmenite, who possessed some poetical talents, wrote several poems against the philosophers. In short, the disputes ran so high, and produced so much personal abuse, that the court thought it necessary to interpose its authority, and appointed arbitrators to examine the merits of the controversy. The decision was against Hoffman, and he was obliged to make a public recantation of his

* Elswich. de Fortun. Arist. in Acad. Prot. sect. 27. Arnold Hist. Eccl. p. ii. iii. Bayle. Reimann. Hist. Lit. Germ. p. iv. p. 96.

errors, acknowledging the utility and excellence of philosophy, and declaring that his invectives had been only directed against its abuses. After this defeat, Hoffman retired into a neighbouring monastery; but he was permitted to return to Helmstadt, and open a private school. He died in the year 1611.

WERDENHAGEN, who had been Hoffman's coadjutor, would not suffer the contest to sleep after the death of its author. His zeal for Boehmean Theosophism impelled him to persist in his invectives against philosophers; and he pressed into his service a hot-headed youth, Weneslaw Schilling, a Thuringian, who inflamed the quarrel by several virulent publications, one of which was entitled *Visitatio Ecclesiæ Metaphysicæ*, "A Visitation of the Metaphysical Church." For his scurrilities he was banished from Wittenburg. Werdenhagen withdrew to Holland, and the dispute ended. A dispute which originated in disappointed vanity, and was supported by enthusiasm and malevolence, only deserves to be recorded as a proof of the necessity of philosophising soberly, and of following reason, rather than imagination or passion, in the search after truth.*

BOOK X.

OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHY.

UPON the revival of letters, many attempts were made to restore and to improve philosophy; but from the preceding narrative it is sufficiently evident, that little was accomplished. The human understanding has, at length, however, through the favour of Divine Providence, asserted its native freedom and dignity, and shaken off the yoke of authority. Many independent and exalted geniuses have arisen, who, despising the servile prejudice of yielding implicit deference to the decisions of the ancients, have determined, by the vigorous exertions of their own faculties, to investigate certain and universal principles for themselves, and upon this foundation to frame a system of opinions, which should be truly and properly their own. They have not indeed disdained to consult the records of ancient wisdom; but they have admitted nothing as true, which their reason and judgment have not approved.

From these laudable attempts a species of philosophy has arisen, more pure and excellent than that of any former period, which we shall distinguish by the name of the Modern Eclectic Philosophy: understanding by the term, however, something very different from that specious kind of phi-

* Vidend. Weisman. Hist. Ecc. t. ii. p. 1170. Michael Syn. Hist. Ecc. l. iii. sect. 2. Hutteri Concordia Concors, c. 52. Meieri Monum. c. 3.

losophy, which rose in the school of Alexandria, and from that confusion of opinions which some modern writers, by attempting to reconcile Platonism with Stoicism or Peripateticism, and all these with Christianity, have produced. The true Eclectic philosopher, renouncing every prejudice in favour of celebrated names or ancient sects, makes reason his sole guide, and diligently investigates the nature and properties of the objects which come under his observation, that he may from these deduce clear principles, and arrive at certain knowledge. He esteems nothing so disgraceful in philosophy, as *jurare in verba magistri*, implicitly to acknowledge the authority of a master; and says, with respect to all the different sects and their leaders,

Tros Rutulusve fuat, nullo discrimine habeo. (a)

It is wholly unnecessary to expatiate upon the superior dignity and usefulness of this method of philosophising above all others; and it is foreign from our purpose to lay down the principles and rules by which it should be conducted. But it may not be improper, in a few words, to explain the reasons why this method of prosecuting philosophical inquiries, so obvious as well as reasonable, was not sooner adopted.

The history of the restoration of learning will itself suggest one cause of this fact. Those learned men on whom the charge of reforming philosophy, as well as reviving letters, devolved, were chiefly employed in the study of the ancients, and were more desirous of excelling in erudition than of improving science. The Greek philosophy, preserved in those ancient writings which principally engaged their attention, came recommended to them under the seducing form of ancient lore; and they easily persuaded themselves, that it was wholly unnecessary to attempt improvements upon the wisdom of Plato and Aristotle. Occupied in grammatical and critical inquiries, they had neither leisure nor inclination to exercise their talents in original researches into nature. Add to this, that indolence probably prevented some, and ignorance of the true nature of philosophy, and of the value of the Eclectic method of philosophising, hindered others, from attempting new discoveries; whilst the more enterprising geniuses, from whom such improvements might have been expected, such for example, as Martin Luther, were devoted to higher pursuits. Philip Melancthon, though possessed of abilities equal to the task, was of too timid a disposition to shake off the sectarian yoke; and contributed, more than became a reformer in religion, to rivet the chains of authority in philosophy. And, among the Roman Catholics, such a blind respect for ancient names was still predominant, and so strong was the attachment to those established forms with which ecclesiastical honours and emoluments were inseparably connected, that philosophical innovations were not to be expected from this quarter. The rigour, with which every attempt towards the introduction of new opinions was at this time suppressed by the heads of the Romish church, doubtless confirmed the general prejudice against alterations of every kind, and deterred those, who were capable of penetrating through the surrounding mist of superstition and error, from yielding to the impulse of nature and genius.

These difficulties long retraded the progress of science; but at length certain philosophers of the first order, conscious of internal strength sufficient for the undertaking, ventured to burst the enclosure of authority, and by the aid of deep reflection and persevering industry, enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge. Clearly perceiving the defects and errors of

(a) "No blind respect to names alone I pay."

the several Grecian sects, they deplored the abject state to which the human mind had been reduced by indolence, superstition, and blind submission, and with generous indignation threw off the yoke. The first successful attempt for this purpose was made by that great man, Lord Bacon, who may therefore justly be called the parent of Modern Eclectic philosophy. In his *Novum Organum*, a work richly fraught with true and liberal philosophy, his first object was to cast down the idol, which the philosophical world had so long worshipped, and recall their homage to the divinity of truth.

Although some eminent men, who have philosophised after the Eclectic method, have had the vanity to exhibit themselves as the founders of new sects, it is inconsistent with the nature of Eclectic philosophy to admit of sectarian subdivisions. Instead therefore of attempting, as some writers have done, to divide modern philosophy into distinct schools, we shall content ourselves with a more simple arrangement, and shall first treat of those philosophers who have more or less successfully endeavoured to improve philosophy IN GENERAL; and secondly, of those who have applied themselves to the improvement of CERTAIN BRANCHES of philosophy. Of the history and doctrines of each we shall give such a sketch as the nature of our plan requires, without attempting those details, which it would be impossible to bring within the limits we have assigned to the present work.*

CHAPTER II.

OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHERS, WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO
IMPROVE PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL.

SECTION I.—OF JORDANO BRUNO.

THE first person among the moderns who attempted any material innovation in philosophy, was JORDAN BRUNO, † born at Nola, in the kingdom of Naples. He flourished at the latter end of the sixteenth century, but the exact time of his birth is unknown. To excellent talents he added a lofty spirit, which arose superior to prejudice, and would admit nothing as true without examination; whence it is easy to conceive, that in the system of philosophy and theology then taught in the schools of Italy, he met with many things which he could not digest. Fond of retirement and study he entered into a monastery of Dominicans; but the freedom of his opinions, and the boldness of the censure which he passed upon the irregularities of the fraternity, soon created him enemies, and subjected him to persecutions, which obliged him to quit his order and his country, leaving behind him all his property. In the year 1582, he withdrew to Geneva,

* Vidend. Arnold. Wesenfeld. Diss. iv. de Phil. Sect. et Eclect. Mosheim. Hist. Christ. recent. sect. 17. p. 403.

† Epist. Scioppii in Struvii Act. Lit. t. v. p. 64. La Croze Entretiens, p. 187. Steph. Jordan. Disq. Hist. Lit. de J. Bruno. Bayle.

where his heretical opinions gave offence to Calvin and Beza, and he was soon obliged to provide for his safety by flight. After a short stay at Lyons he came to Paris. Here, his innovating spirit recommended him to the notice of multitudes, who at this time declared open hostilities against the authority of Aristotle. In a public disputation, held in the Royal Academy, in 1586, he defended, three days successively, certain propositions concerning nature and the world, which, together with brief heads of the arguments, he afterwards published in Saxony, under the title of *Acrotismus*,* or, "Reasons of the physical Articles proposed against the Peripatetics at Paris." The contempt with which Bruno, in the course of these debates, treated Aristotle, exposed him to the resentment of the academic professors, who were zealous advocates for the old system; and he found it expedient to leave the kingdom of France. According to some writers,† he now visited England, in the train of the French ambassador Castelnau, where he was hospitably received by Sir Philip Sydney and Sir Fulke Greville, and was introduced to Queen Elizabeth. But though it is certain from his writings that he was in England, he probably made this visit in some other part of his life; for, about the middle of the same year in which he was at Paris, we find him at Wittenburg, a zealous adherent of Luther. In that city he met with a liberal reception, and full permission to propagate his doctrines: but the severity with which he inveighed against Aristotle, the latitude of his opinions in religion as well as philosophy, and the contempt with which he treated the masters of the public schools excited new jealousies; and complaints were lodged against him before the senate of the university. To escape the disgrace which threatened him, Bruno, after two years' residence in Wittenburg, left that place, and took refuge in Helmstadt, where the known liberality of the Duke of Brunswick encouraged him to hope for a secure asylum. But either through the restlessness of his disposition, or through unexpected opposition, he left this place the next year, and went to Frankfort to superintend an edition of his works, which were now become numerous, at the press of the celebrated printer, John Wechel; but before this design was completed he was obliged on a sudden, probably from an apprehension of persecution, to quit that city. His next residence (unless it was at this time that he visited England) was at Padua; there, the boldness with which he taught his new doctrines, and inveighed against the court of Rome and the clergy, soon brought him under the censure of the court of inquisition at Venice, as an apostate from the faith; in consequence of which he was conveyed as a prisoner to Rome, and, after two years' confinement, was condemned to the flames. This sentence was executed in the year 1600: a severe fate, which, though it has been ascribed to the impiety of his tenets, was more probably the effect of his desertion from the Romish church, and of his daring attacks upon the majesty of the pontificate.

The character of this philosopher was certainly singular and paradoxical. A luxuriant imagination supplied him with wonderful conceptions, intelligible only to a few, which were never formed into a system. Not possessing that cool and solid judgment, and that habit of patient attention, which are necessary to a thorough investigation of subjects, he frequently embraced trifling and doubtful propositions as certain truths. His ideas were, for the most part, wild and fantastic, and he indulged himself in a most unbounded liberty of speech. Some of his original conceptions are indeed more luminous and satisfactory, and nearly coincide with the principles of

* Wittenberg. 1588.

† Sciopp. and Bayle.

philosophy afterwards received by Des Cartes, Leibnitz, and others: but these sparks of truth are buried in a confused mass of extravagant and trifling dogmas, expressed in a metaphorical and intricate style, and immethodically arranged. In brief, though Bruno was not destitute of a vigorous and original genius, he wanted that good sense, and that steady temper, without which no great reformation, either in philosophy or religion, can be effected.

Bruno was a voluminous writer. His most celebrated philosophical pieces are the following: *De Umbris Idearum*,* "On Shadows of Ideas;" *De l'Infinito, Universo, et Mondi*,† "Of Infinity, the Universe, and World;" *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante*,‡ "Despatches from the Triumphant Beast;" *Oratio valedictoria habita in Academia Wittenbergensi*,§ "A farewell Oration delivered in the University of Wittenberg;" *De Monade, Numero, et Figura*,|| "Of Monad, Number, and Figure;" *Summa Terminorum Metaphysicorum*,¶ "Summary of Metaphysical Terms." Of these the satirical work, "Despatches from The Triumphant Beast," is the most celebrated.**

The extreme scarceness of the writings of this philosopher, and the invincible obscurity of those which have come under our notice, render it impossible for us to give a full and accurate view of his doctrine, or to decide with certainty concerning the kind or degree of impiety which it involved. Thus much, however, may on satisfactory grounds be asserted, that the doctrine of Bruno was not, as Bayle and La Croze maintain, founded on the principles of Spinozism, but on the ancient doctrine of emanation. For, though he acknowledges only one substance in nature, yet it appears from many passages in his writings to have been his opinion, that all things have from eternity flowed from one immense and infinite fountain, an emanative principle, essential to the Divine nature. From this source he derives his *Minima*, or atoms, of which the visible world is formed. To these he ascribes perception, life, and motion. Besides these, he supposes a distinct principle of combination and union, or a soul of the world, derived from the same fountain, by which the forms of nature are produced and preserved. This intermediate agent, which connects all the other emanations from the eternal fountain, is in the system of Bruno, Nature. By means of which, out of infinite emanations from the eternal fountain, infinite and eternal worlds are produced; whilst, in truth, only one being exists, which is infinite, immutable, indivisible, good, the uncreated light which pervades all space, and which has within itself one substantial form of all things. This doctrine appears to have been the result of an absurd attempt to unite the Atomic and Emanative systems, in which mathematics, physics, and metaphysics, are injudiciously confounded, and which, on the whole, rather served to perplex than to improve philosophy.††

* Par. 1582.

† Ven. 1584.

‡ Par. 1584.

§ Wittenb. 1588.

|| Frankf. 1591.

¶ Tig. 1595.

** Addison gives a brief account of this work in the *Spectator*, No. 389, and speaks of the writer as a professed atheist. But, as the plan of the work, given by Addison, is not atheistical, and as it is not probable that he had seen those treatises from which our author drew his abstract of this philosopher's opinions, more regard is due to Brucker's elaborate inquiry into the character and doctrine of Bruno, than to Addison's cursory judgment.

†† Vidend. Heumann. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 432. Leibnitz. Ep. v. iv. p. 37. Huet. Cens. Phil. Cart. c. 8. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. i. c. 15. sect. 6. Vogt. Cat. Lib. rar. p. 139.

SECTION II.—OF JEROM CARDAN.

IN the class of modern Eclectic philosophers, however eccentric and unsuccessful in his attempts to reform philosophy, we must reckon JEROM CARDAN, an Italian physician, born at Pavia, in the year 1501. His father, who was a lawyer by profession, and a man well skilled in secret arts, instructed him very early in the mysteries of numbers and the precepts of astrology. He also taught him the elements of geometry, and was desirous to have engaged him in the study of jurisprudence; but his inclination strongly prompting him to the medical profession, he entered upon the study of medicine, and obtained the degree of doctor of physic, at Padua. To escape the public tumults he retired into the country, where he formed a matrimonial connexion, of which he bitterly complains as the cause of all his subsequent misfortunes. His friends made repeated efforts to obtain him an advantageous establishment, but he was too supercilious and peevish to profit by their kindness. An offer was made him of the honourable post of physician to the King of Denmark, with an annual salary of eight hundred crowns, and a free table, but he refused it on account of the climate and the religion of the country. In the year 1552, he was invited into Scotland by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and received a large gratuity for his medical services. In the course of this journey he visited England, and was earnestly entreated by Edward, whose nativity he calculated, to remain in his court; but he could not be prevailed upon to stay longer than a few months. On his return into Italy, after residing some years in the academy at Bologna, he removed to Rome, where he was admitted into the college of physicians, with a pension from the Pope. Thuanus relates, that he saw Cardan at Rome, a few years before his death, and was surprised to find nothing in him which answered to the high reputation he had obtained. In the year 1576, he finished his days, more like a maniac than a philosopher.*

Cardan was a wonderful compound of wisdom and folly. Through his whole life he practised the art of astrology, and wrote an account of his own fate, under the title of *Explicatio Genituræ*, "A Calculation of Nativity," in which he confidently hazards many predictions, and marks innumerable contradictions in his own character, which he ascribes to the malign influence of the stars. He had so much confidence in this art, that he maintained that the position of the stars at the birth of our Saviour was such as indicated a wonderful character. His numerous predictions, and the cures which he undertook to perform by secret charms, or by the assistance of invisible spirits, made him pass for a magician with the vulgar, but were in fact only proofs of a mind infatuated by superstition. In the midst of all this weakness, Cardan is universally acknowledged to have been a man of great erudition and fertile invention, and is celebrated as the author of many new and singular observations in philosophy and medicine. His treatise, *De Methodo Medendi*, "On the Practice of Medicine," discovers a mind capable of detecting and renouncing established errors. His book, *De Subtilitati et Varietate Rerum*, "On the Subtlety and Variety of Things," shows, that if he could have preserved his judgment free from the influence of a disordered imagination, he was able to have contributed to the improvement of natural philosophy. Of the dogmas of this philosopher, the following are a specimen:—

* Card. de Vita propria. Bayle. Tomassin. Elog. p. 55. Naudæi Judic. de Card. Sevin. Hist. Acad. Reg. Inscript. t. xiii. art. 2. Thuan. Hist. l. xlii. ann. 1576.

Primary matter, which remains immutably the same, fills every place; whence, without the annihilation of matter there can be no vacuum. Three principles subsist every where; matter, form, and mind. There are in matter three kinds of motion; the first, from form to element; the second, the reverse of this; the third, the descent of heavy bodies. The elements or passive principles are three; water, earth, and air; for naturally all things are cold, that is, destitute of heat. The agent in nature is celestial heat; the air, being exposed to the action of the solar rays, is perpetually in motion. The moon and all the other heavenly bodies are luminous from themselves. The heavens are animated by an ever active principle, and are therefore never quiescent. Man, having mind as well as soul, is not an animal. The dispositions of men are produced, and all moral affairs are directed, by the influence of the stars. Mind is universally diffused, and though it appears multiplied, is but one; it is extrinsically, and for a time, attached to human bodies, but never perishes.

Innumerable other singular metaphysical and physical notions are to be found in the works of Cardan; and they are accompanied with many experiments and observations on natural *phenomena*. But the whole is thrown together in such a confused mass, as plainly proves, that, though the author's head was replete with ideas, he wanted that sound understanding and cool judgment, without which the most ingenious and original conceptions must prove abortive. He was too fond of mysticism, too credulous, too superstitious, and, in a word, too much of an astrologer, to be a true philosopher. Cardan, therefore, notwithstanding all the variety and apparent originality of his writings, must be ranked among the unsuccessful adventurers in philosophy. His works, which treat of metaphysics, logic, natural philosophy, medicine, mathematics, and morals, were collected by Spon, and published* in ten volumes. He was attacked with much acrimony by several writers, particularly by J. C. Scaliger, who envied his philosophical reputation and medical success.†

SECTION III.—OF FRANCIS BACON, LORD VERULAM.

THAT reformation in philosophy, which had been unsuccessfully attempted by Bruno, Cardan and others, was happily accomplished by that illustrious English philosopher, Lord Bacon, who did more to detect the sources of former errors and prejudices, and to discover and establish the true method of philosophising, than the whole body of philosophers which many preceding ages had produced.

FRANCIS BACON, Baron of Verulam, and Viscount of St. Alban's, was born in London in the year 1560. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was the good fortune of Lord Bacon, that he appeared at a time when learning was commonly admired and cultivated among men of rank and fortune, and was even fashionable at court. The singular talents with which nature had endued him, and his early proficiency in learning, recommended him, whilst a boy, to the particular attention of several of the nobility, and

* Lugd. 1663.

† Vidend. Sanchez de Arte nihil sciendi. p. 193. Schmidii Diss. de Themata Christi natal. Scalegeriana prima. p. 48. Vogt. in Cat. Lib. rar. p. 167. Reimann. Hist. Ath. S. iii. c. 4. sect. 11. Parker de Deo Disp. i. p. 72, 210. Arnold Hist. Ec. p. ii. l. xvii. p. 324. Voss. de Theol. Gent. l. iii. c. 8.

introduced him to the notice of the Queen. Fond of school learning, that princess more than once amused herself with endeavouring to puzzle the young scholar with difficult questions; but his replies discovered such sound judgment, and were expressed in such manly language, that the Queen was exceedingly delighted with him, and used to call him her young Lord Keeper. At twelve years of age he was entered a student at Cambridge, and placed under the tuition of Dr. Whitgift, the master of Trinity college, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Here he applied with great ardour to the study of the sciences, particularly of the Aristotelian philosophy, which still continued to be taught in the English schools; but before he had attained his sixteenth year, he began to be dissatisfied with a method of philosophising, which was rather adapted to create disputes, than to promote the happiness of human life, and determined, if possible, to strike out some more promising way of investigating truth, than the Stagirite, or any of the ancients, had discovered.

After he had passed through the usual course of academical studies, Bacon was sent by his father to France with the ambassador, Sir Amias Pawlet, in order to introduce him to the knowledge of political science, and enlarge his acquaintance with the world. How well he profited by this tour, appears from the judicious observations "On the State of Europe," which he wrote in his eighteenth year. His father's death, which happened suddenly during his visit to France, left him, who was the youngest of five brothers, in circumstances which rendered it necessary for him to engage in some lucrative profession; and he entered upon the study of the law in Gray's Inn. Here his superior talents, supported by indefatigable industry, soon made him an eminent proficient in the English law; and he was, by the favour of Elizabeth, appointed one of her council extraordinary. In the mean time he never lost sight of his favourite object; for it was during this period of his life, that he formed the outline of his great work "The Instauration of the Sciences," in a treatise to which he gave the vaunting title of *Temporis Partus maximus*, "The greatest Birth of Time;" an expression of vanity of which he afterwards repented, as appears from a letter to Father Fulgentio, of Venice. This piece is not found among his works.

From this time Bacon appears upon the public theatre of the political world; but neither his great abilities, nor his accomplished manners, nor the interest of Essex the Queen's favourite, nor even the favour of the Queen herself, (for she often consulted him on the affairs of state,) could so far overcome the jealousy of the ministers, and the spirit of faction, as to obtain for him any advantageous post. At last, Essex, who had in vain solicited public favour for his friend, and who saw him now almost driven by spleen and resentment to forsake his country, from his own private bounty presented him with a valuable estate, which he afterwards sold for eighteen hundred pounds: and we must add, though it is an indelible blot upon the memory of this great man, that after the disgraceful execution of Essex, he had the disingenuity to write, at the instigation of the ministry, a formal justification of their conduct, at the expense of the reputation of his friend and benefactor. All the obsequiousness of Bacon could not, however, procure him the favour of the court; and it was not till James the First ascended the throne, that he obtained any reward for his superior learning and abilities more substantial than the empty breath of fame. By means of his excellent treatise "On the Advancement of Learning," he soon obtained access to that prince, who valued himself

upon being a patron of learning; and notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Earl of Salisbury and Sir Edward Coke, he obtained, in the year 1607, the place which he had long desired of Solicitor General. In the midst of the engagements of this office he continued, however, to pursue his philosophical researches; for in 1610, he published his treatise "On the Wisdom of the Ancients."

In 1613, Sir Francis Bacon (for James had, soon after his accession, conferred upon Bacon the honour of knighthood) was appointed Attorney General; an office, the profits of which amounted to six thousand pounds a year. This income, together with the wealth he had acquired by marriage and from other sources, might justly have been expected to have raised so eminent a philosopher above all temptation to servility and speculation. But ambition seduced this great man from the path of integrity. In order to obtain the honourable post of Lord High Chancellor of England, he descended to the meanest and most unwarrantable artifices. He endeavoured to destroy the popularity of his rival, Sir Edward Coke; he made use of undue influence in the House of Commons, and he yielded implicit submission to the will and humour of the prince. By these arts, in the year 1617, Sir Francis obtained the seals with the title of Lord Keeper; and in the year 1618, was created Lord High Chancellor of England, with the title of Baron of Verulam, which he the next year changed for that of Viscount of St. Albans. But neither the avocations of the court, nor the labours of his office, could entice him from his favourite studies. In the year 1620, he published a work on which he had been engaged twelve years, and which obtained him immortal honour, his *Novum Organon Scientiarum*, "New Organs of the Sciences."

In the midst of Lord St. Alban's splendour and wealth, an incident occurred which proved ruinous to his fortune, and at the same time to his reputation. The king, in order to supply his extravagances, among other expedients, made use of illegal patents for monopolies: to these patents the learned Chancellor, through the instigation of the Duke of Buckingham, had affixed the great seal. The whole proceeding gave much offence to the public: complaints respecting these unjust and oppressive monopolies were brought into parliament; and the Duke of Buckingham, to extricate himself out of this hazardous situation, persuaded the king to lay the blame upon the Lord Chancellor. The King, whose fondness for Buckingham exceeded all bounds, listened to the proposal, and even prevailed upon Lord St. Alban's to submit his conduct to public examination without attempting his own defence, or being present at the trial; promising, on his royal word, to screen him in the last determination of the court, or, if that could not be done, to make him ample recompence. The consequence was, that the Lord Chancellor was, in 1621, accused before the House of Lords of bribery and corruption, and sentenced to undergo a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of holding any public office, and never to sit again in parliament, or come within the verge of the court. After a short confinement in the Tower, the King gave him his liberty; and about three years afterwards revoked the whole sentence by an entire pardon. Lord St. Albans was thus restored to his honours, and men seemed willing to forget that so great a man had ever been capable of offending. From this time, however, mortified no doubt by the recollection of his public disgrace, and the consciousness of having too well deserved it, he declined all concern in affairs of state, and devoted himself to retirement and study. It was during these last years of his life, which were clouded with care, as

well as loaded with regret, that Lord Bacon wrote the greater part of his valuable works. After having been for some time in a declining state, he died in the year 1626, of a fever, which was occasioned by pursuing, with more application than his strength would bear, certain experiments respecting the preservation of bodies.*

Without dwelling upon a subject so humiliating as the inconsistencies and blemishes of a great and exalted mind, we will immediately proceed to consider Bacon in the light in which he will unquestionably be admired by the most remote posterity, as, among the moderns, the first great improver of philosophy.

Possessing by nature a strong and penetrating judgment, and having injured himself from his childhood to a habit of close attention and deep thinking, Bacon was capable of taking an accurate and comprehensive survey of the regions of knowledge, and of thoroughly examining the foundations of those structures which had hitherto been honoured with the title of systems of philosophy. His first great attempt in philosophy was his incomparable treatise "On the Advancement of Learning," first published in English, and afterwards translated by himself, with the assistance of some friends, into Latin.

The great design of this work was, to take an accurate survey of the whole extent of the intellectual world; to review the state of knowledge, as it then stood, in its several branches, in order to discover how far science had been successfully prosecuted, and what improvements might still be made for the benefit of mankind; and to point out general methods for the correction of error, and the advancement of knowledge. The author, following the division of nature into the three faculties of the soul, memory, imagination, and understanding, classes all knowledge under three general heads, corresponding to these faculties, history, poetry, philosophy. Philosophy he considers as the universal science, which is the parent of all others, and divides it into three branches; that which treats of God, or natural theology; that which treats of nature, or natural philosophy; and that which treats of man, or human and civil philosophy. Natural philosophy he distributes into speculative and operative; including under the former head, physics, which treat of the general principles of nature, of the frame of the world, and of distinct bodies, and their common or peculiar properties; and metaphysics, which treat of form and final causes: and comprehending under the latter, mechanics, as deduced from general physical causes; and magic, or the knowledge of peculiar properties and powers in nature, and of their application to produce unusual effects. Mathematics he considers as an appendage to natural philosophy. The philosophy of human nature he views generally and specially; generally, as it respects the whole man, liable to miseries, or possessing prerogatives, and as regarding the mutual connexion and influence of the mind and body; specially, as it respects human nature divided into body, the subject of medicinal, cosmetic, athletic, and voluptuary arts; and soul, whether rational or sensible, with its various faculties, their use and objects; and, as it respects civil life, comprehending conversation, negotiation, and government. Under the head of "The Use and Objects of the Faculties of the Mind," he includes logic, comprehending inquiry or invention, examination or judgment, custody or memory, and elocution or tradition, in all the forms of speech and writing; and ethics, treating of the nature of good, simple, or comparative, and of the culture of the mind, respecting its

* Rawley's and Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon. Bayle.

natural or accidental characters, and its affections and distempers. To all this the author adds a discourse concerning the limits and use of human reason in matters Divine.

From this brief analysis of this excellent work, the reader may in some measure perceive, with what compass of thought and strength of judgment Bacon examined the whole circle of sciences; and if the treatise be carefully perused, as it ought to be by every one who is desirous of methodising and enlarging his conceptions on the general objects of science, the reader will not fail to admire the active and penetrating genius of the author, who could alone discover so many things, of which former ages had been ignorant, and hold up to posterity a light by which they have been so successfully guided into new fields of science. The numerous *desiderata*, which he has suggested in almost every branch of science, have furnished hints to succeeding philosophers, which have greatly contributed towards the leading object of all his philosophical labours, the advancement of learning.

Bacon was now desirous of becoming a faithful and useful guide to others in the pursuit of knowledge, by pointing out to them the best method of employing their reasoning faculties on the several objects of philosophy; and for this purpose wrote his *Novum Organon*, a treatise which the author himself esteemed the most valuable of his works. Rejecting the syllogistic method of reasoning, as a mere instrument of Scholastic disputation, which could not be applied with any advantage to the study of nature, he attempts, in this work, to substitute in its stead the method of induction, in which natural objects are subjected to the test of observation and experiment, in order to furnish certain facts as the foundation of general truths. By this expedient he hoped to remove those obstructions to the progress of knowledge, the prejudices (called by our author *Idolæ*) arising from ancient authority, from false methods of reasoning, or from the natural imbecility of the human mind. Physical experiment, the *organ* or instrument which he proposed for the investigation of nature, he considered as the only effectual method of drawing men off from those uncertain speculations, which, contributing nothing towards discovering the true nature of things, only serve to bewilder the imagination, and confound the judgment. For the particular precepts which Bacon prescribed for this purpose, we must refer the reader to the work itself, which will amply repay the labour of a diligent perusal. The great number of new terms which the author introduces, and the complex mode of arrangement which he adopts, cast indeed some degree of obscurity over the work, and have perhaps rendered it less useful than it would otherwise have been: but the reader who has the courage to overcome these difficulties will meet with many excellent observations, which may materially contribute, even in the present advanced state of natural knowledge, to the improvement of science. But the principal value of this work is, that it represents in the most lively colours, the nature, the strength, and the mischievous effects of prejudice, and lays open the various circumstances which have, in all ages, hindered the free and successful pursuit of knowledge.

The way being prepared, Bacon applied himself chiefly to the improvement of that branch of philosophy which best suited his inclination, physics; and though he did not attempt to frame a system of natural philosophy, he wrote several treatises, which contain original observations on various branches of natural science, but are chiefly valuable as a pattern to posterity of the manner in which these researches should be pursued. His philosophical treatises are, "Of Words; of Rarefaction and Condensation; of

Sympathy; of Life and Death; of the Three Chemical Principles; of Bodies, heavy and light; on speculative and essential Physics; Description of the Intellectual World; Plan of the Heavens; on the Tides; the Philosophy of *Pramenides*, *Telesius*, and *Democritus*; Indications for the Interpretation of Nature; of the Wisdom of the Ancients; a History of Nature; and, a new Atlantis." Besides these, he wrote several moral, political, and historical pieces, somewhat obscure in expression, but full of profound thought and just reflection, and worthy of an attentive and frequent perusal. This latter class of his writings is enlivened with examples, narratives, apophthegms, similes, and many other decorations. His entire works have been published in England, Holland, and Germany.

The only thing to be regretted in the writings of Bacon is, that he has increased the difficulties necessarily attending his original and profound researches, by too freely making use of new terms, and by loading his arrangement with an excessive multiplicity and minuteness of divisions. But an attentive and accurate reader, already not unacquainted with philosophical subjects, will meet with no insuperable difficulties in studying his works, and if he be not a wonderful proficient in science, will reap much benefit as well as pleasure from the perusal. In fine, Lord Bacon, by the universal consent of the learned world, is to be ranked in the first class of modern philosophers. He unquestionably belonged to that superior order of men, who, by enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge, have been benefactors to mankind; and he may not improperly be styled, on account of the new track of science which he explored, the Columbus of the philosophical world.*

SECTION IV.—OF THOMAS CAMPANELLA.

AT the same time that Bacon was improving philosophy in Britain, attempts of a similar kind, but with far inferior success, were made in Italy by Campanella, a man whose natural genius prompted him to bold innovations.

THOMAS CAMPANELLA,† a native of Calabria, was born in the year 1568. From his infancy he discovered a wonderful memory and a singular genius. At thirteen years of age he was able to write verses with great facility. Having been early instructed in theological subjects, his first ambition was to rival the fame of the great Albert and Thomas Aquinas; and he entered his name in that monastic order which they had so much adorned, the fraternity of Dominicans. In the convent of San Giorgio, he engaged with great industry and ardour in the study of philosophy; but he soon discovered the sterility of the ancient method of philosophising; and, after in vain seeking for satisfaction from Aristotle or Plato, Zeno or Epicurus, he had recourse, when he was about eighteen years of age, to a modern master, who had professed to study the nature of things rather than the speculations of philosophers. The philosophy of *Telesius* about this time engaging much attention in Italy, Campanella read his treatise "On the Nature of Things," and was so much captivated with the bold and free spirit of this work, that he determined to leave the

* Vidend. Oper. Lond. 1740. 1765.

† E. S. Cypriani Vit. Camp. Amst. 1705. Nicéron. Mem. Lit. t. i. Erythr. Pinacoth. l. i. p. 41. Struv. Act. Lit. fasc. ii. p. 71. Stollii Hist. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. sect. 91.

barren desert of the Aristotelian Scholastics, for the more pleasant and fruitful fields of the Telesian philosophy. He wrote a defence of Telesius against Antoninus Marta, who had undertaken the refutation of that philosopher's doctrine, in a work entitled *Pugnaculum Aristotelis*, "A Defence of Aristotle," and came to Naples to publish his work, which was entitled, *Philosophia Sensibus demonstrata*, "Philosophy demonstrated to the Senses."

The contempt with which Campanella, in this work, treated the authority of Aristotle, raised a violent ferment among his monastic brethren, which was still further increased by the bold and decisive tone with which he contradicted long established tenets in public disputations. Supported, however, by wealthy patrons, and still more by his own firm and independent spirit, he persevered in the design which he had long formed of attempting the reformation of philosophy. He wrote two treatises, one, *De Sensu Rerum*, "On Sensation;" the other *De Investigatione*, "On Investigation;" from a persuasion, as he himself says, that it was necessary to point out to young men some better way to the knowledge of things than Aristotle or Plato had taught; and that they should be instructed to reason, not after the manner of Raymond Lully, upon mere words, but upon sensible objects.

Neither the power of his genius, nor the patronage of his friends, could, however, secure Campanella from insult and persecution. To escape these, he removed from Naples to Rome, and afterwards to Florence, Venice, Padua, and Bologna. At last he settled in his native country; and, probably, in order to cover his innovations with the shield of orthodoxy, wrote in defence of the see of Rome. But, notwithstanding this precaution, he soon fell under suspicions which proved fatal to him. He was accused of being concerned in a conspiracy against the King of Spain and the Neapolitan government; and, after undergoing torture, was confined in prison about twenty-seven years, during a great part of which time he was denied the privilege of reading and writing. As soon as this indulgence was granted him, he wrote several books, among which were a Treatise on the Spanish Monarchy, and his "Real Philosophy:" these he sent into Germany to be published. Many attempts were made by his friends to obtain his liberation; but they were unsuccessful; till Pope Urban VIII., a patron of learned men, prevailed upon Philip IV. of Spain to grant him an acquittal from the charge of treason. In 1626 he was set at liberty; but finding himself still insecure in Italy, he found means, under the connivance and favour of the Pope, to escape to France, where he experienced the favour of Cardinal Richlieu, who procured for him a pension from Louis XIII. He passed the remainder of his days in a Dominican monastery at Paris, where he continued to enjoy the society of many learned men; till, in the seventy-first year of his age, he expired.

Campanella was confessedly a man of genius; but his imagination predominated over his judgment. Innumerable proofs of this may be found in his astrological writings, in his book *De Sensu Rerum*, and in many other parts of his works. Can it be doubted that a man, who gave credit to the art of astrology; who believed that he was cured of a disease by the words and prayers of an old woman; who thought that demons appeared to him, and conversed with him; and who persuaded himself, that when any danger threatened him, he was, between sleeping and waking, warned of it by a voice which called him by his name; was destitute of that sound judgment which is so essential a quality in the character of a philosopher? But notwithstanding all his childish credulity, and all the eccentricity of

his genius, Campanella had his lucid and happy intervals, in which he reasoned soberly. He is chiefly worthy of praise for the freedom with which he exposed the futility of the Aristotelian philosophy, and for the pains which he took to deduce natural science from observation and experience.* Of the numerous writings which his fertile imagination produced, the most celebrated are, *Prodomus Philosophiæ instaurandæ*, "A Precursor to the Restoration of Philosophy;" *Atheismus triumphatus*, "Atheism subdued;" *De Gentilismo non retinendo*, "On the Rejection of Paganism;" *Astrologica*, "On Astrology;" *Philosophia rationalis*, "Rational Philosophy;" *Civitas Solis*, "The City of the Sun;" *Universalis Philosophia*, "Universal Philosophy;" *De Libris propriis*, "On his own Books;" *De recta Ratione studendi*, "On the right Method of Studying."

Though Campanella read much, as appears from many of his writings, particularly from his treatise "On the Method of Studying," he paid little respect to the opinions of others. He controverted many of the notions even of his master Telesius, and advanced many dogmas of his own in dialectics, physics, and ethics.

In dialectics, Campanella's chief object seems to have been to recede as far as possible from the Peripatetics; but his logic abounds with subtle distinctions, useless terms, and obscure rules, upon which the lowest censure we can pass is, that they are no improvement upon Aristotle.

Concerning nature,† the leading doctrines of Campanella were as follows:—Sense is the only guide in philosophy, and is distinguished into present perception, anticipation, and inference from things perceived to things not perceived. The essence and existence of things are the same. Space is the first incorporeal substance, immoveable, the receptacle of all bodies. Time is the successive duration of things, and is only measured by motion. God placed matter in the midst of space, and appointed two principles, heat and cold, to act upon the common mass. Heat formed the heavens from rarefied matter; cold produced the earth from matter condensed. Heat, in repelling the contrary principle, moves the heavens in a circular orbit, and where its power of rarefaction is overcome by cold, its portions of matter, being condensed, become lucid bodies, or stars. Cold, continually repelling heat equally in all directions, the earth, the mass upon which it acts, remains immoveable. Matter, being invisible, is black; light is vivid whiteness; the colour of cold is unknown, but it is probably black. The sun and the earth are the two elements whence all things are produced; air and water are not elements, because they cannot produce their like. The different forms in nature arise from the different ways and degrees in which the principles of heat and cold act upon matter. All animal operations are produced by one universal spirit, which acts in all sensoriums. All things in nature, the elements, with their causes and effects, have the sense of feeling, in which they are passive, and have without a consciousness of impressions, and a perception of the objects by which they are produced. The world is an animal or sentient being, and since nature abhors a vacuum, its parts seek each other with delight, and enjoy mutual contact. Matter itself is sentient, and being in its nature dark and without form, seeks to be adorned with colour and forms, which are communicated to it by the active principles of nature. The soul, or principle of animal life, is a rare substance, capable of receiving impressions from

* Conring. de Prud. Civ. c. 14. Adami Præf. Prodrom. Ph. Camp. Id. in Epilogismo.

† Prodrom. Phil. Instaur. Compend. Diss. de Natura Rerum. De Sensu Rerum.

things dissimilar, but not from those which are similar to itself, whence it perceives gross bodies, but not air or spirit; it is not a property of the body, but an agent enclosed in, and operating upon, the body. The human soul descends from an infinite cause, towards which it tends, and is immortal. The world itself has a soul, by which it is directed, as man by the Divine principle within him. The first, greatest, and only true being, in whom power, wisdom, and love, exist as primary principles, transmits his inexhaustible ideas (by means of the active causes, heat and cold) to the corporeal masses, supported in space, the basis of the world, which itself has its stability in God. All creatures are excellent, in proportion to the degree in which they bear the image of the essential principles of the Divine nature: human depravity consists in the loss of this image, and human perfection in its restoration.

As far as any idea of the philosophical character of Campanella can be formed from the confused mass of opinions, so diffusely, but obscurely, expressed in his voluminous writings, we must conclude, that notwithstanding the censures which have often been passed upon him for impiety, he is rather to be ranked among enthusiasts than atheists; and that, as in his other undertakings, so also in his attempts to reform philosophy, he was unsuccessful.*

SECTION V.—OF THOMAS HOBBS.

ANOTHER Englishman who made bold attempts towards the improvement of philosophy, was THOMAS HOBBS,† born in 1588, at Malmsbury, in Wiltshire. Through premature birth, occasioned by his mother's terror at the rumour of the approach of the Spanish invincible armada towards the British coast, he had a feeble constitution; but he early discovered uncommon vigour of mind, and made such rapid progress in learning, that while he was a boy, he translated the *Medea* of Euripides into elegant Latin verse. At fourteen years of age he was sent by his uncle to Oxford, where, for five years, he applied with great industry to the study of logic and the Peripatetic philosophy. He was then appointed tutor to a young nobleman, the son of Lord Hardwick, with whom he made the tour of France and Italy. This opportunity of seeing the celebrated monuments of antiquity, conversing with learned men, and becoming acquainted with the policy and manners of foreign states, Hobbes assiduously improved. Upon his return, entertaining a strong persuasion of the inanity and inutility of the Peripatetic philosophy, he resolved to devote his leisure to the study of the ancients, that he might collect whatever was most valuable from their writings. His high reputation for learning introduced him to the acquaintance of Lord Bacon and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who engaged him to assist them in translating their works into Latin. The conversation of these great men excited in him a violent aversion to Scholastic learning, and an earnest desire of investigating truth with a liberal and independent spirit. It was a circumstance which greatly increased his love of philosophy, that in a visit which he paid to France and Italy, about the year 1635, he became acquainted with several eminent philosophers, particularly Mersenne

* Echardi Script. Ord. Predic. Branchedori Orat. Præm. de Ortû Pontif. Blount, Cens. p. 436. Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. l. ii. p. i. c. 14. sect. 3. Naud. Bibliog. c. 2.

† Life by R. R. 1685. Bayle. Wood, Hist. Ox. l. ii. p. 376. Blount, Cens. p. 1046. Epist. præf. Lib. de Cive.

and Gassendi, with whom he formed an intimate friendship, and after his return kept up a constant correspondence.

The dissensions in Great Britain, about the year 1637, rising to great violence, Hobbes, whose connexions and principles made him a zealous advocate for the royal cause, rendered himself so obnoxious to the popular party, that he thought it prudent to retire to Paris, where he enjoyed the society of many philosophical friends. Among others, he was introduced to the celebrated philosopher Des Cartes, and began an epistolary correspondence with him on the nature and laws of motion, on optics, and other topics of natural philosophy. When Des Cartes first wrote his "Philosophical Meditations" on God and the human mind, and other pneumatological subjects, he submitted it to the examination of his learned friends, and amongst the rest to Hobbes, who sent his observations on the work to their common friend Mersenne, by whom they were communicated to Des Cartes. Hobbes, who was of opinion that thought may be a property of body, contradicted some of the first principles of Des Cartes' system. A correspondence was opened on the subject; but Des Cartes affecting to treat his opponent with some degree of contempt, as destitute of solidity and depth of judgment, soon dropped the controversy.

Whilst Hobbes was in Paris, he was recommended to Charles, prince of Wales, the heir apparent to the crown of England, who (at that time resided in Paris for the sake of safety,) as a proper person to instruct him in the elements of mathematics and philosophy. This circumstance strengthened his attachment to the royal cause, and he completed his treatise on government, entitled, *De Cive*, which had long been in contemplation, and in 1642, printed a few copies for the use of his friends. It was afterwards, in 1747, published with material corrections and improvements. The work, the object of which was to check the rising spirit of freedom, by establishing the claims of monarchy on new principles of philosophy, was as much condemned by one party as it was admired by the other.

About this time, Hobbes entered into a controversy with Bishop Bramhall on the subject of liberty and necessity, in an epistolary correspondence, which, being communicated to a friend in France, was translated into French, and afterwards, without the consent of Hobbes, published in England. Bramhall, displeased at the publication of these papers, continued the dispute, and the whole controversy was collected into one volume, and printed in London in the year 1656.* Hobbes strenuously maintained the doctrine of necessity, established on the absolute power and irresistible will of God, which was the less surprising, as at that time the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination was generally received. Many of the clergy, in their zeal to oppose the doctrine of Hobbes, which they thought subversive of morality, deserted Calvin, and embraced the Arminian tenet of free will.

In the year 1650, Hobbes wrote his treatise on "Human Nature," which was, in the opinion of Mr. Addison, his best work; and another, *De Corpore Politico*, "Of the Political Body." The year following, he published his "Leviathan;" a treatise, in which, in establishing a system of civil policy, he represents man as an untameable beast of prey, and government as the strong chain by which he is to be kept from mischief. This work, though learned and ingenious, advanced such bold and paradoxical opinions, both in philosophy and policy, that the whole body of the English clergy

* Entitled "Questions touchant la Liberté, la Necessité, et le Hazard éclairées et débattues entre le Dr. Bramhall, Eveque de Derry, et Thomas Hobbes de Malmesbury."

took the alarm; and the author was strongly suspected to be, in religion, inimical to Revelation, and in policy, to favour the cause of democracy. The indignation, which this publication excited, was probably in a great measure owing to the freedom with which it inveighs against ecclesiastical tyranny.

The suspicions, which were on this occasion raised against Hobbes, dissolved his connexion with Prince Charles at Paris; and in 1653, he returned to England, and found a welcome asylum in the Devonshire family. From this time, declining all political disputes, he spent his days in philosophical studies, and in the society of learned men, among whom were Harvey and Selden. He published, first in Latin and afterwards in English, a treatise "On Bodies," in which he undertakes to explain the principles of nature. He wrote a treatise on geometry, in which he advanced many things contrary to the received doctrine of geometers, and brought upon himself (whether justly or not it is not our business to inquire) a severe censure, for attempting to correct what he did not himself sufficiently understand. To complete his body of philosophy, he published, in 1658, "A Dissertation on Man," in which he advanced many singular opinions concerning the intellectual and moral powers of human nature.

After the restoration, Hobbes came to London, and was graciously received by the king, who admitted him to a private audience, and gave him a pension of one hundred pounds *per annum*. Through the vigilance of the clergy, he was, however, prevented from executing his favourite design of collecting and republishing his works in English, and was obliged to send them over to Amsterdam, where an entire edition in Latin was published.* Whilst the writings of Hobbes were reprobated by the general body of the clergy, and occasioned many learned and able replies, they were not without their admirers both at home and abroad. Foreigners of the first distinction visited him, among whom was Cosmo de Medicis, then Prince of Tuscany. Even in the public schools his doctrines had professed advocates; and Daniel Scargil, a Cambridge scholar, maintained some of his fundamental tenets in a public disputation; on which account he was expelled from the university. This circumstance brought so much odium upon Hobbes, that Bishop Fell, in his Latin edition of Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, thought it necessary to leave out the eulogium which the author had passed upon the philosopher of Malmsbury, and insert in its stead a severe censure. Wood, offended at this freedom, acquainted Hobbes, who wrote a letter in justification of himself to the author of the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, which was published at Oxford. This produced from Fell a bitter invective, to which Hobbes, who was now far advanced in years, made no reply. In his last days he retired into the country, and employed himself in translating Homer and writing the history of the civil war. This latter work Hobbes could not obtain the royal permission to publish; but it was sent into the world by a friend without his knowledge. He died in the year 1679, having lived to the great age of ninety-one.

Hobbes was certainly possessed of vigorous faculties; and had he been sufficiently careful to form and improve his judgment, and to preserve his mind free from the bias of prejudice and passion, would undoubtedly have deserved a place in the first class of philosophers. The mathematical method of reasoning which he adopted, greatly assisted him in his researches; but he was often led into error, by assuming false or uncertain principles or axioms. The vehemence with which he engaged in political

* Amst. Bleau. 4to. 1668.

contests biassed his judgment on questions of policy, and led him to frame such maxims and rules of government as would be destructive of the peace and happiness of mankind. An arrogant contempt of the opinions of others, an impatience of contradiction, and a restless ambition to be distinguished as an innovator in philosophy, were qualities which appear to have contributed in no small degree to the perversion of his judgment. To enumerate all the particulars in which Hobbes departs from the beaten track of opinions, would carry us beyond our limits. The following positions, chiefly selected from his "Leviathan," may serve as a specimen of his philosophy:—

All knowledge originates in sensation, and is produced by the pressure, either immediate or mediate, of external objects upon the senses. Sensible qualities are, in their objects, nothing more than the motion of matter operating variously upon the organs of sensation. Imagination and memory are the permanent effects of former impressions upon the senses. Thinking is the succession of one imagination after another, which may be either irregular or regulated with a view to some end. Every conception, being derived from the senses, is finite; we have, therefore, no idea of infinity; and God is an object, not of apprehension, but of reverence. No one can conceive of any thing but as existing in some place, of some finite magnitude, and divisible into parts; nor can any thing be wholly in one place and wholly in another at the same time, or two or more things be at the same time in the same place. Truth and falsehood are attributes, not of things but of language. The intellect peculiar to man is a faculty arising from speech; and the use of reason is the deduction of remote consequences from the definitions of terms. Science is the knowledge of these consequences. There are in animals two kinds of motion; one, vital and involuntary; the other, animal and voluntary. The latter, if it tend towards an object, is appetite; if it recede from it, aversion: and the object in the former case is said to be good, in the latter, evil. Appetite is attended with pleasure, aversion with pain. In deliberation, the last impulse of the appetite is will; success in obtaining its object, enjoyment. Moral qualities are those by which the peace and security of the state are preserved. Felicity consists not in tranquillity, but in a perpetual progress from one desire to another. The diversity of human characters arises from the different ways in which men pursue happiness.

The desire of investigating causes leads to the knowledge and belief of a first cause, the one eternal Deity, although the Divine nature is incomprehensible. From men's ignorance of true causes arises anxiety, fear, and superstition.

Nature has formed all men equal; whence arises the universal hope of acquiring by violence whatever we desire, and the universal apprehension of suffering violence from others. The necessary consequence is, that a state of nature is a state of perpetual hostility, in which no individual has any other means of safety than his own strength or ingenuity, and in which there is no room for industry, because no secure enjoyment of its fruits. In this state, every one has a right to use his own faculties at pleasure for his preservation, and of doing whatever he judges to be conducive to this end; and since there is no property, there can be no injustice.

For the sake of peace and security, it is necessary that each individual recede from a part of his natural right, and be contented with such a share of liberty, or freedom from restraint, as he is willing to allow to others.

This resignation of natural rights may either be a simple renunciation, or a transfer of them to an individual or body, by mutual consent, for the common good. The multitude, thus brought out of a state of nature, becomes one person, which is called the Republic or State, in which the common power and will are exercised for the common defence. The ruling power cannot be taken from those to whom it has been committed, nor can they be punished for mal-administration. If the supreme magistrate inflict any penalty upon the innocent, he sins against God, but does not act unjustly. The interpretation of the laws is to be sought, not from preceptors nor philosophers, but from the authority of the state; for it is not truth, but authority, that makes law; nevertheless, the king ought to interpret the law according to his own natural reason and conscience. Punishment is an evil inflicted upon the transgressor of the law, to this end, that the apprehension of it may bend the will of the citizens to submission. The public law is to be instead of conscience to every individual; it is therefore false that every violation of conscience in a citizen is a sin. The offices of the supreme governors are to be regulated by those ends which comprehend the security of the people.

Although Hobbes often admits false principles, and advances pernicious tenets, many just and profound observations are to be met with in his writings, which have probably led the way to the improvement of moral and political science.

It is much to be regretted that Hobbes, though he had the precept and example of Lord Bacon to guide him, neglected the new and fertile path of experimental philosophy. So little was he aware of the value of this kind of knowledge, that he censured the Royal Society of London, at its first institution, for attending more to minute experiment than general principles; and said, that if the name of a philosopher was to be obtained by relating a multifarious farrago of experiments, we might expect to see apothecaries, gardeners, and perfumers, rank among philosophers.*

SECTION VI.—OF DES CARTES.

IN modern times, few philosophers have a higher claim to distinction, both on account of the variety and originality of his speculations, and the celebrity which he obtained in the philosophical world, than Des Cartes, who, though the father of a sect, himself pursued his researches with such a free and independent spirit, as justly entitles him to a place among the Eclectics.

RENES DES CARTES,† a native of France, was born in 1596, at La Haye in Tourain. Whilst he was a child, he discovered an eager curiosity to inquire into the nature and causes of things, which procured him the appellation of the young philosopher. At eight years of age, he was committed to the care of Dinet, a learned Jesuit, under whom he made uncommon proficiency in learning: but a habit of close and deep reflection soon enabled him to discover defects in the books which he read, and in

* Vidend. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, v. i. p. 36. 92. 150. 211. Gundling. Obs. Select. t. i. Obs. 2. Gundlingiana, p. xiv. Huberus Orat. de Pædantismo, p. 66. Rapin. Reflex. sur la Phil. p. 55. Cumberland on the Law of Nature, Lond. 1672. Puffendorf. Erid. Scand. p. 206. Andree Discuss. fundam. Hobbesii. 1672.

† Baillet. Vit. Cartes, Par. 1691. Epit. 1693. Borelli et Tesselli Vit. Cart. Witte. Mem. Phil. dec. iv. p. 580. Nicéron. t. 31. p. 274. Sturm. Diss. de Cart. Bayle.

the instructions which he received, which led him to form the ambitious hope that he should, in some future time, carry science to a point of perfection which it had never hitherto reached. After spending five years in the diligent study of languages, and in reading the ancient poets, orators, and historians, he passed on to severer studies, and made himself well acquainted with the elements of mathematics, logic, and morals, as they had been hitherto taught. His earnest desire of attaining an accurate knowledge of every thing which became a subject of contemplation to his inquisitive mind, did not, however, in any of these branches of science meet with full satisfaction. Concerning logic, particularly, he complained, that after the most diligent examination he found the syllogistic forms, and almost every other precept of the art, more useful in enabling a man to communicate to others truths already known, or, rather like the Lullian art, in qualifying him to discourse copiously upon subjects which he does not understand, than in assisting him in the investigation of truths of which he is at present ignorant. Hence he was induced to forsake the beaten track, and to frame for himself a brief system of rules or canons of reasoning, in which he followed the strict method of the geometricians. He pursued the same plan with respect to morals. But after all his speculations, he was not able to attain the entire satisfaction which he so earnestly desired; and, at the close of eight years' assiduous application in the Jesuit's college at La Fleche, he returned to his parents, lamenting that he had derived no other benefit from his studies, than a fuller conviction that he, as yet, knew nothing with perfect clearness and certainty. Despairing of being able to discover truth in the paths of learning, he now bade adieu to books; and resolved henceforth to pursue no other knowledge, than that which he could find within himself, and in the great volume of nature.

Not yet more than seventeen years of age, he was sent to Paris by his father, who had such entire confidence in his understanding and discretion, that he left him to his own direction. He now, for a while, gave free scope to youthful vanity and the love of pleasure; and would probably have been entirely lost to the philosophical world, had not the society of several learned men, to whom he was introduced, recalled his attention to mathematical studies, which he again prosecuted, in solitude and silence, for the space of two years. Still, however, unsatisfied with the result of his speculations, he renewed his purpose of forsaking books; and entered upon the military life, as a volunteer in the Dutch army, chiefly because he apprehended, that this profession would give him an advantageous opportunity of conversing with the world. But even amidst the avocations of his new profession, his natural propensity to study returned, and he engaged in mathematical disquisitions with an eminent mathematician at Breda, and wrote a philosophical dissertation, in which he attempted to prove that brutes are *automata*, or mere machines. From the Dutch army Des Cartes passed over into the Bavarian service. In winter quarters, whilst he was pursuing his speculations, perplexing himself with doubts, and supplicating Divine illumination, he was informed of the wonderful pretensions of the Rosicrusian fraternity, and was willing to hope that he might gain, from men who boasted of Divine inspiration, that light which he had in vain sought from others. But, not being able to meet with any one who could unfold to him the mysteries of this sect, he soon finished his short excursion into the regions of enthusiasm, and returned to the humble path of rational inquiry. Wherever he went he conversed with learned men, and rather appeared in the character of a philosopher than a soldier. At last, he quitted the military profession; and after a tour through the Northern

parts of Germany, in the year 1622, returned to his own country, with no other profit from his travels, as he himself confesses, than that they had freed him from many prejudices, and rendered his mind more fit for the reception of truth.

Des Cartes now for a while made Paris his place of residence; and returned to the study of mathematics, not as an ultimate object, (for he thought it a fruitless labour to fill the head with numbers and figures,) but in hopes of discovering general principles of relations, measures, and proportions, applicable to all subjects, by means of which, truth might be with certainty investigated, and the limits of knowledge materially enlarged. But not at present succeeding according to his wishes in this speculation, he turned his attention chiefly to ethical inquiries, and attempted to raise a superstructure of morals upon the foundation of natural science; for he was of opinion, that there could be no better means of discovering the true principles and rules of action, than by contemplating our own nature and the nature of the world around us. This investigation produced his treatise "On the Passions."

Having employed a short time in these studies, Des Cartes undertook a literary and philosophical journey, and spent about two years in Italy, conversing with eminent mathematicians and philosophers, and attending to various objects of inquiry in natural history. He then returned into France; but his mind remaining in an unsettled and sceptical state, he found it impossible to pursue any regular plan of life, till, in the year 1629, he determined to withdraw from his numerous connexions and engagements in Paris, and retire into some foreign country, where he might remain unknown, and have full leisure to complete his great design of framing a new system of philosophy. The country he chose for this purpose was Holland; and he went thither with so much secrecy, that the place of his retirement was for some time known only to his intimate friend, Marsenne, at Paris. He at first resided near Amsterdam, but afterwards went into the more Northern provinces, and visited Deventer and Lewarden; he at last fixed upon Egmond, a pleasant village near Francher, in the province of Friesland, as the place of his more stated residence. Here he prosecuted his philosophical labours, and saw them engage the attention of the learned world, in a manner which could not but be highly flattering to a mind not indifferent to honest fame.

In his retirement, Des Cartes employed himself in investigating a proof from reason, independent of Revelation, of those fundamental points in religion, the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul, and in other important metaphysical speculations. The result of these speculations afterwards appeared in his treatise entitled *Meditationes Philosophicæ de prima Philosophia*, "Philosophical Meditations on the First Philosophy." At the same time he pursued the physical inquiries which he had begun in France, particularly on the subject of optics; and these researches gave birth to his treatise "On Meteors." Besides this, he paid no slight attention to medicine, anatomy, and chemistry; he spent a whole winter in dissecting and examining animal bodies, and in chemical operations. He also wrote an astronomical treatise on the system of the world; but when he heard in what manner the astronomer Galileo had been treated by the court of inquisition, he was deterred from publishing it, and concealed his opinion concerning the true doctrine of the solar system.

The tenets of Des Cartes made their first appearance in the schools at Deventer, where, in 1633, they were introduced by the professor of philosophy, Henry Renner, a learned man and an intimate friend of Gassendi.

Not long afterwards, when at the request of his friends, he published a specimen of his philosophy in four treatises, the number of his admirers and followers soon increased; and at the same time, as was to be expected, his new doctrine had many opponents. At Utrecht, Leyden, and Amsterdam, and in other Dutch schools, the Cartesian doctrines were zealously espoused by many learned men; whilst several theologians, alarmed at the idea of innovation, strenuously opposed them, and even attempted to bring their author under the censure of the civil magistrate. In Great Britain, the Cartesian philosophy obtained such a degree of credit, that Sir Charles Cavendish, brother to the Earl of Newcastle, gave Des Cartes an invitation to settle in England. Charles I. gave him reason to expect a liberal appointment; and Des Cartes was not disinclined to place himself under such respectable patronage. But the civil wars frustrated this design, and Des Cartes remained in Holland. In his native country, his doctrine was at first well received; but a strong party soon rose against it among the Jesuits. Bourden, one of the fraternity, attacked his *Dioptries* in the public schools, and a violent contest was long kept up between the Jesuits and Cartesians. In the course of the disputes which the Cartesian philosophy occasioned, Des Cartes himself appeared earnestly desirous to become the father of a sect, and discovered more jealousy and ambition than became a philosopher.

During the course of Des Cartes' residence in Holland, he paid three visits to his native country; one in the year 1643, when he published an abstract of his philosophy, under the title of *Specimena Philosophica*, "Philosophical Specimens;" the second and third, in 1647 and 1648, when he was amused with a promise of an annual pension of 3000 livres, which he never received. His chagrin upon this disappointment was, however, relieved by an invitation which, through the hands of the French ambassador, he received from Christina, Queen of Sweden, to visit Stockholm. That learned princess had read his treatise "On the Passions" with great delight, and was earnestly desirous to be instructed by him in the principles of his philosophy. Des Cartes, notwithstanding the difficulties which he apprehended from the severity of the climate, was prevailed upon to accept the invitation, and arrived at Stockholm in 1649. The Queen gave him a respectful reception, and the singular talents which he discovered, induced her earnestly to solicit this eminent philosopher to remain in her kingdom, and assist her in establishing an academy of sciences. But Des Cartes had not been more than four months in Sweden, when a cold which he caught in his early morning visits to the Queen, whom he instructed in philosophy, brought on an inflammation of the lungs, which soon put a period to his life. The Queen is said to have lamented his death with tears. His remains were interred, at the request of the French ambassador, in the cemetery for foreigners, and a long historical eulogium was inscribed upon his tomb. Des Castes died at the beginning of the year 1650. His bones were afterwards, in the year 1666, carried from Sweden into France, and interred with great pomp in the church of St. Genevieve du Mont.*

The writings of this philosopher, the principal of which have been mentioned in the preceding narrative, prove him to have possessed an accurate and penetrating judgment, a fertile invention, and a mind superior to prejudice; qualities which, united with an early acquaintance with

* Blount. Cens. p. 1014. Littus de Leibnitz et Pelisson, p. 339. Leibnitz p. 7. 220. Fontenelle Eloge de M. Leibnitz.

ancient learning, and indefatigable industry in the investigation of truth, might seem to promise no inconsiderable share of success in the great design of reforming and improving philosophy. Des Cartes would have been more successful, had he been less desirous of applying mathematical principles and reasonings to subjects which do not admit of them; had he set less value upon mere conjectures, and had he been less ambitious of the honour of founding a new sect in philosophy. His leading dogmas have, however, too much originality and celebrity to be overlooked in this work.

Upon the subject of LOGIC,* Des Cartes lays down the following rules for the discovery of truth, which are derived from the practice of geometricians.

Nothing is ever to be admitted as true, which is not certainly and evidently known to be so; that is, in judging of truth all prejudice and precipitancy is carefully to be avoided, and nothing more is to be admitted in the conclusion, than what appears to the understanding so distinctly and clearly that it cannot possibly be doubted. Difficulties must be accurately examined, and divided into so many parts as may be most convenient for their easy solution. In proving any truth, the ideas are always to be brought forward in a certain order, beginning from things the most simple and most easily known, and advancing, by regular steps, to those which are more complex and difficult. All the parts of a demonstration should be so distinctly numbered, that the relation of each to the whole may be clearly seen, and that it may be certainly known that nothing is omitted.

The chief heads of the METAPHYSICS† of Des Cartes are these:— Since every man is under the influence of prejudice, he ought, once in his life, in speculation, to doubt of every thing. Since the senses err, and dreams deceive, it is first to be doubted whether sensible objects have a real existence. We must also doubt concerning those things which we have thought most certain, even mathematical axioms, because we are not sure that we may not have been so formed as to lie under a perpetual deception. We find ourselves, in the mean time, at liberty to withhold our assent from those propositions which are uncertain, and capable of guarding against error; for which purpose the mind must divest itself of prejudice, and place itself in a proper situation for the reception of truth.

Whatever else we doubt of, it is impossible we should doubt whether we ourselves, who are conscious of exercising the power of thinking, exist. I THINK, THEREFORE I AM, is then the first and most certain truth in philosophy. In inquiring what sort of beings we are, before we admit the existence of any thing external, we perceive belonging to our nature Thought, which has neither extension, figure, local motion, nor any other property which we commonly ascribe to bodies, and of the existence of which we have a prior and more certain knowledge than of that of any thing corporeal. The mind, which now knows itself, but still doubts of the existence of all other things, in looking around to extend its knowledge, first finds within itself Ideas; concerning the existence of which, whilst it contemplates these alone, and neither affirms nor denies any thing like them to exist externally, it cannot be deceived. It also finds within itself certain common notions, and from these frames various demonstrations, of the truth of which, whilst it attends to them, it is entirely persuaded. But because it does not yet know, whether it may not be so formed as to be deceived in those things which appear most evident, it perceives it impossible to admit any certain science till it has discovered the author of its being. Revolving within itself its various ideas, it finds one of a being

* Diss. de Methodo.

† Princip. Phil. p. 1.

supremely intelligent, powerful, and perfect, in which it discovers an existence, not possible and contingent only, as in its ideas of all other things, but necessary and eternal. Since it finds within itself this idea of a supreme being, which could not be a fiction of its own, it concludes with certainty that it must have proceeded from a really existing deity, and consequently that it represents a true and immutable nature, which cannot possibly but exist, that is God. Attending to this innate idea of deity, we find him to be eternal, omniscient, omnipotent, the fountain of all goodness and truth, the creator of all things. Nothing can be an attribute of the Divine nature which implies limit or imperfection; therefore, he is incorporeal, indivisible, and void of passion; and exercises his understanding and volition, not by continued operations, but by the most simple action. In reasoning concerning natural things, we should argue not from final but efficient causes; and judge, not from what we imagine concerning the designs of God, but from what we know of his attributes. Because the perfect deity must be a being of veracity, and incapable of deceiving his creatures, we may be assured that whatever we clearly and distinctly perceive to be true, is really so.

The Cartesian doctrine of PHYSICS* may be thus stated:—

In nature there are two kinds of substance, that which thinks, or mind; and that which is extended, or body: the essence of the former is thought, of the latter extension: other attributes ascribed to each are modes or qualities. All sensation proceeds from something different from the mind, which affects the senses. The idea of extended matter is presented to the mind; if therefore matter did not really exist, God, who presents this idea before the mind, would be a deceiver. Matter has therefore a real existence. From the constant testimony of feeling, we know that our minds are intimately united to an organised body. The sole essential property of body is extension; and quantity differs from extended substance only in our conceptions. Space, and the corporeal substance contained in it, are then in reality the same; for extension, in length, breadth, and depth, which constitutes space, also constitutes body. Since extension is universal, there is in nature no vacuum. It is impossible that any atoms, or particles of matter, should be so small as to be indivisible. Matter is one and the same through the whole universe, and exists without limit. Matter, considered with respect to its parts, is indivisible and immoveable; and all its variations depend upon motion, which consists in the removal of one body out of the vicinity of those which immediately touch it, into the vicinity of other bodies. There can be no motion but in a circuit; one body expelling another from the place into which it enters, while it is itself succeeded by a third which occupies the place it has left. The first universal cause of all motion is God, who in the beginning communicated motion to matter, according to three laws of nature: the first, that every body will remain in the same state without some external cause of change; the second, that all bodies in motion move, or tend to move, in a right line; the third, that when one moving body meets another, if its moving force be less than the force of resistance in the other, it will retain all its motion, and only change the direction in which it moves.

The sun and all the fixed stars shine by their proper light; the moon, the earth, and the planets, borrow their light from the sun. The heavens may be conceived to be a vast fluid mass, revolving, in the manner of a vortex, round the sun. Each planet has its own portion of this fluid, or its own

* Princip. Phil. p. ii. iii. iv. Dioptric.

heaven, which revolves round the sun. These all move in the same direction, but with greater velocity in proportion as they are nearer the sun. Each planet, therefore, and among the rest the earth, is fixed with respect to its own vortex or heaven, but moves in its vortex round the sun. Within the greater vortices of the planets are other less vortices, moving in the same direction with the greater: one, in the centre of which is Jupiter; and another, in the centre of which is the earth; by means of which the satellites of Jupiter, and the moon of the earth, revolve periodically round these planets.

The formation of the world may be conceived to have been thus effected. Suppose the matter of the world to have been originally divided into equal particles, having in the whole the same quantity of motion which is at present in nature: suppose these particles to have been equally moved, both individually and separately, round their respective centres, forming the fluid mass of the heavens; and collectively round certain fixed points, disposed in the same manner as are now the fixed stars and planets; whence as many vortices would be produced as there are at present moveable celestial bodies: suppose all the particles, in the beginning equal in matter and motion, to have been of irregular form, but in process of time made round by continual attrition arising from their circular motion: lastly, suppose the intervals between these to be filled up by a perpetual succession of those very minute corpuscles which are separated from the rest by attrition; these minute corpuscles to have been in the same manner still further diminished, and as they decrease in quantity to increase in velocity, and to have been driven in every oblique direction by the first order of particles, which continue in their direct course. Hence two elements of things would arise; the first, that matter which is divided into indefinitely small corpuscles, of forms adapted to fill up all possible vacuity; the second, that which is divided into minute spherical particles, of a determinate quantity. To these may be added a third, having parts more gross, or figures less fitted for motion. From the first element, the sun and fixed stars; from the second, the heavens; and from the third, the earth with the other planets and the comets, may be supposed to have been formed, subject to certain fixed laws of nature. The motion of the celestial globes produces a continual action upon the particles of the third element, which is the cause of various effects on the terrestrial globe, and among the rest of gravity.

The principles of MORALS,* Des Cartes deduced from the physical nature of the passions. His doctrine on this subject is:—

Whatever happens is called passion, with respect to the subject to which it happens; and action, with respect to that which causes it to happen. Nothing acts upon the mind more immediately than the body to which it is joined; whence what is passion in the mind, is action in the body. Heat and the motion of the limbs, proceed from the body; and thoughts from the mind; but the mind cannot give motion and heat to the body. The more vivid and subtle parts of the blood, which heat rarefies in the heart, are incessantly entering into the cavities of the brain, and form animal spirits, which are in the brain separated from other less subtle parts of the blood. These animal spirits, which are corporeal, excited as by the soul itself, so also by the action of external objects upon the senses, are the immediate cause of all the original motions of the body. Whence all the limbs may be moved by means of the objects of sense and the animal spirits, without any action of the soul. Nothing is to be attributed to the soul but thoughts: and these are of two kinds; active, or volition,

* De passionibus animæ.

including desire and aversion; and passive, including intelligence, perception, and feeling or passion.

The soul is united to all the parts of the body; but its chief functions are exercised in the pineal gland of the brain, where it receives notice of the impressions made upon the senses, and whence it sends forth animal spirits through the nerves, which put the muscles into motion. The passions are feelings of the soul, produced and continued by the action of the animal spirits; the chief effect of the passions is to excite the soul to volition. All volition is in its nature free, and consists in causing the gland, with which it is intimately connected, to move in that manner which is most suitable to produce an effect corresponding to the volition. Judgment comprehends not only the perception of the understanding, but the assent of the will, and it is from the abuse of its natural liberty of assenting or not assenting to a proposition that error springs. The soul, in the act of recollection, exercises a volition by means of which the pineal gland inclines itself successively this way and that way, and impels the animal spirits to different parts of the brain, till that part is found upon which the object which we wish to recollect has left traces.

The soul of man, which is one, is both sensitive and rational; and the conflict between its inferior and superior parts is nothing else but a struggle between the motions which the body, by means of its animal spirits, and the soul by its own volition, are at the same time endeavouring to excite in the pineal gland. By the result of this contest, every one may judge of the strength or weakness of his soul. The soul acquires the dominion over the body by means of firm and clear decisions concerning good and evil, produced by the contemplation of truth, which it determines to follow without suffering itself to be seduced by present passion. The passions belong to the body, and are to be imputed to the soul only as it is united to the body. Their use is to excite the mind to exert those volitions which are necessary to the preservation or perfection of the body, and the attainment of that which is in its nature good. All the passions are useful, and only become injurious by excess. The general remedy against the excess of the passions is to consider all the appearances which they present to the imagination as deceitful, and to postpone volition and action till the commotion which they have excited in the blood is appeased, or, where immediate action is necessary, to follow reason in opposition to passion. Since nothing beyond our own thoughts is absolutely in our own power, it is wiser to endeavour to subdue ourselves than fortune, and to change our own desires than the order of the world.

Animals are not only destitute of reason, but probably of all thought; and perform their various functions as mere *automata*, excited to motion only by means of animal spirits which act upon the nerves and muscles.

This last extravagant opinion Des Cartes has been suspected of borrowing from a Spanish writer, Gomez Peiræra, by whom it was maintained in his *Margarita Antoniana*; but it is more probable that it was a conclusion originally deduced from his notion of the animal spirits in the economy of human nature.

Although some parts of the Cartesian system appear to have been derived from the Grecian philosophy; particularly the notion of innate ideas, and of the action of the soul upon the body, from Plato; the doctrine of a *plenum* from Aristotle; and the elements of the doctrine of vortices from the Atomic school of Democritus and Epicurus; Des Cartes must, nevertheless, be confessed to have discovered great subtlety and depth of thought, as well as fertility of imagination, and to have merited a distinguished place

among the improvers of philosophy. But his labours would have been more valuable had he not suffered himself to be led astray into the romantic regions of hypothesis, by the false notion that the nature of things may be better understood by endeavouring to account for appearances from hypothetical principles, than by inferring general principles from an attentive observation of appearances. His fondness for hypothesis led him to confound the ideas of attribute and substance, as in his definition of matter and space; and those of possibility and probability, as in his doctrine of vortices. Even his celebrated argument for the existence of God (which, by the way, was maintained before his time by the Scholastic Anselm) confounds the idea of an infinite being with the actual existence of that being; and substitutes a mere conception of the meaning of a term, in the place of the idea of a being really and substantially existing. Hence, though Des Cartes is by no means to be ranked among the enemies of religion, as he was by many of his bigotted contemporaries; though it be even true that his whole system is built upon the knowledge of God, and supposes his agency; it must nevertheless be regretted, that in establishing the doctrine of deity, he forsook the clear and satisfactory ground of final causes, and had recourse to a subtle argument, which few can comprehend, and with which fewer still will be fully satisfied.

The system of Des Cartes, notwithstanding its defects, had so much subtlety, ingenuity, and originality, that it not only engaged the universal attention of the learned, but long continued, in the midst of all the opposition which it met with from the professed enemies of innovation, to be zealously defended by many able writers, and to be publicly taught in the schools throughout all Europe; till at length, when the more sober method of philosophising, introduced by Lord Bacon, began to be generally adopted, and the fabrications of romantic theory gave way to the experimental study of nature, the system of Des Cartes, like "the baseless fabric of an air-vision," has disappeared, and has scarcely "left a wreck behind."*

SECTION VII.—OF GODFRED WILLIAM LEIBNITZ.

WHAT Des Cartes undertook in France, was at the same time attempted in Germany by Leibnitz, a distinguished ornament of his age and country.

GODFRED WILLIAM LEIBNITZ† was born at Leipsic, in the year 1646. He was the son of a learned professor of morals in the university of that city. In his childhood, such was his thirst after learning, that, not contented with the daily instruction of his preceptors, he frequently withdrew into his father's study to read the ancients. Livy and Virgil were his favourite authors; and he was so intimately conversant with the latter,

* Vidend. P. Daniel Iter Cartes. per Mund. p. i. p. 14. Kortholt. Ep. Leibn. v. iii. Thomas, Hist. Sap. t. ii. p. 114. Spanheim. ep. de Noviss. Dissid. in Belgio. Pfaff. Hist. Lit. Theol. p. ii. p. 299. Sagittar. Intr. Hist. Eccl. p. i. p. 925. p. ii. p. 627. Benthem. Stat. Eccl. Schol. Bat. p. ii. c. 4. Cudworth, Int. Syst. c. v. sect. 1. Parker, Disp. iii. de Deo. p. 221. vi. p. 489. Huet. de Rebus suis, l. vi. p. 162. Huet. Mem. pour Cartesianisme. Rapin, Reflex. sect. 23. Ritter de Religione Cartesii. Petermanni Vind. Phil. Cart. Lips. 1704. Alberti Diss. de Cart. et Loccuanism. Monmor. Diss. de Physique de M. de Cartes, 1718.

† Elogie de Leibnitz, par Fontenelle. Guntheri Ludovici Hist. Phil. Leibnizian. Lips. 1737, 8vo. Fabric. Hist. Bibl. suæ, v. i. p. 317. Reimann. Hist. Lit. Ger. p. iii. p. 576. p. iv. p. 147. p. v. p. 262. Stollii Hist. Lit. p. ii. c. 1. Niceron. Mem. t. ii. p. 64.

that, even when he was an old man, he could repeat from memory almost the whole of his poems. This early and assiduous attention to classical learning laid the foundation of that correct and elegant taste which appears in all his writings. At fifteen years of age Leibnitz became a student in the university of Leipsic, where, under the direction of able masters, he prosecuted with unusual success the various studies of law, medicine, philosophy, and theology, and made himself well acquainted with many eminent writers in each. In the university of Jena, where he finished his academical studies, the principal objects of his attention were history, law, and mathematics. On his return home, he continued to study philosophy, particularly in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, whom he endeavoured to reconcile. In 1666, he took his degree in philosophy, and in the public disputations upon this occasion, displayed uncommon ability. He published, the same year, his *Ars combinatoria*, "Combinatory Art;" a work intended to show in what manner universal arithmetic may be applied to the elucidation of other sciences. This piece was accompanied with "A Mathematical Demonstration of the Existence of God." Though this early production was not entirely approved by his own more mature judgment, it bore evident marks of an inventive genius.

In the midst of his philosophical and mathematical speculations, Leibnitz had never neglected the study of jurisprudence; and he made himself so perfectly master of this science, that, in 1668, he published his *Nova Methodus docendæ discendæque Jurisprudentiæ*,* "New Method of teaching and learning Jurisprudence," which gained him great applause, and introduced him to the notice of the Elector of Mentz, by whom he was employed in affairs of state. Still, however, he persevered in his philosophical inquiries; and when he found it in vain to attempt to collect any consistent system from former philosophers, he determined to exercise his own invention in framing a new hypothesis. This first effort of his philosophical genius produced a work, entitled *Theoria Motus concreti*, "A Theory of Concrete Motion," inscribed to the Royal Society in London; the principles of which were further explained in another work, *Theoria Motus abstracti*, "The Theory of Abstract Motion," inscribed to the French Academy of Sciences. The solution of the *phenomena* of nature, proposed in these treatises, the author afterwards abandoned for his doctrine of Monads.

The mathematical speculations of Leibnitz were original and profound. During a visit which he made at Paris in 1672, he gave such proofs of his eminent skill in the higher geometry, as excited the general admiration of the French mathematicians. A royal pension was offered him if he would remain in France; but his attachment to the Protestant religion induced him to decline the proposal. Going over, at this time into England, he formed an acquaintance with several eminent philosophers, and among the rest with Newton. Upon the death of his patron, the Elector of Mentz, he returned into Germany, and was admitted into the service of Frederic, Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg. After another visit to his mathematical friends in France and England, he settled at Hanover, and became a member of the Duke's Aulic Council. In this situation his civil labours did not prevent his philosophical lucubrations. It was at the beginning of the year 1677, that he first mentioned his mathematical invention of *Differentials* to Newton, who had just before written to Leibnitz on account of his own invention of *Fluxions*. He also, about the same time, brought to light some discoveries which he had made in mechanics and chemistry. His

* Frankf. 12mo.

Notitia Opticæ promotæ, "Hints of Improvement in Optics," relates a new method of polishing optical glasses, on which subject he corresponded with Spinoza, who was an excellent optician. Memoirs of experiments and observations made by Leibnitz on various subjects in natural philosophy are preserved in the *Leipsic Journal*, entitled, *Acta Eruditorum*, "Works of the Learned;" in which, from the year 1683, he had a considerable share. One of his most valuable pieces, preserved in this periodical work, is his "Thoughts on Knowledge, Truth, and Ideas."

Whilst Leibnitz was employed in collecting, at the request of the Duke of Lunenburg, materials for a History of the House of Brunswick, he availed himself of the opportunities, which his journeys on this business afforded him, for enlarging his knowledge of nature and the arts. Upon his return, he pursued, with indefatigable industry, several objects of entirely different kinds: he engaged in further mathematical and philosophical researches; he maintained a theological dispute with Pellisson: and he wrote an important work on the Law of Nations, entitled, *Codex Juris Gentium diplomaticus*. No sooner was this elaborate treatise finished, than he applied his thoughts to the great design of renovating the science of metaphysics, and particularly, of correcting and improving the philosophical notion of substance, as the means of arriving, in the most simple way, at the knowledge of nature. With this view he wrote his treatise *De ipsa Natura sive Vi insita*, "On Nature itself, or the Innate Force." He, moreover, conceived the idea of a new science of forces, in which the laws of mechanics, and the measure of living forces, might be clearly defined. Of this science, which he called Dynamics, he inserted a specimen in the *Acta Eruditorum*.

In 1695, Leibnitz published, in the *Parisian Journal*, a specimen of a new system of the nature and communication of substances, and of the union between body and mind; in which he unfolded his notion of a pre-established harmony between the body and soul of man, which afterwards so much engaged the attention of philosophers. About the same time he wrote his "Thoughts on Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding," in which he controverts that philosopher's opinions on innate ideas, substance, a vacuum, and other subjects; communicated to the world his ingenious mathematical invention of the arithmetical Binary; and wrote a reply to Bayle in defence of his doctrine of Pre-established Harmony.

It was by means of the laudable exertions of Leibnitz, that an Academy of Sciences was instituted at Berlin. He attempted to introduce similar institutions at Dresden, Vienna, and Petersburg. In the two former places, through the commotions of war, the attempt proved abortive; but at Petersburg, the Emperor Peter carried this useful plan into execution, and rewarded the projector with a liberal pension.

In the midst of these engagements, Leibnitz found leisure to complete a work, in which he explained more fully than he had before done the principles of his new system. It was entitled "*Theodicea*, or a Dissertation on the Goodness of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil." * He also maintained an extensive correspondence with learned men and philosophers; of which a valuable specimen is preserved in a collection of letters which passed between Leibnitz and Newton, Clarke, and others, on topics of philosophy, natural religion, and mathematics. †

* Vid. Ed. Gottshedii cum Annot. et Gall. Edit. Amstelod. 1734. cum Vita Auctoris a L. de Neufville.

† *Epistolæ Leibn.* Edit. a Kortholt. Lips. 1742. iv. vols. Clarke on the Being and Attributes of God, Lond. 1717. 8vo.

These various and important labours were often interrupted by violent attacks of the gout and the stone; till at length, rather exhausted by acute pain than worn out by age or labour, this great man expired in the seventieth year of his age.

Leibnitz may justly be ranked among those universal geniuses, who at once surprise and benefit the world. With wonderful strength of understanding, an excellent faculty of invention, and a most capacious and retentive memory, he united an uncommon degree of industry. He frequently spent a great part of the night, as well as the day, in reading; and has been known to pass whole months in his study without allowing himself any unnecessary avocations. Hence he was enabled, not only to acquire much general knowledge, but to become eminent in attainments of various kinds. The improvements which he made in the higher geometry and algebra, particularly his method of subjecting indefinitely small quantities to calculation, called his *Calculus Differentialis*, rank him in the first class of mathematicians. He was intimately conversant with the doctrines of philosophy, both ancient and modern, and cast new light upon almost every branch of knowledge, particularly on the first principles of science, on which his speculations were profound. In theology, he was well read in the writings of the Christian fathers, and in the polemics of his own times. On history and jurisprudence he wrote with a degree of accuracy and solidity, which might lead the reader to suppose these subjects to have been his chief study. With all this, his attainments in the knowledge of antiquity, in philology, and polite literature, were such as to entitle him to the character of an elegant scholar, as sufficiently appears from his Latin and French Poems, and his Letters on Miscellaneous Subjects. This great man had, however, his imperfections; among which we must reckon his fondness for the conjectural method of philosophising, and the facility with which he admitted hypotheses unsupported by induction and experiment.

Although Leibnitz wrote no entire system of philosophy, a summary of his metaphysical tenets may be collected from his *Theodicea*, his treatise "On the Principles of Philosophy," his "Thoughts on Knowledge, &c." and his "Cause of God asserted." They are as follows:

A monad is a simple substance without parts. The existence of monads must be admitted, since without these no compound or aggregate of simple substances could exist. These simple substances are properly called monads, because, as unity is the fountain and origin of numbers, and comprehends all their powers, so simple substances are the matter, of which all corporeal masses are formed. Since monads have no parts, they have neither extension, figure, nor divisibility. They are the true atoms of nature, and elements of things, incapable of destruction, except by the power of God. Each monad differs from every other; for, it is impossible that any two things should be found in nature perfectly alike.

Monads have an internal principle of alteration, by means of which they are continually varying in a certain manner; whence arises a plurality of properties and relations. This perpetually varying state, which involves and represents multitude in unity, is perception, which is not, however, to be confounded with consciousness. The action of the eternal principle of monads, by which a transition is made from one perception to another, may be called appetite. The perception and appetite of monads are not to be explained mechanically by figure and motion, because they are affections of a simple substance without parts. In monads, therefore, nothing is found but perception and appetite: and in this respect all monads may be said to partake of the nature of soul; although that term is more

properly applied to those living beings which have distinct perception united with memory. The present state of monads arises from the past, and perception from perception, as motion from motion. Monads are in a state of perception similar to that of a mind in a stupor, which has a perpetual succession of minute and indistinct perceptions.

Nature, by granting organs to animals, has made them capable of distinct perception, memory, and imagination. Man is distinguished from inferior animals by the power of knowing necessary and eternal truths. It is by this power that we are capable of those reflex acts, by which we are conscious of our own existence, and form the ideas of being, substance, and God.

Our reasonings are raised upon two great principles; the one, that of consistency, by means of which we judge that to be false which involves a contradiction, and that to be true which is the reverse of the false; the other, that of sufficient reason, which admits nothing to exist without a sufficient reason of its existence, though that reason may not be known to us. Of contingent truths or facts, a sufficient reason must be found, which may be traced up through a series of preceding contingencies, till they ultimately terminate in a necessary substance, which is a sufficient reason of the whole series of changes, and with which the whole series is connected.

This supreme substance, which is sole, universal, and necessary, since every thing external, by the supposition, depends upon it, cannot be capable of limit, and must contain within itself the principle of every possible reality. God is supremely perfect, and the source of all existence and perfection. He is, moreover, the fountain of all possible essences; these depending on the existence of a necessary being, in whom possible essence includes existence. It is true of God alone, that, if his existence be possible he must necessarily exist; and since nothing external can make it impossible, and the supposition involves no contradiction, the existence of God is on this ground demonstrably established.

Besides this demonstration of the Being of a God *à priori*, it may also be proved *à posteriori*; for contingent things exist, which can have no sufficient reason of existence but in a necessary being, which has within itself the reason of its own existence. Eternal truths depend upon God, not arbitrarily, but necessarily.

God alone is primitive unity, or simple original substance, from whom are produced all created or derived monads. These owe their existence to the effusion of the rays of divinity, limited in their effects by the finite capacity of the creatures who receive them. Creatures have not proceeded necessarily from the Divine essence, but have been created, according to the plan of the Divine understanding, by the energy of the Divine will and power; and their continued preservation is a continual creation.

Monads have universally an influence upon each other, and are reciprocally active and passive. They are active in proportion as their perceptions are distinct; passive, as they are confused. In simple substances, the influence of one monad upon another is not mechanical, but ideal, and is not effectual without the intervention of the Deity, who directs them according to the ideas of his own intellect.

The Deity is always determined in his choice by sufficient reason; and this can only be found in the degrees of perfection of possible worlds. His wisdom knows, his goodness chooses, and his power produces the best possible world.

From the universal influence of all creatures upon each individual, and of each upon all, it follows, that every simple substance receives an impression or image of all the rest, and becomes, as it were, a perpetual living mirror of the universe. As the same city, viewed from different places, appears different, and is optically multiplied; so it happens, that, in consequence of the infinite multitude of simple substances in nature, pictures of the universe are multiplied without end, according to the different points of sight of different monads. By this means, all possible variety, and consequently all possible perfection, is produced in the universe. Since there is in nature a universal *plenum*, the motion of any body or composition of monads must affect every other body by means of intervening bodies; and every present motion will have a necessary connexion with every future motion: whence he who sees all things, can read in the present whatever will happen in any future time or distant place.

Although each created monad reflects the whole universe, that monad which is the animating principle of any body reflects that body more distinctly than all others. As the body reflects the whole universe by the connexion of all matter *in pleno*, so also the soul reflects the whole universe, while it reflects that organised body by which it is in a peculiar manner perceived, and with which it forms a living animal.

Since matter is not only infinitely divisible, but is actually divided without limit, every portion of matter may be conceived to be a world of living creatures; and every part of a living body to be itself full of other living bodies. All bodies are like rivers, perpetually flowing; some parts entering, and others passing away. The soul changes its body, not instantaneously, but by degrees; so that, strictly speaking, there is no such thing as death, or a state in which the soul is separated from the body. In conception, no new animal is produced; but a pre-existing animal is disposed to a transformation by which it passes into another species. In death, though the machine, in part, perishes, the animal itself remains indestructible.

In the united state of soul and body, each follows its own laws; but they agree together by means of a PRE-ESTABLISHED HARMONY between all substances, which renders each a representation of the universe. The soul acts according to the law of final causes, or by motives; the body, according to efficient causes, or by motion: and between these two kingdoms of nature there is an harmony, originally established and continually preserved by the power of God, in consequence of which, whilst body and mind follow their respective laws without interruption, the body effects what the mind dictates, and both conspire to preserve the order of nature. As souls in general are mirrors of animated beings; spirits, which partake of the nature of divinity, are images of the author of nature, and hence are capable of intercourse with the Deity, as subjects with a prince, or as children with a parent. Thus the world of spirits constitutes the city of God; a kingdom most perfect under a perfect monarch.

From this metaphysical theory, which must be confessed too hypothetical to afford entire satisfaction, Leibnitz deduced many dogmas respecting the Divine nature and operations, the nature of human actions, good and evil, natural and moral, and other subjects, which he treats with great subtlety, and in a connected train of reasoning. But for the particulars of these, we must refer the reader to his works, particularly the treatise entitled *Causa Dei asserta*.

It will be easily perceived, that the monads of Leibnitz approach nearer

to the permanent intelligible natures, called by Pythagoras numbers, and by Plato ideas, than to the solid and indivisible atoms of Epicurus. Our philosopher's *sufficient reason*, without which nothing can exist, though easily confounded with, is in truth different from a *necessary cause*: and a due attention to this distinction is of importance in the question concerning liberty and necessity, so ably canvassed in the memorable controversy between Leibnitz and Clarke. The doctrine of a pre-established harmony between body and soul, was an ingenious attempt towards the solution of the perplexing question concerning the connexion between matter and spirit. Aware of the difficulties attending the opinion of the physical influence or action of substances totally dissimilar upon each other, Leibnitz had recourse to the idea of an harmony, originally established by the Creator, between the series of physical and moral events; by means of which, while each follows its own laws, the ends of the Divine government with respect to both are accomplished. To this doctrine it has been objected, by Newton and others, that it supposes a perpetual miracle. But it is not our business to decide these controversies; our undertaking only requires that we mention them.*

SECTION VIII.—OF CHRISTIAN THOMAS.

AMONG the Germans, who have attempted the general improvement of philosophy, some degree of praise is due to Christian Thomas, who, not without obloquy and hazard, threw off the Sectarian yoke, and introduced Eclectic freedom into the German schools.

CHRISTIAN THOMAS† was born at Leipsic, in 1655, and was well educated, first under his father, and afterwards in the Leipsic university. At first, he acquiesced in the established doctrines of the schools; but, upon reading Puffendorf's "Apology for rejecting the Scholastic Principles of Morals and Law," light suddenly burst upon his mind, and he determined to renounce all implicit deference to ancient dogmas. He read lectures upon the subject of Natural Law, first from the text of Grotius, and afterwards from that of Puffendorf, freely exercising his own judgment, and where he saw reason advancing new opinions. Whilst his father was living, paternal prudence and moderation restrained the natural vehemence and acrimony of the young man's temper, which was too apt to break out, even in his public lectures. But when he was left to himself, the boldness with which he advanced unpopular tenets, and the severity with which he dealt out his satirical censures, soon brought upon him the violent resentment of theologians and professors.

An "Introduction to Puffendorf," which Thomas published in the year 1687, wherein he deduced the obligation of morality from natural principles, occasioned great offence. The following year he became still more unpopular, by opening a monthly literary journal, which he entitled, "Free Thoughts; or, Monthly Dialogues on various Books, chiefly new;" in which he attacked many of his contemporaries with great severity.

* Vidend. Ludovici Hist. Phil. Leibnitz. Langii Recentio Script. Anti-Leibn. Script. adv. Phil. Wolf. Hal. 1725. Ephem. Lips. et Paris, et Baylii et Basnagii. Act. Erud. 1683. Act. Erud. t. vii. Supp. xi. p. 501. Recueil des Pieces de Phil. t. ii. p. 218. Hansii Princip. Phil. Leibnitz. Voltairii Compar. Metaph. Leibn. et Newton. 1741. Des Maizeaux, Præf. Coll. Gallic. Diss. Clarkii et Leibnitzii.

† Leporin. Germ. Lit. p. ii. Program. Jurisp. Div. Procem. Causse Jurid. p. iii. n. 1. 7. et præf. Libr. ejus.

The raillery of this satirical work was too provoking to be endured: complaints were lodged before the Ecclesiastical Court of Dresden; the bookseller was called upon to give up the author; and it was only through the interest of the Mareschal that Thomas escaped punishment. The title of the work was now changed; but its spirit remained. A humorous and satirical Life of Aristotle, and several other sarcastic papers, kept alive the flame of resentment; till at length it again burst forth, on a charge brought against him before the same court by the clergy of Leipsic for contempt of religion; but he defended himself with such ability, that none of his adversaries chose to reply, and the matter was dropped.

A satirical review, which he wrote, of a treatise "On the Divine Right of Kings," published by a Danish divine; "A Defence of the Sect of the Pictists," and other eccentric and satirical publications, at last inflamed the resentment of the clergy against Thomas to such a degree, that he was threatened with imprisonment. To escape the storm which thickened about him, he entreated permission from the Elector of Brandenburg, in whose court he had several friends, that he might read private lectures in the city of Hall. This indulgence being obtained, Thomas became a voluntary exile from Leipsic. After a short interval, he was appointed public professor of Jurisprudence, first in Berlin and afterwards at Hall. In these situations, he found himself at full liberty to indulge his satirical humour, and to engage in the controversies of the times: and, as long as he lived, he continued to make use of this liberty in a manner which subjected him to much odium. At the same time, he persevered in his endeavours to correct and subdue the prejudices of mankind, and to improve the state of philosophy. He died at Hall in the year 1728.

Besides the satirical journal already mentioned, Thomas wrote several treatises on Logic, Morals, and Jurisprudence; in which he advanced many dogmas contrary to received opinions. In his writings on physics, he leaves the ground of experiment and rational investigation, and appears among the Mystics. His later pieces are in many particulars inconsistent with the former. His principal philosophical works are "An Introduction to Aulic Philosophy, or Outlines of the Art of Thinking and Reasoning;" * "Introduction to Rational Philosophy;" † "A Logical Praxis;" ‡ "Introduction to Moral Philosophy;" § "A Cure for Irregular Passions, and the Doctrine of Self-knowledge;" ¶ "The new Art of discovering the secret Thoughts of Men;" "Divine Jurisprudence;" "Foundations of the Law of Nature and Nations;" "Dissertation on the Crime of Magic;" "Essay on the Nature and Essence of Spirit, or Principles of Natural and Moral Science;" || "History of Wisdom and Folly."

We shall subjoin a brief specimen of the more peculiar tenets of this bold, eccentric, and inconsistent philosopher.

Thought arises from images impressed upon the brain; and the action of thinking is performed in the whole brain. Brutes are destitute of sensation. Man is a corporeal substance, capable of thinking and moving, or endued with intellect and will. Man does not always think. Truth is the agreement of thought with the nature of things. The senses are not deceitful, but all fallacy is the effect of precipitation and prejudice. From perceptions arise ideas, and their relations; and from these, reasonings. It is impossible to discover truth by the syllogistic art. No other rule is necessary in reasoning, than that of following the natural order of investigation; beginning from those things which are best known, and proceeding, by easy steps, to those which are more difficult.

* Lips. 1688.

† Hall. 1691.

‡ 1692.

§ 1696.

|| 1699.

Perception is a passive affection, produced by some external object, either in the intellectual sense, or in the inclination of the will. Essence is that without which a thing cannot be perceived. God is not perceived by the intellectual sense, but by the inclination of the will: for creatures affect the brain; but God, the heart. All creatures are in God: nothing is exterior to him. Creation is extension produced from nothing by the Divine power. Creatures are of two kinds, passive and active; the former is matter; the latter, spirit. Matter is dark and cold, and capable of being acted upon by spirit, which is light, warm, and active. Spirit may subsist without matter, but desires a union with it. All bodies consist of matter and spirit, and have therefore some kind of life. Spirit attracts spirit, and thus sensibly operates upon matter united to spirit. This attraction in man is called love; in other bodies, sympathy. A finite spirit may be considered as a limited sphere in which rays, luminous, warm, and active, flow from a centre. Spirit is the region of the body to which it is united. The region of finite spirits is God. The human soul is a ray from the Divine nature; whence it desires union with God, who is love. Since the essence of spirit consists in action, and of body in passion, spirit may exist without thought: of this kind are light, ether, and other active principles in nature.

Good consists in the harmony of other things with man and his several powers. The highest felicity of man consists in tranquil delight. The fountain of this delight is the rational love of man and of God. Internal love and reverence are all the homage which nature teaches us to pay to God. With respect to God the two capital errors are atheism and superstition. Superstition is worse than atheism. The love of God is a supernatural affection, which prepares the soul for future felicity. The rational love of man comprehends all social virtues. Rational self-love includes self-preservation, temperance, purity, industry, fortitude. To wise men, virtue is its own reward. Laws are appointed for the sake of fools, to conduct them to internal tranquillity and external peace. Of fools, there are three classes: those who disturb external peace; those who do nothing to promote it; and those who do not enjoy internal peace. The first have need of authority; the second of authority and counsel; the third of counsel alone. The obligation of authority and law extends only to external actions, which are just when they are conformable to law; justice is therefore to be distinguished from virtue, which respects the internal man, and requires a conformity to the law of nature.

These specimens of the philosophy of Thomas discover some originality of thought; but contain too many hasty and ill-founded positions, and breathe too much of the spirit of mysticism, to merit any considerable share of attention. The author principally deserves notice in this work on account of the boldness with which he threw off the yoke of ancient authority, and the perseverance with which, in the midst of much opposition, and many vicissitudes of fortune, he maintained and exercised the right of free inquiry.*

* Vidend. Schurtzfleisch. Ep. Arc. 379. Juncker de Ephemerid. Erud. c. 17. Bayle Lettres, t. iii. p. 446. Stollii Lit. Hist. p. iii. c. 5. sect. 30. Hollman, Theol. Nat. c. 1. sect. 19. p. 79.

SECTION IX.—OF CHRISTIAN WOLFE.

No philosopher has been more generally or justly celebrated in Germany, than CHRISTIAN WOLFE,* born at Breslau, in the year 1679.

After having been well instructed in the rudiments of learning and science in his own country, Wolfe prosecuted his studies successively in the universities of Jena, Hamburg, and Leipsic. At the age of twenty-six, he had acquired so much distinction in the schools, that he was appointed professor of mathematics, and soon afterwards of philosophy in general, in the university of Hall; and science received considerable improvements from his researches.

After Leibnitz had published his *Theodicea*, Wolfe, struck with the novelty of the metaphysical edifice which that philosopher had raised, was ambitious of the honour of making some additions to the structure, and assiduously laboured in the investigation of new metaphysical truths. He also digested the Elements of Mathematics in a new method, and attempted an improvement of the art of reasoning, in a treatise "On the Powers of the Human Understanding." Upon the foundation of Leibnitz's doctrine of monads, he formed a new system of Cosmology and Pneumatology, digested and demonstrated in a mathematical method. This work, entitled, "Thoughts on God, the World, and the human Soul," was published in the year 1719; to which were added, in a subsequent edition, "Heads of Ethics and Policy."

Wolfe was now rising towards the summit of philosophical reputation, when the opinion which he entertained on the doctrine of necessity being deemed by his colleagues inimical to religion; and an oration, which he delivered in praise of the morality of the Chinese having given much offence; an accusation of heresy was publicly brought against him in the university of Hall, and afterwards transferred to the courts of Berlin: and, though he attempted to justify himself in a treatise which he wrote on the subject of fatality, a royal mandate was issued, in November 1723, requiring him to leave the Prussian dominions. Having been formerly invited by the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, to fill a professorial chair in the university of Cassel, Wolfe now put himself under the patronage of that prince, who had the liberality to afford him a secure asylum, and appointed him professor of mathematics and philosophy.

The question concerning the grounds of the censure which had been passed upon Wolfe was now every where freely canvassed: almost every German university was inflamed with disputes on the subject of liberty and necessity; and the names of Wolfians and Anti-Wolfians were every where heard. After an interval of nine years, the current of public opinion turned in favour of Wolfe, and the King of Prussia reversed his sentence of exile, and appointed him vice-chancellor of the university of Hall, where his return was welcomed with every expression of triumph. From this time he was employed in completing his Institutes of Philosophy, which he lived to accomplish in every branch except policy. In 1745 he was created a baron by the Elector of Bavaria, and succeeded Ludowig in the office of chancellor of the university. He continued to enjoy these honours till the year 1754, when he expired.

Wolfe possessed a clear and methodical understanding, which by long

* Pinacotheca Script. illust. Dec. i. ii. 10. Gottschedii Elog. Wolf. 1755. Hall. 4to. Ludovici Hist. Phil. Wolf. Langii Synops. Script.

exercise in mathematical investigations was particularly fitted for the employment of digesting the several branches of knowledge into regular systems; and his fertile powers of invention enabled him to enrich almost every field of science, in which he laboured, with some valuable additions. The lucid order which appears in all his writings enables his reader to follow his conceptions with ease and certainty, through the longest trains of reasoning; but the close connexion of the several parts of his works, together with the vast variety and extent of the subjects on which he treats, renders it impracticable to give a summary of his doctrines.*

CHAPTER III.

OF MODERN ECLECTIC PHILOSOPHERS WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED
IMPROVEMENTS IN PARTICULAR BRANCHES OF PHILOSOPHY.

SECTION I.—OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE DIALECTICS AND METAPHYSICS.

AMONG the moderns who have renounced implicit respect for ancient authority, and, upon the true Eclectic plan of gathering up wisdom from every quarter, have attempted to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge; besides those who have been, or have wished to be thought, reformers of universal philosophy, innumerable learned men have appeared, who have directed their attention towards the improvement of particular sciences. To take no notice of these, might be justly deemed a material defect in a general history of philosophy; at the same time it must be evident to every one, who is tolerably acquainted with the philosophical world, that to give a distinct view of the modern state of every branch of science, would be in itself a task still more laborious than that which we have endeavoured to execute. Such a work would require, not only biographical memoirs of those writers who have distinguished themselves in each department, but a distinct delineation, and an accurate comparison, of their various systems and opinions; an undertaking too extensive and important to be attempted at the close of the present work. The intelligent reader will therefore expect, in this chapter, nothing more than an enumeration of a few of the more singular and important facts, respecting the improvement of particular branches of philosophy, which occurred between the period of the revival of letters and the commencement of the present century.

Although, about the time of the Reformation, many learned men, particularly Valla, Agricola, and Vives, spoke with great freedom of the defects of the Aristotelian Logic, no one attempted to substitute a better in its stead, till Peter Ramus undertook the task, and executed it with a degree of courage and success which has justly given his name considerable celebrity.

* Vidend. Wolf. Declar. de Scriptis prop. Rothfischer. Victoria Veritatis Nov. Lit. Lips. 1723. Formey Eloges des Academ. de Berlin, t. ii. Elogium Historicum de Wolf. Hal. 1755.

PETER RAMUS, or DE LA RAMEE,* who was born in 1515, in a village of Vermandois, was a servant in the college of Navarre at Paris. Here, by his own industry, he gathered up the rudiments of learning, and became acquainted with the Logic of Aristotle. His talents and perseverance at last procured him a more honourable station in the college, and he became a candidate for the degree of master of philosophy. Upon this occasion he held a public disputation against the authority of Aristotle, in which he maintained his *thesis* with such ingenuity and ability as confounded his examiners. From this time Ramus determined to exert his utmost efforts to overturn the Aristotelian logic, and to introduce a better method of reasoning. He wrote "Animadversions upon Aristotle," in which he inveighed with great vehemence against his Organon, and to which he subjoined new "Institutes of Dialectics."

These bold attacks upon a system which had for ages been universally admired, gave great offence, as might be expected, to the Peripatetics, and raised a violent storm of resentment against Ramus. At first his adversaries made use of no other weapons against him than those of logic and eloquence, sufficiently envenomed, however, with spleen and calumny. But they at length proceeded to harsher measures. A complaint was brought to the civil magistrate, in the name of the academy, that Ramus, in opposing Aristotle, had committed open hostility against religion and learning. The affair engaged the public attention; and the king ordered, that Ramus and his chief antagonist, Antony Govea, should hold a public disputation; and that each party should choose two judges, and the king appoint an umpire. In the course of the contest, Ramus complained of unfair proceedings on the part of his antagonist; but could obtain no redress, for three of his judges were against him. The accusation was confirmed; the penalty inflicted upon him was an entire prohibition to write or teach philosophy; and his enemies persecuted him with lampoons and satires, and even held him up to public ridicule upon the stage.

Ramus, however, did not long remain under disgrace. The following year, 1544, a plague happened in Paris, which dispersed the students of the university and cut off several of the professors. On their return, Ramus, notwithstanding the royal prohibition, was recalled to his professorial chair; and, in 1547, the sentence of Francis I. was reversed by Henry II. and Ramus was appointed Regius-professor of eloquence and philosophy; and afterwards of mathematics. Still, however, the embers of jealousy, though smothered, were not extinguished. They burst out into an open flame, as soon as it was known that Ramus favoured the party of the Huguenots; and he found it necessary to withdraw from the university. In the intervals of peace, he returned to his station; but, in the year 1568, when the civil war was a third time renewed, he resolved to leave France and make a tour through Germany.

After spending three years in visiting the principal German universities; in which, notwithstanding the zealous endeavours of the Aristotelian professors to fortify the minds of the pupils against the doctrines of Ramus, much respect was shown him, and many honours conferred upon him, he resolved, fatally for himself, to return into his own country. On the execrable day of St. Bartholomew's festival, in the tumult of the Parisian massacre, Charpentaire, a professor of mathematics, who had been eclipsed by the superior talents of Ramus, seized the opportunity of being revenged

* Vita scripta a Freigio, Nancelio, Banosio, Sammarthano, Bayle. Launois De Fort. Arist. c. 14. Galland. in Vit. Castellani, n. 4, 5. Thuanus ad Ann. 1572. Verulam Impet. Ph. v. iii. Op. p. 462.

upon his rival, and under the pretence of religion, employed assassins to murder him. The commission being executed, his body was thrown into the street to the enraged pupils of Charpentaire, who dragged it ignominiously along the streets, and threw it into the Seine. Such was the tragical end of Peter Ramus, who must be acknowledged to have deserved a better fate.

Few persons, in the present day, will be inclined to doubt whether Ramus did right in attempting to undermine the foundations of that authority which Aristotle had so long possessed in the schools: and no one, who will take the trouble to examine the manner in which he laid open the defects and inconsistencies of the *Organon*, will hesitate in allowing him considerable merit in this part of his design. In attempting a new logical institute, Ramus was not, however, equally successful. The general outline of his plan is this:—

Considering Dialectics as the art of deducing conclusions from premises, he endeavours to improve this art by uniting it with that of rhetoric. Of the several branches of rhetoric, he considers invention and disposition as belonging equally to logic. Making Cicero his chief guide, he divides his treatise on dialectics into two parts; the first of which treats of the invention of arguments, the second of judgments. Arguments he derives not only from what the Aristotelians call middle terms, but from any kind of proposition, which, connected with another, may serve to prove any assertion. Of these he enumerates various kinds. Judgments he divides into axioms, or self-evident propositions, and *dianoëa*, or deductions by means of a series of arguments. Both these he divides into various classes, and illustrates the whole by examples from the ancient orators and poets.

In the logic of Ramus,* many things are borrowed from Aristotle, and only appear under new names; and many others are derived from other Grecian sources, particularly from the Dialogues of Plato and the Logic of the Stoics. The author has the merit of turning the art of reasoning from the futile speculations of the schools to forensic and common use; but his plan is defective in confining the whole dialectic art to the single object of disputation, and in omitting many things, which respect the general culture of the understanding, and the investigation of truth. Notwithstanding the defects of his system, we cannot, however, subscribe to the severe censure which has been passed upon Ramus by Lord Bacon† and others; for much is, we think, due to him, for having with so much firmness and perseverance asserted the natural freedom of the human understanding.

The logic of Ramus obtained great authority in the schools of Germany, Great Britain, Holland, and France; and long and violent contests arose between the followers of Ramus and those of the Stagirite. These were not, however, sufficiently important in their consequences to require a distinct relation. The fame of Peter Ramus vanished before that of Des Cartes, whose labours in this branch of philosophy have been already noticed.

Among the modern innovators in metaphysics, we must not omit to mention the well known name of SPINOZA; a philosopher who had the impious temerity to advance a new theory of nature destructive of all religion, and which he pretended to establish by geometric demonstration.

* Conf. *Ars Cogitandi*. Gundling. *Via ad Verit.* P. i. p. 78. Elswich, De Fort. Arist. in Acad. Protest. Walch. *Hist. Log.*

† Augm. Scient. l. vi. c. 2.

BENEDICT DE SPINOZA,* born at Amsterdam in 1632, was a Jew by descent and education; but very early discovered such dissatisfaction with the religion of his fathers, and advanced opinions so contrary to their established tenets, that a sentence of *anathema* was pronounced upon him by his brethren. Excommunicated from the synagogue, certain Christians, who were personally attached to him, granted him an asylum, and afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and studying the Cartesian philosophy. The vehemence with which he continued to attack the religion of his countrymen alarmed and terrified them; and they attempted, first to bribe him to silence, by offering him an annual pension of a thousand florins, and afterwards to take him off by assassination. Both these measures proving ineffectual, they accused him, before the magistrate, of apostacy and blasphemy; and he was banished from the city.

In his exile, Spinoza studied mathematics and natural philosophy, and supported himself by the mechanical art of polishing optical glasses. His chief residence was at Rhenburg, where he was often visited by followers of Des Cartes, who came to consult him on difficult questions. At their request, he published, in 1664, "The principles of the Cartesian philosophy demonstrated geometrically," with an Appendix, in which he advanced metaphysical opinions wholly inconsistent with the doctrine of Des Cartes. To escape the odium which this publication drew upon him, he retired to a village not far from the Hague; thither he was followed by many persons, both countrymen and foreigners, who were inclined to espouse his doctrines.

He was even invited by the Elector Palatine to fill the chair of philosophy at Heidelberg; but from an apprehension that his liberty would, in that situation, be abridged, he declined the proposal. He lived in retirement, with great sobriety and decency of manners, till a consumption brought him to an early end, in 1677.

Spinoza, in his lifetime, published, besides the work already mentioned, *Tractatum theologico-politicum*, "A Treatise theological and political." His "Posthumous Works" contain five treatises. 1. Ethics demonstrated geometrically. 2. Politics. 3. On the Improvement of the Understanding. 4. Epistles and Answers. 5. A Hebrew Grammar. The impieties contained in these treatises excited general indignation; and refutations were sent forth from various quarters, by writers of all religious persuasions; in which the empty sophisms, the equivocal definitions, the false reasonings, and all the absurdities of the writings of Spinoza, are fully exposed. The sum of his doctrine is this:—

The essence of substance is, to exist. There is in nature only one substance, with two modifications, thought and extension. This substance is infinitely diversified, having within its own essence the necessary causes of the changes through which it passes. No substance can be supposed to produce or create another; therefore, besides the substance of the universe there can be no other; but all things are comprehended in it, and are modes of this substance, either thinking or extended.

This one universal substance, Spinoza calls God, and ascribes to it Divine attributes. He expressly asserts, that God is the immanent, not the transitive, cause of all things. His doctrine is, therefore, not to be confounded with that of those ancient philosophers, who held God to be τὸ πᾶν "The

* Coler. Vit. Spinoz. Bayle. Nicéron. t. xiii. p. 94. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, p. ix. c. 37.

Universal Whole;" for, according to them, the visible and intellectual worlds are produced by *emanation* from the eternal fountain of divinity, that is, by an expanding, or unfolding, of the Divine nature, which was the effect of intelligence and design; whereas, in the system of Spinoza, all things are *immanent*, and necessary modifications of one universal substance, which, to conceal his atheism, he calls God. Nor can Spinozism be with any propriety derived, as some have imagined, from the Cartesian philosophy; for, in that system, two distinct substances are supposed; and the existence of Deity is a fundamental principle.

It may seem very surprising, that a man who certainly was not destitute of discernment, abilities, and learning, should have fallen into such impieties. And this could not have happened, had he not confounded his conceptions with subtle and futile distinctions concerning the nature of substance, essence, and existence, and neglected to attend to the obvious, but irrefragable, argument for the existence of God, arising from the appearances of intelligence and design in all the productions of nature.

The impious system of Spinoza was maintained with so much ingenuity, that it found many patrons in the United Provinces, among whom were Lewis Meyer, who republished Spinoza's works, and himself wrote a work entitled, "Philosophy the Interpreter of Scripture:" and Van Leenhof, an ecclesiastic of Zwoll, who wrote a piece entitled, "Heaven in Earth," of the doctrine of which he was obliged to make a public recantation: others, under the pretence of refuting Spinoza, secretly favoured his system. But, against the poison of their impious tenets sufficient antidotes were soon provided by many able defenders of religion, whose writings are well known, particularly in Cudworth's "Intellectual System," the professed object of which is the refutation of atheism.*

A singular metaphysical hypothesis has given celebrity to the name of NICHOLAS MALLEBRANCHE,† who was born at Paris, in 1638. Devoting himself, at twenty-two years of age, to monastic life, he engaged in the study of ecclesiastical history and biblical criticism; but with so little satisfaction, that he was inclined to abandon his studies, and, giving himself up wholly to devotion, to wait in silence for Divine illumination. Whilst he was in this perplexed state of mind, he happened to meet with Des Cartes' treatise "On Man," and found in it so much perspicuity, and so many new ideas, that he immediately determined to make himself perfectly master of the author's system of philosophy. From this time he immersed himself in profound meditation, and spent ten years in penetrating into the depths of the Cartesian philosophy, and in exploring new regions of metaphysics, not very remote from the precincts of enthusiasm. Having satisfied himself concerning the mysterious union of the soul and body, and having discovered, as he conceived, a still more mysterious union between the soul of man and God, he wrote his famous treatise "On the Search after Truth." This work made its first appearance in 1673, and was, a little before the author's death, which happened in 1715, republished with considerable variations and enlargements.

The doctrine of this book, though in many respects original, is raised upon Cartesian principles, and is in some particulars Platonic. The author represents, in strong colours, the causes of error, arising from the disorders of the imagination and passions, the abuse of liberty, and implicit confidence in the senses. He explains the action of the animal spirits; the

* Jaenichen, Hist. Spinoz. Leenhoff. Acta Phil. v. ii. p. 120. Mus. Bremen. v. ii. p. i. p. 145.

† Vie par Fontenelle dans l'Histoire de l'Ac. R. des Sciences, p. 208.

nature of memory; the connexion of the brain with other parts of the body, and their influence upon the understanding and will. On the subject of intellect, he maintains, that thought alone is essential to mind, and deduces the imperfect state of science from the imperfection of the human understanding, as well as from the inconstancy of the will in inquiring after truth. Rejecting the ancient doctrine of *species* sent forth from material objects, and denying the power of the mind to produce ideas, he ascribes their production immediately to God; and asserts, that the human mind immediately perceives God, and sees all things in him. As he derives the imperfection of the human mind from its dependance upon the body, so he places its perfection in union with God, by means of the knowledge of truth and the love of virtue.*

Singular and paradoxical as the notion of "Seeing all things in God," and some other dogmas of this writer, must have appeared, the work was written with such elegance and splendour of diction, and its tenets were supported by such ingenious reasonings, that it obtained general applause, and procured the author a distinguished name among philosophers and a numerous train of followers. Its popularity might, perhaps, be in part owing to the appeal which the author makes to the authority of St. Augustine, from whom he professes to have borrowed his hypothesis concerning the origin of ideas. The immediate intercourse which this doctrine supposes between the human and the Divine mind, has led some to remark a strong resemblance between the notions of Mallebranche and those of the sect called Quakers.

Attempts similar to those of Mallebranche, for the advancement of the knowledge of the human mind were about the same time made in Germany by WALTER TSCHIRN HAUSEN,† a celebrated mathematician. A diligent inquirer after truth himself, he was desirous of furnishing others with a kind of first philosophy, which might conduct them with ease and certainty to wisdom and happiness. With this view, he wrote a work, entitled, *Medicina Mentis, sive Artis inveniendi Præcepta generalia*,‡ "The Medicine of the Mind, or general Precepts of the Art of Invention;" wherein he applied geometry and universal arithmetic to metaphysical and moral subjects, in hopes of opening a way, by which any one might, for himself, discover what is true and useful. The work is properly a mathematical logic, more theoretical than practical, and only to be understood by such as are intimately conversant with mathematical speculations.

Among modern metaphysicians, the ancient questions concerning the human soul, its nature, its faculties, its duration, its connexion with the body, and the like, have been much debated. Many writers have maintained its materiality and natural mortality; among whom are COWARD, in his "Thoughts on the Soul,"§ who was answered by BROUGHTON, in his treatise "On the Nature of the Rational Soul;" and by DODWELL, who maintained that the soul derives its immortality from the spirit of God in baptism. Other writers have maintained a long and still undecided controversy concerning the freedom of the human mind; among whom are Leibnitz, Placette, King, Collins, and Clarke.||

But the philosophy of the human mind has never been more ably investigated, than by the celebrated British metaphysician, JOHN LOCKE,¶ who was born at Wrington, near Bristol, in the year 1632. He received

* Pritii Diss. de Enthusiasmo. Mallebr. Leibn. Rec. t. ii. p. 326.

† Vit. Germanicé, Gori. 1709. Fontenelle, l. c. t. ii. ‡ Lips. 1695.

§ Lond. 1703.

|| Bibl. Raisonnée, t. iv. p. ii. p. 458.

¶ Vit. a Clerico, præf. Op.

the first part of his education at Westminster school, and became a student in Christ Church College, Oxford, 1651. The early produce of his genius promised a rich harvest; but his progress in knowledge was for a while retarded by defects which he discovered in the established modes of education: his solid and penetrating judgment, little disposed to be satisfied with trifles, was disgusted with the unprofitable subtleties which occupied the schools. Despairing to find that intellectual light, for which he earnestly longed, in the chaos of Peripatetic and Scholastic philosophy, he grew tired of academic studies, and conversed more with men of wit and genius than with philosophers. The first writer, who taught him to think it possible that the darkness which hung over the human intellect might be dispelled, was Des Cartes. Though he did not adopt his system, he was delighted with the perspicuity of his writings. He was now convinced, that the general prevalence of error and uncertainty was not so much owing to the imbecility of the human mind, as to the imperfection of the present method of instruction: his natural thirst after knowledge returned; and he resumed his inquiries with fresh ardour. He passed through a course of medical studies; but, thinking it unsafe, on account of the delicate state of his health, to enter upon clinical practice, he declined taking his degree as doctor of physic.

In the year 1664, Locke, in order to improve his knowledge of human nature by an extensive acquaintance with mankind, accompanied the British ambassador to the court of Berlin. After remaining there a year, he returned to Oxford, and chiefly pursued the study of natural philosophy. Here he had the good fortune to form an intimacy with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury; a man of superior genius, extensive reading, and elegant taste, from whose conversation Locke acknowledges himself to have derived great pleasure and advantage, and with whom he preserved an intimate friendship through life. He accompanied this nobleman, both as his medical adviser and philosophical friend; and was introduced by him to the acquaintance of many persons of the first distinction, to whom his good sense, extensive knowledge, and polished manners, rendered him highly acceptable. In 1668, he attended the Earl of Northumberland into France. On his return, he undertook to superintend the education of Lord Shaftesbury's only son. It was in the leisure which he commanded during this engagement, that he digested his ideas concerning the powers and operations of the human understanding; and, at the request of his friends, committed his thoughts upon this subject to writing.

When his friend and patron was appointed Lord Chancellor, Locke shared his honours; and when, in the political struggles which threatened the destruction of the liberties of Great Britain, the Earl of Shaftesbury was dismissed from his office, Locke partook of his disgrace. In the year 1674, apprehending himself in danger of a consumption, by the advice and at the expense of his patron, he visited Montpellier, where he enjoyed the society of Mr. Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke. On his return to England, an asthma obliged him to reside chiefly in the country; and he occupied his leisure in the study of the scriptures, chiefly the New Testament. When Lord Shaftesbury retired into Holland, to escape the political storm which threatened his life, Locke, despairing of safety at home, followed him; and, in 1683, fixed his residence in Amsterdam, where he had frequent intercourse with Le Clerc, Limborch, and other learned men, and where, after many interruptions, he finished his "Essay on the Human Understanding." During his absence, his name, on account of the share which he was supposed to have had in Lord Shaftesbury's political offences, was

by order of the king, struck out of the register of his college; and secret instructions were issued for seizing him and bringing him back to England. Timely notice was, however, given him of his danger; and he remained in concealment among his friends. During this recess, he wrote "Two Letters on Toleration," which he addressed to Limborch. In 1685, he was offered a pardon from James II. by William Penn; but he refused it upon the noble plea, that having been guilty of no crime, he needed no pardon.

At the happy period of the revolution, Locke accompanied the Princess of Orange to England, and was restored to the society of his numerous friends and to his useful labours, political and philosophical. The "Essay on the Human Understanding" was first published in English in 1690, and was soon afterwards translated into French and Latin, and judiciously abridged by Wynn, Bishop of St. Asaph. The same year Locke published his treatise "On Civil Government," in which he boldly and successfully attacked the principles of despotism. The last days of his life he spent in retirement, at the country seat of his friend Sir Francis Masham, where he wrote his treatise "On Education;" "Third Letter on Toleration;" "Reasonableness of Christianity;" "Letters to Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester," and other tracts. In his theological works, he strenuously maintained, that there is nothing in the Christian religion contrary to reason; and at the same time that he showed himself a true friend to the cause of Revelation, was a zealous advocate for the doctrine of the unity of the Divine nature. The last labours of this great and good man were employed upon the scriptures; and it was whilst he found himself hastening to his end, that he finished his "Commentaries upon the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians," published after his death, which happened in the year 1704. He died in a manner worthy of his excellent principles and character; and left a letter, to be delivered after his death to a friend, which concludes thus: "This life is a scene of vanity, which soon passes away, and affords no solid satisfaction, but in the consciousness of doing well, and the hopes of another."

That Locke possessed a noble and lofty mind, superior to prejudice, and capable, by its native energy, of exploring truth, even in regions of the intellectual world before unknown; that his judgment was accurate and profound; that his imagination was vigorous; and that he was well furnished with the ornaments of elegant learning, were there no other proofs, might be without hesitation concluded from his great and immortal work, "The Essay on the Human Understanding;" in which, discarding all systematic theories, he has, from actual experience and observation, delineated the features, and described the operations, of the human mind, with a degree of precision and minuteness, not to be found in Plato, Aristotle, or Des Cartes. After clearing the way by setting aside the whole doctrine of innate notions and principles, both speculative and practical, the author traces all ideas to two sources, sensation and reflection; treats at large of the nature of ideas, simple and complex; of the operation of the human understanding in forming, distinguishing, compounding, and associating them; of the manner in which words are applied as representations of ideas; of the difficulties and obstructions, in the search after truth, which arise from the imperfection of these signs; and of the nature, reality, kinds, degrees, casual hinderances, and necessary limits, of human knowledge.

To discuss at large the merits of this excellent work would require a distinct treatise. Suffice it to remark, that though several topics are

treated of, which may be considered as episodical with respect to the main design; though many opinions which the author advances may admit of controversy; and though, on some topics, he may not have expressed himself with his usual perspicuity, and on others may be thought too verbose, the work is of inestimable value, as a history of the understanding, not compiled from former books, but written from materials collected by a long and attentive observation of what passes in the human mind. A small treatise, "On the Conduct of the Understanding," written by the same author, is a valuable supplement to his main work.

On the subject of logic, modern times have produced many treatises, which either for novelty of matter, for perspicuity of arrangement, or for a free rejection of Peripatetic trifles, might deserve notice. Among these we must not omit particularly to mention the system of logic published under the name of the Society of Port Royal, which is commonly ascribed to ARNAUD; "The Art of Thinking," by CROUSAZ; and the logic of the illustrious LE CLERC; a writer to whom the learned world is under great obligations for many excellent works in various branches of learning, and whose name would have merited a conspicuous place in a general history of literature.

SECTION II.—OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

SCARCELY had philosophy emerged out of the darkness of barbarism, when learned men, tired of treading for ever the barren path of Scholastic controversy, began to visit the flowery and fertile fields of moral philosophy. Several of those writers, to whom the world is indebted for the revival of polite learning, wrote moral treatises after the manner of the ancients; among these were Petrarch, Verger, and Cardan.

But the first writer who treated the subject of ethics in the true Eclectic method, was MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE,* a native of Perigord, in France, who was born in 1530 and lived till 1592. The first language which was taught him was the Latin, which he could speak fluently at six years of age, when he knew nothing of the French tongue. He received his scientific education in the college of Guyenne. Though addicted to pleasure, he early formed a habit of reflection, which made him master of much originality of thought and diction. The fruits of Montaigne's lucubrations are preserved in his "Essays;"† consisting of miscellaneous observations, chiefly moral, written with great ingenuity and vivacity. Many of his reflections, it must be owned, have a tendency to encourage scepticism; and sometimes he indulges a luxuriance of fancy and freedom of language, which grossly violates the rules of decorum; but he must not be wholly excluded from the class of useful moralists. Montaigne's Essays are not transcripts from former writers, but the genuine productions of a vigorous and cultivated mind; and it is a circumstance, which renders them peculiarly interesting and valuable, that the writer, with perfect openness, discloses his own feelings, and describes the peculiarities of his own character. Montaigne died in 1592.

* Blount, Cens. p. 819. Teisser. Elog. t. iv. p. 167.

† Lond. 1723. Conf. Art. de Pens. l. iii. c. 20. Mallebranche de Inv. Ver. t. i. l. ii. c. 5. p. 271. Huet. de Reb. suis, p. 178. Fontevivan. Apol. pro Mont. Hist. apud Ouv. des Savans, 1700.

The footsteps of Montaigne were followed by PETER CHARRON,* a native of Paris, who was born in 1541, and died in 1603. He wrote a treatise "On Wisdom;" a work which abounds with ingenious and original observations on moral topics, but gives a gloomy picture of human nature and of society.

A valuable treatise "On Morals" was published at Leyden, in 1593, by ABRAHAM SCHULTET,† a divine of Heidelberg. It consists of two books; the former of which is "On a Virtuous Life;" the latter, "On a Happy Life." The great merit of this work is, that it is free from the useless subtleties with which most of the writings of this period are encumbered.

The subsequent period abounds with moral writings of various kinds; among which we must mention, with peculiar distinction, Lord Bacon's Essays, which are full of judicious and useful observations on life and manners. To these may be added, the ethical writings of PLACCIUS,‡ a native of Lubeck, particularly his "Institutes of Moral Medicine;"§ and his "Moral Philosophy."|| This writer was, if not the first, certainly among the first, who distinguished the science of ethics from that of jurisprudence, and attempted to assign each its proper limit. But these subjects were afterwards more fully and scientifically handled by Grotius and Puffendorf, whose eminent services, in this and other branches of science, entitle them to particular notice.

HUGO GROTIUS,¶ or HUGO DE GROOT, a native of Delft, in Holland, was born in 1583. He gave early proofs of a superior genius, in the Latin verses which he wrote before he was nine years old. At twelve years of age he was admitted into the university of Leyden, where he made a rapid progress in theology, jurisprudence, mathematics, and other sciences. Under the celebrated Scaliger, he acquired much philological knowledge; and at fifteen, he published an edition of Capella, with notes, which obtained him the applause of the critics. In 1598, he accompanied the Dutch ambassador to France, where he became acquainted with many learned men, and was introduced to Henry IV. Though early engaged in civil affairs, he did not suffer them to interrupt his studies. He wrote a treatise "On the Freedom of the Seas," which gave his countrymen so high an opinion of his abilities, that, in the year 1615, they entrusted him with an embassy to the court of Great Britain, to settle a dispute concerning the right of fishing in the Northern seas. This journey introduced him to the acquaintance of many learned Englishmen.

In the theological disputes between the Arminians and Calvinists, which so long distracted the United Provinces, Grotius publicly appeared on the side of the Arminians; and, with other friends to toleration, took such spirited measures to screen them from persecution, as inflamed the resentment of the opposite party; and after a long struggle, which terminated in the decree of the synod of Dort, condemning the Arminian tenets, he was brought to trial, and received a sentence of confiscation of goods and perpetual imprisonment. He was accordingly confined in the fortress of Louvestein, in South Holland. Conscious that his conduct had not merited such punishment, Grotius bore his confinement with great composure, and relieved the tediousness of solitude by literary labours; of which the principal were "A Latin Version of Stobæus," and an invaluable

* Bayle.

† Reimann. Hist. Lit. G. p. iv. p. 598. Freker. Theat. p. 424.

‡ Fabricii Vita Placcii in Theatr. Pseudon. Leibn. Ep. vol. iv. p. 188.

§ Hamb. 1675.

|| Helmstadt. 1677.

¶ Schudtii Vit. Grot. Frankf. ad Mœn. 1722. Bayle. Nicéron.

treatise "On the Truth of the Christian Religion." This latter work has been universally read and admired, and has been translated into eleven different languages.*

When Grotius was beginning to despair of regaining his liberty, he obtained an unexpected rescue by the meritorious ingenuity and heroism of his wife. During his whole confinement, which had now continued from May, 1619, to March, 1621, that excellent woman had endeavoured to devise means for her husband's escape. At last, she shut him up in a chest in which books had been brought into his apartment, herself, in the mean time, remaining in the prison; and he was, in this manner, conveyed to the house of a friend at Goreum; whence, in the habit of a mason, with his rule and trowel, he escaped out of the town. Grotius, thus released by his wife (who was herself, upon her petition to the States-General, in a few days set at liberty) fled out of Holland into Brabant, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he remained some time in concealment. Through the interest of the French ambassador in Holland, and other friends, he at length settled in Paris, whither he was followed by his wife and children, and where he enjoyed the friendship of many eminent men who assisted him in prosecuting his literary designs.

During this exile, Grotius, at the request of his learned friend Peiresc, undertook and completed his great work, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, "On the Rights of War and Peace." His design, which extended beyond the limits of the title prefixed to the work, was to settle the grounds of the rights of men in civil society. The natural rights of men he founds upon the social principle in human nature; the rights of nations, upon the conventions of states. The doctrines which he advances, he supports by a connected train of reasonings deduced from acknowledged principles, and confirms by authorities from ancient writers, from the Civil Law, and from the Scholastics. His Eclectic spirit clearly appears, in the general maxim which he lays down concerning ancient systems: that, "as there never was any sect so enlightened as to see the whole truth, so there never was any one so erroneous as to be entirely destitute of truth." The work, which was first published at Paris, in 1625, soon engaged the universal attention of scholars and statesmen.†

After remaining eleven years in France, Grotius was, by Cardinal Richlieu, deprived of a pension which he had enjoyed during the greater part of the time; upon which he determined to hazard a return to Amsterdam. But, though his friends were numerous, he soon found that the party of his enemies was still too powerful to allow him a peaceful settlement in his own country. An order being issued for seizing his person, he found it necessary to withdraw from Holland, and determined to retire to Hamburg; here he remained till, after refusing repeated solicitations from several potentates to engage in public affairs, he was prevailed upon, in 1634, by the court of Sweden, to go as ambassador to France.

It is to the leisure which Grotius enjoyed during his second residence in France, that the world is indebted for many of his valuable works, particularly his learned and liberal commentaries upon the scriptures; but these literary occupations so far interrupted his attention to civil affairs, that the Swedish minister thought it necessary to send another agent to Paris, which so displeased Grotius, that he requested to be recalled. Upon his return to Stockholm, he was graciously received and liberally rewarded

* French, German, English, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Indian, and Chinese.

† Thomas Hist. Jur. Nat. p. 68. Groening. Bibl. Jur. Gent. p. 251. Bibl. Juris Imperant. p. 16.

by the Queen; but, either through an apprehension of suffering by court-intrigue, or through the love of literary retirement, he declined all public offices, and determined once more to hazard a return to his native country. Setting sail for Lubeck, a storm arose, and the vessel was driven upon the coast of Pomerania. Grotius, during the passage, fell sick; and, after his landing, was conveyed, by a tedious journey of eight days, to Rostock; where he died, in 1645, leaving behind him an immortal name for the elevation and extent of his genius, the variety and depth of his learning, the uprightness of his character, and the important services which he had rendered to religion and philosophy.

The success with which Grotius attempted the improvement of jurisprudence led SELDEN,* a learned Englishman, born in 1587, and educated at Oxford, to form a new system of the law of nature and nations, on the basis of the Jewish institution, which he supported with a vast display of Oriental learning; but the work is rather a commentary on the Hebrew code than an institute of natural law.†

The edifice of jurisprudence begun by Grotius was finished by PUFFENDORF;‡ a German, born at Flah, near Chemnitz, in 1631, and educated at Leipsic. The Swedish ambassador at the court of Copenhagen engaged him to undertake the education of his sons; but he was scarcely entered upon his new station, when, a war breaking out between Sweden and Denmark, Copenhagen was besieged, and Puffendorf was made prisoner and kept in confinement eight months, without books or the conversation of his friends. In this solitude, he diligently revolved in his mind the different doctrines of Grotius and Hobbes on the law of nature; and, having long before rejected the Peripatetic notion that moral subjects do not admit of demonstration, he determined to attempt the construction of a system of ethics on evident and indubitable principles.

After his release, Puffendorf, in the year 1659, removed, with his pupils, to the Hague. Here, by the aid of diligent study, and the conversation of learned men, he so far accomplished his design, as to publish "Elements of Jurisprudence," written after the geometric manner. The work was dedicated to the Elector Palatine, who entertained so high an opinion of the author's abilities, that he appointed him professor of the law of nature and nations in the university of Heidelberg. This chair he filled with great credit and success; at the same time prosecuting his studies with indefatigable industry. At the request of the chancellor of Sweden, he afterwards removed to the university at Lunden, where he taught jurisprudence and wrote his celebrated treatise "On the Law of Nature and Nations." No sooner was this work known, than it at once raised a numerous host of enemies, who reproached the author as an enemy to religion and government, and a seducer of youth, and who, in short, loaded him with every kind of obloquy. Puffendorf, however, vindicated his doctrine and character so successfully, that his adversaries were silenced, and his public honours continued and increased. He was appointed historiographer to the King of Sweden, and wrote a "History of the Affairs of Sweden, from the Commencement of the Reign of Gustavus Adolphus." The title of Baron was also conferred upon him. His honours and labours were terminated by death, in the sixty-third year of his age.

The strength of Puffendorf's genius, the clearness of his discernment, the accuracy of his judgment, and the variety and depth of his erudition,

* See Wilkins's Life of Selden, prefixed to his works.

† Thomas, Hist. Jur. Nat. p. 66—88. Puff. Erid. Scand. p. 200.

‡ Thomas, Hist. Jur. Nat. p. 90, &c. Niceron. t. xviii.

are clearly seen in his elaborate treatise *De Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, "On the Law of Nature and Nations." His system was erected on the same foundation with that of Grotius, the social nature of man. Religion he considers as a principle which serves to strengthen the bonds of civil society. In order to give the work, as much as possible, the force of demonstration, he carefully defines moral terms, investigates the moral nature of man, considers the distinct qualities of moral actions, and derives from these sources the several duties of men towards themselves, towards each other, and towards God. Our limits will not permit us to relate, in detail, the contents of this great work; and it is the less necessary, as the author himself has left a clear and elegant compendium of it in his treatise *De Officiis Hominis et Civis*, "Of the Duties of a Man and a Citizen." These works have been generally read and admired, and have been translated into several languages. If the larger treatise be at present less known than formerly, it is probably owing to its extreme prolixity, the effect of an unnecessary accumulation of quotations and references to the ancients.*

That branch of philosophy which treats of POLICY, or CIVIL GOVERNMENT, has, from the time of the revival of letters, been the subject of frequent discussion. The modern Peripatetics, after the example and upon the principles of Aristotle, have endeavoured to accommodate the art of government to the actually subsisting state of communities. Others, who have deserted the Stagirite, and speculated with Eclectic freedom on questions of policy, have treated the subject in various ways, systematic or miscellaneous. To enumerate all these in the present work would be impracticable: we shall mention a few of the principal.

Among the learned of the sixteenth century, a name of some celebrity in this branch of philosophy is JOHN BODIN,† a French lawyer, born at Angier, and educated in the university of Thoulouse. Thuanus relates, that Henry II. of France, who was a lover of letters, frequently conversed with him. He accompanied the Duke of Alençon into England. He wrote a treatise "On States," which is much applauded by Thuanas and others, and was publicly read in the university of Cambridge; it is chiefly valuable for the immense variety of examples and authorities which the writer has collected.‡

Another political writer of this period is the Spanish Jesuit, BALTHAZAR GRATIAN,§ who died in 1658. Most of his pieces, of which "The Courtier," and "The Oracle," are the principal, have been translated into other languages. His observations are not always consistent with the true principles of morality; but they prove the author to have been a shrewd observer of men. To a cautious and judicious reader they may suggest many curious and useful ideas.

We may here also mention TRAJAN BOCCALINI,|| a native of Rome, an ingenious and elegant writer, who employed his wit in satirising the follies and vices of princes and courtiers, and particularly in detecting the errors of the Spanish government. His principal works are, "Tales from Parnassus," and "The Political Touchstone."

But for knowledge of the corrupt arts of policy, and the intrigues of courts, no writer is so famous as NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL,¶ a Florentine,

* Thomas, Hist. Jur. Nat. l. c. Bibl. Jur. Imp. l. c.

† Lyser de Vit. Bodin. 1715. Appar. Lit. Witteb. col. ii. p. 312 Bibl. Juris Imp. p. 95. Bayle. ‡ Lond. 1606. § Alegamb. Bibl. Soc. Jes.

|| Erythræi Pinacoth. i. p. 272. iii. p. 223. Bayle.

¶ Jovii Elog. c. 87. F. Christ. de N. Mach. Vit.

who flourished at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In his political conduct, Machiavel was an enemy to despotism. He violently opposed the tyranny of the house of Medicis, and was thrown into prison on suspicion of having been concerned in a conspiracy against it; but the charge not being made good, he was released, and soon afterwards received an annual stipend for writing "The History of the Affairs of Florence." In a subsequent conspiracy against the Medicean Cardinal, afterwards Pope Clement VII. he again fell under suspicion, in consequence of his having, in writing, exhibited before his countrymen the example of Brutus and Cassius, to incite them to a strenuous assertion of their liberties. Though not convicted of any treasonable offence, he was deprived of his annuity, and lived in poverty till the year 1526, when he expired in the forty-eighth year of his age.

Machiavel's principal works are, "Dissertations on the first Decad of Livy;" "A History of Florence;" and "The Prince." It is to this latter work chiefly, that this writer owes his celebrity; but what is the proper character of the piece, or with what design it was written, has been much disputed. Many have understood it to be a system of corrupt policy, written with the serious purpose of instructing princes and statesmen in all the intrigues of state and the arts of oppression; and consequently have not scrupled to call Machiavel the preceptor of tyrants. But, since the author was, in his political conduct, an enemy to despotism, it is perhaps more reasonable to consider "The Prince" as a satirical work, intended to pull off the mask from the face of tyranny, and by exposing its base and mischievous stratagems, to render it hateful to mankind. The work is indeed dedicated to the house of Medicis; but this might be only an expedient for concealing more effectually the author's design. If it should be thought, that in thus laying open the mysteries of courts, Machiavel furnished a manual of political iniquity, it is to be remembered, that the arts of false policy, and the machinations of ambition and tyranny, have been known and practised where Machiavel's "Prince" has never been read.*

The pernicious maxims of despotism have, since the days of Machiavel, been often refuted, and the true principles of government established by Sydney, Locke, Montesquieu, and many other able writers, whose names would appear with splendour in a History of Civil Policy.

SECTION III.—OF MODERN ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE illustrious Lord Bacon, in turning the attention of philosophers from the speculative and hypothetical to the practical and experimental study of nature, opened an extensive field of inquiry, little known to the ancients, which has since been cultivated with astonishing success. To enumerate all the celebrated names which have appeared in this class of modern philosophers; to relate the most interesting particulars of their lives; to trace the progress of their respective researches; to report the advances which have been made in the several departments of physical knowledge, the new facts which experiment and observation have brought

* Bacon de Augm. Scient. l. vii. c. 2. Arnd. Bibl. Polit. p. iii. See Clarend. Hist. Reb. Book X.

to light, and the general truths which they have established; to point out the *desiderata* which yet remain, and deduce from things already known, hints for further improvement; to execute all this with diligent accuracy and sound judgment, would be a great and meritorious work, well deserving the best exertions of the most enlightened philosopher. But such an undertaking will be easily perceived to be far beyond the limits of the present work. Nothing further will be expected in this place, than that we briefly review the lives and labours of a few of those philosophers, who, from the revival of letters to the commencement of the present century, have eminently distinguished themselves by their inquiries and discoveries in natural philosophy.

That spirit of innovation which, in other branches of philosophy, was discouraged as dangerous to the established systems, was early permitted in physics. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Telesius, in Italy, advanced new doctrines; several philosophers in France ventured to contradict the physics of the Peripatetic school; and in England NATHANIEL CARPENTER* wrote a treatise entitled, *Philosophia libera*,† “Free Philosophy,” in which many paradoxical notions were advanced, sufficiently remote from the received doctrines of the schools.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, a philosopher appeared in Great Britain, to whom natural philosophy is much indebted, both because he had the courage to rely upon his own powers, and to recede from the Aristotelian doctrines, to which the British schools at that time superstitiously adhered; and because he engaged, with wonderful industry and success, in the design of investigating the causes of natural appearances by experiment. GILBERT,‡ born at Colchester in 1540, wrote a treatise, entitled, *Philosophia nova de Mundo nostro sublunari*, “New Philosophy concerning our sublunary World:” and hem ade, at a great expense, and with incredible perseverance, a course of experiments on the magnet, the result of which he relates in his treatise, *De Magnete magneticisque Corporibus*, “Of the Magnet and magnetic Bodies.” He maintains, that the magnetic virtue is placed by nature in the terrestrial globe, and that the earth is a vast magnet. Gilbert acquired great and general reputation by this work; and his doctrine was afterwards applied by Halley to explain the variation and dipping of the magnetic needle.

The first modern among the Germans who appears with any distinction in the class of natural philosophers, is DANIEL SENNERT,§ a physician who was born at Breslaw in 1572, was educated at Wittenburg, and died in 1637. He wrote *Hypomneuma Physica*, “Minutes of Physics,” in which he contradicts many of the Aristotelian principles. He was the first philosopher who introduced into the German schools the study of chemistry, freed from the fanciful hypotheses of the Paracelsians. His works are voluminous: they are printed in six volumes.||

After the time of Lord Bacon, many philosophers, upon his principles, and after his example, made use of the art of chemistry as an instrument in the investigation of nature. Among these was Sir KENELM DIGBY,¶ an Englishman, born at Gothurst, in Buckinghamshire, in 1603, and educated at Oxford; who, in the midst of military services, industriously prosecuted physical researches, and, particularly, spared neither labour nor expense in order to make himself master of the secrets of chemistry: these he applied to the improvement of medicine, which he practised with

* Wood Athæn. Oxon. † Oxon. 1636.

‡ Morhoff. Polyh. t. ii. p. 410.

§ Witt. Mem. Med. p. 89. Bayle.

|| Lugd. 1676. fol.

¶ Wood Athæn. Oxon. Bullart. Acad. des Scien. t. ii. p. 1137. Bayle.

great success. Assuming rarefaction and condensation as physical principles, he endeavoured, in a distinct treatise "On Plants," to explain the process of vegetation. He also wrote "On the Nature of Bodies," and "On the Immortality of the Soul."

Chemistry was from this time studied and practised by many other eminent physicians and philosophers, among whom the name of BOERHAAVE ought to be mentioned with peculiar distinction, both on account of the improvements which he made in this art, and the pains which he took to show its utility, not only in medicine, but in the general study of physics. He died in 1738, aged seventy years.

One of the most industrious and successful interpreters of nature, which the seventeenth century, so fruitful in great men, produced, was ROBERT BOYLE, descended from the illustrious family of the Boyles, in Ireland. He was born at Lismore, in the year 1627. After travelling through France, Italy, and Switzerland, to extend his acquaintance with the works of nature and art, he fixed his residence at Oxford, where he devoted himself to the study of medicine and natural philosophy. It was during his residence here that the design was formed and completed, by himself and several other philosophers, of establishing a society for the improvement of natural knowledge. After its establishment in London, under the patronage of Charles II. and under the name of the Royal Society, Boyle removed thither, and employed the remainder of his days in researches into nature. He died, much lamented by all the friends of science and virtue, in 1691.*

Boyle possessed every advantage for the prosecution of physical inquiries; an extensive intercourse with the philosophical world, a fortune adequate to the expense of experiments, great industry, a sound judgment, and an ardent thirst after knowledge; and his success was equal to every expectation which these circumstances might create; as fully appears from his own account of his experiments on Air, on Hydrostatics, on Colours, on the Atmosphere, on the human Blood, and other subjects. This great man was no less celebrated for his personal virtues than for his knowledge of nature: probity, modesty, humanity, and piety, were prominent features in his character. His religious temper appears in many of his writings, and was particularly shown in the reverence which he expressed for the name of God, which he is said never to have mentioned without a pause.

There is no class of men to whom natural philosophy is more indebted than to mathematicians. These have largely contributed to its improvement, by the diligence and accuracy with which they have made and registered astronomical observations, and by the pains which they have taken to subject the known laws of motion to arithmetical calculation and geometrical demonstration, and hence to deduce mathematical principles of physics. Out of the numerous body of mathematical philosophers, we must only select the great names of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton.

NICHOLAS COPERNICUS† was born at Thorn, in Prussia, in 1472. Having acquired, during the course of his education at Cracow, a fondness for mathematical studies, and particularly for astronomy, he went to Bologna to prosecute these studies under an eminent astronomer of that university. Here he obtained such distinction that he was appointed professor of mathematics at Rome. Returning, after some years, to his

* His works are printed in five volumes, folio, London, 1744.

† Gassend. Vit. Cop. Wiedler. Hist. Astron. Adam. Vit. Phil.

native country, he obtained a canonry in the cathedral church of Frauenburg, and in the leisure which this situation afforded him, pursued his astronomical speculations. Perceiving the Ptolemaic system (which supposes the earth to be fixed in the centre, and the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, to revolve about it in concentric circles) to be inconsistent with the *phenomena*, and encumbered with many absurdities, he had recourse to the Pythagorean hypothesis, which places the sun in the centre of the system, and makes the earth a planet, revolving annually with the rest about the sun, and daily about its own axis. Upon this system, compared with the observations which had been made by others and himself, he proceeded to ascertain the periodical revolutions of the planets, and wrote his treatise *De Orbium Cælestium Revolutionibus*, "On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies," in which he demonstrated them geometrically.

A doctrine which explained the celestial *phenomena* with so much simplicity, could not fail to engage the attention and admiration of astronomers and philosophers. But, on account of its apparent inconsistency with some passages of scripture, it was rejected by many divines, and censured in an express decree of the Romish church. Nevertheless, the doctrine daily gained ground, and is now universally received. Copernicus died in 1543.

In order to remove the offence which was taken by so many learned men against the doctrine of Copernicus, a Danish astronomer, TYCHO BRAHE,* invented a system between the Ptolemaic and Copernican. This philosopher, born at Knudstorp, in Sweden, in 1546, was educated for the profession of the law, first at Copenhagen, and afterwards at Leipsic; but relinquished that profession, and gave himself up to the study of astronomy. After various journeys, in which his astronomical knowledge procured him great reputation, the King of Denmark, through the recommendation of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, furnished him with a house, an observatory, and an astronomical apparatus in the island of Huen, in the Sound; and appointed him an annual stipend, on condition that he should devote himself to astronomy. Here he continued his observations for many years; but at length the King of Denmark, offended at the philosopher, as it is said, on account of his having pretended to cure diseases by secret means, deprived him of his salary. Tycho Brahe, upon this, removed to Prague, where he was patronised by Rodolphus II. and had for his assistant in astronomical calculations the celebrated Kepler. In this place he died in the year 1601.

The system of Tycho Brahe supposed the earth quiescent, and the sun, with the whole heavens, to revolve about it with such a complex motion, that while the earth is the centre of the sun's orbit, the sun is the centre of all the planetary orbits. The author of this system was preparing a geometrical demonstration of its agreement with the celestial *phenomena*, when death put an end to his labours. Tycho Brahe was a man of violent passions, impatient of contradiction, intemperate, libidinous, and superstitious. He only deserves to be remembered on account of his astronomical observations and his system of the celestial motions which, however, being the mere fiction of an ingenious brain, perished with its author.

Science was less indebted to Tycho Brahe than to his colleague JOHN KEPLER,† a German, born in 1571, at Wiel, in the dutchy of Wirtemberg, and educated at Tubingen. His early and uncommon proficiency in ma-

* Gassend. Vit. Tych. Br.

† Gassend. t. v. p. 451. 471. Bayle. Weidler, l. c. c. 15. p. 414.

thematical learning recommended him to the attention of the university of Gratz, in Stiria, as a proper person to occupy the mathematical chair. From this time astronomy became the chief object of his attention; and, in 1595, he published *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, "The Mystery of Cosmography;" in which he undertook to demonstrate, upon geometrical principles, the admirable proportions of the celestial orbs, and to explain the reasons of their number, magnitudes, and periodical revolutions; a work abounding with clear and accurate mathematical reasoning. At Prague, whither he was driven, about the year 1600, by the troubles and persecutions of his own country, Kepler with his family notwithstanding his personal abilities and merit, and his connexion with Tycho Brahe, were reduced to poverty. At length, through the indulgence of the Emperor, he was recalled to his native country, and taught mathematics, first at Lints, and afterwards at Sagan, in Silesia. He died in the year 1631.

For the particulars of Kepler's great discoveries and improvements in astronomy, we must refer the reader to his works. We cannot, however, omit to remark, that this penetrating philosopher suggested hints in natural science which Des Cartes afterwards assumed as his own; and discovered truths which served as a firm foundation for subsequent improvements in the great edifice of mathematical astronomy. Kepler found, that every primary planet describes an elliptic orbit, in one focus of which is the sun; that, in equal times, equal areas are described by a line drawn from the sun to the planet; and that the squares of the periodical times of the planets are as the cubes of their distances from the sun. He was also acquainted with the principle of gravitation, and knew that revolving bodies endeavour to fly from their orbit in a tangent; but, not knowing how to apply the principle of gravitation to the explanation of the laws of the celestial motions which he had discovered, he ascribed them to the influence of a distinct animating principle, or soul, which he supposed to reside in each planet.

Contemporary with Kepler was GALILEO GALILEI,* a native of Florence, whose astronomical inventions and discoveries have immortalised his name. Destined by his father for the medical profession, he was educated in the schools of Pisa: but he soon discovered so strong a predilection, and such uncommon talents, for astronomical studies, that he was permitted to follow the natural bias of his mind without any professional restraint. Having been well instructed in the Greek tongue, he read Euclid, Archimedes, and other ancient mathematicians, in the original. His reputation as a mathematician became so great, that the Duke of Tuscany appointed him, before he was twenty-six years of age, to the mathematical chair in the university of Pisa. Afterwards, in the year 1592, at the invitation of the republic of Venice, he removed to Padua.

With the study of mathematics, Galileo united that of Physics, particularly the doctrines of mechanics and optics. Being informed, in the year 1609, that Jansen, a Dutchman, had invented a glass, by means of which distant objects appeared as if they were near, he turned his attention to the subject; and, after several attempts to apply his ideas on the doctrine of refraction to practice, he invented and constructed an optical instrument, by means of which, as he himself says, objects appeared magnified a thousand times. Turning his TELESCOPE towards the heavens, he discovered unheard-of wonders. On the surface of the moon he saw lofty mountains and deep valleys. The milky-way he discovered to be a

* Viviani Vit. Gal. Act. Phil. v. iii. p. 261. 400.

crowded assemblage of fixed stars, invisible to the naked eye. Venus he found to vary, in its phases, like the moon. The figure of Saturn he observed to be oblong, consisting of three distinct parts. Jupiter he saw surrounded with four moons, which he named Medicean stars. And on the sun's disk he perceived spots, from the motion of which he inferred, that the sun revolves about its axis. The book in which these wonderful discoveries were recorded, Galileo dedicated to the Duke of Tuscany, who was so delighted with his countryman's ingenuity and success, that he wrote him a congratulatory letter, and gave him the title of the philosopher and mathematician of Tuscany. The whole astronomical world applauded his attempts; although not a few were secretly inclined to suspect, that his supposed discoveries were only the amusing dreams of a brilliant imagination.

Galileo now began to inquire to what useful purposes his new discoveries might be applied; and soon perceived, that, by means of observations which he was now able to make upon the satellites of Jupiter, geographical longitudes might be found. He engaged the Duke of Tuscany to apprise the King of Spain of the great benefits which navigation might derive from this discovery; but no regard was paid to the suggestion.

A comet appearing in the year 1618, Galileo, in order to correct the prevailing errors of philosophers upon the subject of celestial *phenomena*, wrote a treatise, which he called *Systema Cosmicum*, "The System of the World," in which he showed the perfect agreement of the Copernican system with the appearances of nature. The publication of this treatise, though preceded by another, in which it was proved, from the authority of the fathers and other orthodox divines, that the language of scripture is not to be strictly followed on questions merely physical, raised a general alarm among the bigots of the Romish church. This incomparable philosopher was, in 1615, cited before the court of inquisition, accused of heresy, and thrown into prison. Well knowing that any justification of himself, or explanation of his doctrine, would be fruitless, Galileo retracted the obnoxious tenet, that the sun stands still; and, after five months' confinement, was released. His work was censured and prohibited.

In 1636 this ingenious and industrious philosopher resumed his design of measuring geographical distances in longitude, and communicated his plan to the States General of the United Provinces. By their order, the plan was examined, and the necessary calculations were made for drawing the tables: but a misfortune, which at this time happened to Galileo, interrupted the laudable design: after the astronomical labours of twenty-seven years, this useful philosopher lost his sight. The papers which he had drawn up were sent to Holland; and it was still hoped that he might furnish further instructions towards completing the design; but, about the beginning of the year 1642, a slow fever, occasioned by the pain which he suffered in his eyes and limbs, released him from envy and persecution. The light which Galileo cast upon natural philosophy by his astronomical inventions and improvements, which are doubtless in a great measure to be ascribed to his knowledge of mathematics, entitle him to a place in the first class of mathematical philosophers. He discovered, that in the descent of falling bodies, the spaces described are as the squares of the times; and that the motion of projectiles is in the curve of a parabola.

From the time of Galileo the practice of applying mathematics to the improvement of physical knowledge became general; and many excellent geometricians arose, who subjected the *phenomena* of nature to mathematical calculation. Gregory de St. Vincent, who enlarged the boundaries of

the higher geometry, applied the properties of the hyperbola to astronomy. Des Cartes, Wallis, Huygens, and others, pursued a similar track. Since the sublime inventions of the Differential Calculus by Leibnitz, and of the Method of Fluxions by Newton, natural philosophy has received continual improvement by the labours of Leibnitz, L'Hospital, Varignon, the Bernouillis, Cotes, Saunderson, Maclaurin, and other eminent mathematicians. But the first luminary in this bright constellation, by the universal consent of philosophers, is the immortal Newton.

ISAAC NEWTON* was born at Woolstrop, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1642. He received his first instruction at the grammar-school at Grantham. He gave early indications of that sublime genius, which afterwards performed such wonders, in his insatiable thirst after knowledge, and the almost intuitive facility with which he first conceived the theorems of Euclid. Though not inattentive to classical studies, he directed the chief exertions of his penetrating and exalted understanding towards mathematical science, in which, not contented with a perfect comprehension of whatever had been already done by others, he was wonderfully assiduous and successful in investigating new truths.

The University of Cambridge boasts the honour of having educated Newton. His first preceptor was the celebrated geometrician Isaac Barrow. In 1667, Newton took his degree of Master of Arts, and was soon afterwards admitted Fellow of Trinity college, and appointed Lucasian Professor of Mathematics. In 1688 he was chosen representative in the convention parliament for the university, and continued to adorn this high station till the dissolution of this parliament in the year 1701; he was also appointed Master of the Mint, and in this post rendered signal service to the public. In the year 1703 he was elected President of the Royal Society, and remained in that office as long as he lived.

Whilst Newton gave many proofs of his astonishing capacity for mathematical researches, he showed himself possessed of a mind equally capable of extending the knowledge of nature, by the reports which he made to the Royal Society of many curious and important experiments in natural philosophy. In the year 1671 his papers on the properties of light were read to that society, from which it appeared that colour, which had hitherto been explained by ingenious but unsupported hypotheses, was in fact owing to a property in the rays of light hitherto unobserved, their different degrees of refrangibility. These papers were afterwards completed; and, in the year 1704, the whole was published in three books, under the general title of "Optics; or, a Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections, and Colours of Light."

The result of this great philosopher's successful endeavours to subject the *phenomena* of nature to the laws of mathematics, was first communicated to the public in the year 1687, in the immortal work entitled *Philosophiæ naturalis Principia mathematica*, "Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy:" this was succeeded by several treatises purely mathematical, in which the wonderful genius of this great geometrician is further displayed. His Method of Fluxions was first published in 1704.

In the midst of his philosophical and mathematical labours, Newton found leisure to attend to critical inquiries. He wrote a treatise "On the Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms;" in which, from a diligent comparison of various notes of time in ancient writers with each other, and with astro-

* Eloge par Fontenelle. Peimberton's Review, præf. Hist. of the Royal Society. Life of Newton, Lond. 1728. Biog. Brit. Gen. Dict.

nomical *phenomena*, he concludes, that, in former systems of chronology, the more remote events of ancient history are placed too far backwards. He also wrote commentaries on Daniel, and on the Revelations.*

Notwithstanding the strenuous exertion of the faculties, which the profound researches of this philosopher must have required, he lived to the eighty-fifth year of his age. This glory of the British nation, and ornament of human nature, left the world in the year 1727. During his life he rose to higher reputation, and after his death obtained a greater name, than had been the lot of any former philosopher. The epitaph under his statue well expresses his singular merit; it is as follows:

H. S. E.

ISAACUS NEWTON, Eques Auratus,
 Qui Animi Vi prope divinâ,
 Planetarum Motus, Figuras,
 Cometarum Semitas, Oceani Æstus,
 Sua Mathesi Facem præferente,
 Primus demonstravit.
 Radiorum Lucis Dissimilitudines,
 Colorum inde nascentium
 Proprietates,
 Quas nemo antea vel suspicatus erat,
 Pervestigavit.
 Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
 Sedulus, sagax, fidus Interpres,
 Dei O. M. Majestatem Philosophiâ asseruit,
 Evangelii Simpliciter Moribus expressit.
 Sibi gratulentur Mortales,
 Tale tantumque extitisse
 Humani Generis Decus.

Natus 25 Dec. A. E. 1642. Obiit 20 Mar. 1726. (a)

(a) Here lies interred

I S A A C N E W T O N, KNIGHT,
 Who,
 With an Energy of Mind almost divine,
 Guided by the Light of Mathematics purely his own,
 First demonstrated
 The Motions and Figures of the Planets,
 The Paths of Comets,
 And the Causes of the Tides;
 Who discovered,
 What before his Time no one had even suspected,
 That Rays of Light are differently refrangible,
 And
 That this is the Cause of Colours;
 And who was
 A diligent, penetrating, and faithful Interpreter
 Of Nature, Antiquity, and the Sacred Writings.
 In his Philosophy
 He maintained the Majesty of the Supreme Being;
 In his Manners
 He expressed the Simplicity of the Gospel.
 Let Mortals congratulate themselves,
 That the World has seen
 So great and excellent a Man,
 The Glory of Human Nature.

He was born Dec. 25, 1642. Died March 20, 1726.

* Newton's Works were published by Dr. Horsley, since Bishop of St. David's, in 1784. 5 vols. 4to.

To give the reader a perfect idea of the philosophy of Newton, would be to conduct him through every part of his philosophical works. We must content ourselves with a brief account of the design and plan of his *Principia*, and a few miscellaneous observations chiefly extracted from the *Queries* subjoined to his *Optics*.

Dissatisfied with the hypothetical grounds on which former philosophers, particularly Des Cartes, had raised the structure of natural philosophy, Newton adopted the manner of philosophising introduced by Lord Bacon, and determined to raise a system of natural philosophy on the basis of experiment. He laid it down as a fundamental rule, that nothing is to be assumed as a principle, which is not established by observation and experience; and that no hypothesis is to be admitted into physics, except as a question, the truth of which is to be examined by its agreement with appearances. "Whatever," says he,* "is not deduced from *phenomena*, is to be called an hypothesis: and hypotheses, whether physical or metaphysical, whether of occult qualities or mechanical, have no place in experimental philosophy." In this philosophy, propositions are drawn from *phenomena*, and are rendered general by induction. This plan of philosophising he pursued in two different methods, the Analytic and the Synthetic; collecting from certain *phenomena* the forces of nature and the more simple laws of these forces, and then proceeding, on the foundation of these, to establish the rest. In explaining, for example, the system of the world, he first proves from experience, that the power of gravitation belongs to all bodies: then, assuming this as an established principle, he demonstrates by mathematical reasoning, that the earth and sun, and all the planets, mutually attract each other, and that the smallest parts of matter in each have their several attractive forces, which are as their quantities of matter, and which, at different distances, are inversely as the squares of their distances. In investigating the theorems of the *Principia*, Newton made use of his own analytical method of fluxions; but, in explaining his system, he has followed the synthetic method of the ancients, and demonstrated the theorems geometrically.

The leading design of the *Principia* is, from certain *phenomena* of motion to investigate the forces of nature, and then, from these forces to demonstrate the manner in which other *phenomena* are produced. The former is the end towards which the general propositions in the first and second books are directed; the third book affords an example of the latter, in the explanation of the system of the world.

The laws of motion, which are the foundation of the Newtonian system, are these three: 1. Every body perseveres in its state of rest, or of uniform motion in a right line, unless compelled, by some force impressed upon it, to change its state. 2. The change of motion is proportional to the force impressed, and is made in the direction of the right line in which that force is impressed. 3. To every action an equal reaction is always opposed; or the mutual actions of two bodies upon each other are equal, and in contrary directions.

On the grounds of these laws, and certain corollaries deducible from them, by the help of geometrical principles and reasonings, Newton, in the first book, demonstrates in what manner centripetal forces may be found; what is the motion of bodies in eccentric conic sections; how, from given *foci*, elliptic, parabolic, and hyperbolic orbits may be found; how the orbits are to be found when neither focus is given; how the motions may

* Princip. l. iii. Gen. Schol.

be found in given orbits; what are the laws of the rectilineal ascent and descent of bodies; how the orbits of bodies revolving by means of any centripetal force may be found; what is the motion of bodies in moveable orbits, and what the motion of the *apsides*; what is the motion of bodies in given superficies, and the reciprocal motion of pendulums; what are the motions of the bodies tending towards each other with centripetal forces; and what the attractive forces of bodies spherical or not spherical. In the second book, Newton treats of the motion of bodies which are resisted in the ratio of their velocities; of the motion of bodies resisted in the duplicate ratio of their velocities; of the motion of bodies resisted partly in the ratio of the velocities, and partly in the duplicate of the same ratio; of the circular motion of bodies in resisting mediums; of the density and compression of fluids; of the motion and resistance of pendulums; of the motion of fluids, and the resistance made to projected bodies; of motion propagated through fluids; and of the circular motion of fluids.

By the propositions mathematically demonstrated in these books, chiefly those of the first three sections, the author, in the third book, derives from the celestial *phenomena*, the forces of gravitation with which bodies tend towards the sun and the several planets. He then proceeds, by other propositions, which are also mathematical, to deduce from these forces the motions of the planets, the comets, the moon, and the tides; to ascertain the magnitude and form of the planets; and to explain the cause of the precession of the equinoxes.

To this outline of the *Principia*, we shall add the following miscellaneous observations, which may serve as a specimen of the *OPINIONS* of Newton.

The main business of natural philosophy is to argue from *phenomena*, without feigning hypotheses, and to deduce causes from effects till we come to the very first cause, which certainly is not mechanical.

No more causes of natural things ought to be admitted, than are known to exist and are sufficient to explain their appearances.

Therefore natural effects of the same kind are to be ascribed to the same cause.

Those properties of bodies which do not admit of intension or remission, and which are found to belong to all bodies upon which experiments can be made, are to be regarded as properties common to all bodies.

It is probable, that all the *phenomena* of nature depend upon certain forces, by which, from causes not yet known, the particles of bodies are either mutually impelled towards each other, and cohere according to regular figures, or mutually repel and recede from each other.

Bodies and light mutually act upon one another.

All fixed bodies, when heated beyond a certain degree, emit light and shine; and this emission is performed by the vibrating motion of their parts.

Fire is a body heated so hot as to emit light copiously: and flame is a vapour, fume, or exhalation, heated red hot; that is, so hot as to shine.

The rays of light, in falling upon the bottom of the eye, excite vibrations in the *tunica retina*, which, being propagated along the solid fibres of the optic nerve to the brain, cause the sense of seeing.

The heat of a warm room is conveyed through a *vacuum* by the vibrations of a much subtler medium than air, which, after the air is drawn out, remains in the vacuum. It is by the vibrations of this medium, that light is refracted and reflected, and heat communicated. This medium is exceedingly more elastic and active, as well as subtile, than the air; it readily

pervades all bodies, and is by its elastic force expanded through the heavens. Its density is greater in free and open space than in compact bodies, and increases as it recedes from them. This medium, growing denser and denser perpetually as it passes from the celestial bodies, may, by its elastic force, cause the gravity of those great bodies towards one another, and of their parts towards the bodies. Vision, hearing, and animal motion, may be performed by the vibrations of this subtile elastic fluid, or ether.

The small particles of bodies have certain powers, virtues, or forces, by which they act, at a distance, upon one another, for producing a great part of the *phenomena* of nature; as in the attractions of gravity, magnetism, and electricity.

The smallest particles of matter may cohere by the strongest attractions, and compose bigger particles of weaker virtue: and many of these may cohere and compose larger particles, whose virtue is still weaker, and so on for divers successions, until the progressions end in the biggest particles, on which the operations in chemistry, and the colours of natural bodies, depend, and which by cohering compose bodies of a sensible magnitude.

The particles of different bodies cohere with different degrees of force; whence some are volatile, easily rarefying with heat, and condensing with cold, whilst others are fixed, and not separable without a strong heat or fermentation. Those particles recede from one another with the greatest force, and are with most difficulty brought together; which, upon contact, cohere most strongly.

Nature is very conformable to herself and very simple; performing all the great motions of the heavenly bodies by the attraction of gravity which intercedes those bodies, and almost all the small ones of their particles, by some other attractive and repelling powers which intercede the particles.

The *vis inertiae* is a passive principle, by which bodies persist in their motion or rest receive motion in proportion to the force impressing it, and resist as much as they are resisted. By this principle alone there never could have been any motion in the world. Some other principle was necessary for putting bodies into motion; and now they are in motion, some other principle is necessary for preserving the motion: for from the various composition of two motions, it is very certain that there is not always the same quantity of motion in the world.

Since the variety of motion which we find in the world is always decreasing through resistance, there is a necessity of recruiting it by active principles; such as are the cause of gravity and of fermentation, to which almost all the motion we meet with in the world is owing.

It is probable, that God in the beginning formed matter in solid, massive, hard, impenetrable, moveable particles, of such sizes and figures, and with such other properties, and in such proportion to space, as most conduced to the end for which he formed them; and that these primary particles being solids, are incomparably harder than any porous bodies compounded of them; even so very hard, as never to wear, or break in pieces, or be liable to a change in their nature and texture. It is also probable, that the changes of corporeal things consists only in various separations and new associations and motions of these permanent particles, produced by certain active principles, such as that of gravity, and that which causes fermentation and the cohesion of bodies.

By the help of these principles, all material things seem to have been composed of the hard and solid particles above-mentioned, variously asso-

ciated in the first creation by the counsel of an intelligent agent: for it became him who created them to set them in order; and it is unphilosophical to seek for any other origin of the world, or to pretend that it might arise out of a chaos by the mere laws of nature; though being once formed it may continue by those laws for many ages. For while comets move in very eccentric orbs, in all manner of positions, blind fate could never make all the planets move one and the same way in orbs concentric, some considerable irregularities excepted, which may have arisen from the mutual actions of comets and planets upon one another, and which will be apt to increase till this system wants a reformation. Such a wonderful uniformity in the planetary system must be allowed the effect of choice; and so must the uniformity in the bodies of animals. Was the eye contrived without skill in optics, or the ear without knowledge of sounds? The first contrivance of those very artificial parts of animals, the various organs of sense and motion, and the instinct of brutes and insects, can be the effect of nothing else than the wisdom and skill of a powerful everliving agent, who, being in all places, is more able by his will to move the bodies within his boundless uniform sensorium, and thereby to form and reform the parts of the universe, than we are by our will to move the parts of our own bodies. And yet we are not to consider the world as the body of God, or the several parts thereof as the parts of God; he is an uniform being, void of organs, members, or parts, and they are his creatures, subordinate to him and subservient to his will. God has no need of organs; he being every where present to the things themselves.

It appears from *phenomena*, that there is a being incorporeal, living, intelligent, omnipresent, who in infinite space, as it were in his sensory, sees the things themselves intimately; and thoroughly perceives them, and comprehends them wholly by their immediate presence to himself.

This most beautiful system of the sun, planets, and comets, could only arise from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful being. And if the fixed stars be centres of similar systems, these being all formed by like wisdom, must be subject to the dominion of one: especially since the light of the fixed stars is of the same nature with the light of the sun; and all systems mutually give and receive light.

God governs all things, not as the soul of the world, but as the Lord of the universe. The Supreme Deity is an eternal, infinite, and absolutely perfect being, omnipotent and omniscient; that is, his duration extends from eternity to eternity, and his presence from infinity to infinity: he governs all things, and knows all things which exist or can be known. He is not eternity or infinity, but eternal and infinite: he is not duration or space, but he endures and is present; he endures for ever, and is present every where. Since every portion of space is always, and every indivisible moment of duration is every where, certainly the Maker and Lord of all things cannot be never or nowhere. God is omnipresent, not virtually only but substantially; for power cannot subsist without substance. In him all things are contained and move, but without reciprocal affection: God is not affected by the motion of bodies, nor do bodies suffer resistance from the omnipresence of God.

It is universally allowed that God exists necessarily; and by the same necessity he exists always and everywhere. Whence he is throughout similar, all eye, all ear, all brain, all arm, all power of perceiving, understanding, and acting; but in a manner not at all human; in a manner not at all corporeal; in a manner to us altogether unknown. As a blind man has no idea of colours, so we have no idea of the manner in which the

most wise God perceives and understands all things. He is entirely without body and bodily form, and therefore can neither be seen, nor heard, nor touched; nor ought he to be worshipped under any corporeal representation. We have ideas of his attributes, but what the substance of any thing is we are wholly ignorant. We see only the figures and colours of bodies; we hear only sounds; we touch only external superficies; we smell only odours; we taste only savours: of their internal substances we have no knowledge by any sense, or by any reflex act of the mind: much less have we any idea of the substance of God. We know him only by his properties and attributes, by the most wise and excellent structure of things, and by final causes; and we reverence and worship him on account of his dominion. A God without dominion, providence, and design, is nothing else but Fate and Nature.

Many learned mathematicians and celebrated writers have attempted to illustrate and explain different parts of the writings of Newton; and, on the other hand, some have ventured to call in question the ground of his philosophy.

It has been objected, that Attraction, the first principle in the Newtonian philosophy, is in reality one of those occult qualities which Newton professes to reject; but to this it is satisfactorily replied, that the power of gravity is not an unknown cause, since its existence is proved from the *phenomena*. The Newtonian philosophy does not require that the cause of gravitation should be explained: it merely assumes an incontrovertible fact, that bodies gravitate towards each other according to a known law; and, by the help of geometrical reasoning, deduces from this fact certain conclusions. Newton himself gives this explanation of the use which is made in his philosophy of the principle of gravitation; and expressly asserts, that it is enough for him that gravity really exists, though its cause be not certainly known. "I use the word attraction," says he, "for any endeavour of bodies to approach each other; whether that endeavour arises from the action of bodies mutually seeking each other, or mutually agitating each other by spirits emitted; or whether it arises from the action of the ether, or air, or any other medium whatsoever, corporeal or incorporeal, in any manner impelling bodies floating therein towards each other. In the same general sense, I use the word Impulse; not considering the species and physical qualities of forces, but their mathematical quantities and proportions, consequent upon any condition supposed: then, in physics, we compare these proportions with the *phenomena* of nature, that we may know what conditions of those forces answer to the several kinds of attractive bodies." In fine, no words can be more explicit than those in which Newton disclaims all reliance upon hypothetical principles or occult qualities, and makes experience the only foundation of his philosophy.

But we are stepping beyond the province of the historian. The cursory view we have taken of the doctrine of Newton, and of what was done by his predecessors in experimental philosophy to improve the knowledge of nature, may suffice to show the vast extent and importance of this branch of philosophy, and to induce the reader to inquire what discoveries have been made, in the boundless field of nature, since the days of Newton: and further than this it is not our business to proceed; for we undertook, not to delineate minutely the several regions of philosophy, but to draw a GENERAL MAP of the PHILOSOPHICAL WORLD.

APPENDIX.

HINTS RELATIVE TO THE MODERN STATE OF PHILOSOPHY IN ASIA.

I.

THE inhabitants of ASIA are, in general, with respect to religion, either Mahometans or Pagans. Many traces of opinions, formerly received from the Saracens, are to be found among the Persian and Indian Mahometans. There are still remaining in Persia writings of Greek and Latin philosophers, translated into the Persian language.* The ancient Oriental doctrines are taught among the Susians, who assert, that the universe is produced from the substance of Deity, and make God the material and formal cause of all things, and creation and destruction the expansion and retraction of his substance: a doctrine more similar to the philosophy of Zoroaster than to the theology of Mahomet.†

Of the TARTARS, those who border upon the Turkish empire are Mahometans; the religion of those who inhabit the more remote regions is unknown. Their priests are called Lamæ, and their high priest, Dalai Lama. They believe their Great Lama to be immortal; and some assert, that he is the great philosopher Fœe returned to life. This philosopher is, through almost all Asia, said to have frequently appeared among men. It is probable that his doctrines penetrated into Tartary.‡

Through the extensive regions of INDIA, the grossest superstition and ignorance prevail. From comparing the theological tenets of different Indian nations it appears, that they commonly embrace the emanative system, which supposes innumerable Divine natures proceeding from the fountain of Deity, and presiding over different parts of the universe. This doctrine was probably disseminated by some ancient impostor, who pretended to be himself a Divine emanation of this kind, and whom his superstitious followers have worshipped as a Divinity.§

If the account given of BUDDAS, the celebrated Indian philosopher, be compared with what is said by the modern inhabitants of Siam concerning Somonacodom, and by the Chinese and Japanese of XEKIAS, who after his death was called Fœe, or FOTOKI, little doubt will remain that these are only different names of the same philosopher, who fascinated the whole Northern and Eastern regions of Asia, as well as part of the Southern, with his pantheistic doctrine. It is probable that he lived about 600 years

* Chardin's Travels, p. iii. p. 108.

† Bernier Suite des Memoires sur l'Emp. de Mogoul, p. 202—203. Bayle Dict. t. iv. p. 254. Art. Spinoza. Burnet, Archæol. App.

‡ Mosheim, Hist. Eccl. Tartar. Duhalde Hist. Chin. t. iv. p. 467.

§ Conf. Locke Ess. l. i. c. iii. sect. 15. La Croze Christ. Ind. l. vi. p. 645. Loubere Itin. Siam. t. ii. p. 395. Bayle, Art. Rugger. Not. D. Burnet Arch. p. 543. Univ. Hist. de Siamens.

before Christ. There is little doubt that he first appeared in the southern part of India, among the nations situate on the borders of the Indian ocean, and thence disseminated his philosophy, by means of his disciples, to all India. It is related that he spent twelve years in solitude, where he was instructed by the *Tolopoin*, called by the ancients *Hylobii*, that is Silvan Hermits; and that, in his thirtieth year, he devoted himself to contemplation, and attained to the intuitive knowledge of the first principles of all things; from which time he took the name of Fœe, which signifies *something more than human*. His mystical philosophy he is said to have delivered to innumerable disciples, under the veil of allegory. The Japanese add, that, in his contemplations, during which his body remained unmoved, and his senses unaffected by any external object, he received Divine Revelations, which he communicated to his disciples.*

Buddas, or Xekias, in his exoteric doctrine, taught the difference between good and evil; the immortality of the souls of men and brutes; different degrees of rewards and punishments in a future world; and the final advancement of the wicked, after various migrations, to the habitations of the blessed. Amidas, who, according to the Chinese is Xekias himself, presides in these habitations, and is the mediator, through whose intercession bad men obtain a mitigation of their punishment. These dogmas are contained in an ancient book, called Kio, which all the Indians beyond the Ganges, who follow the doctrine of Xekias, receive as sacred, and which is illustrated by innumerable commentaries.†

Very different was the doctrine which Xekias, at the close of his life, delivered to his esoteric disciples. He instructed them, that vacuum or void, is the principle and end of all things; simple, infinite, eternal, but destitute of power, intelligence, or any other similar attribute; and that to be like this principle, by extinguishing all passion and affection, and remaining absorbed in the most profound contemplation, without any exercise of the reasoning faculty, is the perfection of happiness. The first principle in this system cannot be pure nihility, which admits of no properties; probably, it is first matter, without variable qualities, whence all things are supposed to arise, which is not to be perceived by the senses, but contemplated as the latent Divinity, infinitely distant from the nature of visible things, yet the origin of all substances. The emanations from this fountain became, in the popular theology, objects of the grossest superstition and idolatry.‡

The doctrine of Fœe, or Xekias, was embraced by innumerable disciples. Among these, one of his most eminent successors was Tamo, a Chinese, who was so entirely devoted to contemplative enthusiasm, that he spent nine whole years in profound meditation, and was on this account deified.§

The Bramins assert that Xekias had neither father nor mother. No Indian city claims the honour of his birth. He seems to have been a foreigner from some neighbouring maritime country. As he first appeared as a philosopher in the southern part of India, it is probable that he was a Lybian, who had been instructed in the Egyptian mysteries, and who settled in India with some Egyptian colony. It is not improbable, that at the time when Cambyzes conquered Egypt, and dispersed almost the whole

* La Croze Christianism. Ind. l. vi. Bayle, Dict. art. Brachmans. Sommonac. Kempfer. Hist. Jap. t. i. p. 56. t. ii. p. 59.

† Kempfer. Arnold. in Add. ad Roger. Jan. Gent. c. 6. p. 579. Couplet, Diss. pr. ad Confuc. p. 31. Acta Erud. 1688. p. 257.

‡ La Croze, l. c. p. 652. Kempfer. Couplet. l. c.

§ Minorelli Obs. in Juvenci Error. de Rebus Sin. p. 145. Kempfer. &c. l. c. Univ. Hist. v. xxi. sect. 356. p. 637. 671. Semler. Pref. Univ. Hist. v. xxi. Guyon, Hist. des Ind. Or. Par. 1744.

nation, this impostor passed over into India; and, propagating his doctrine among an ignorant and superstitious people, became an object of universal veneration.

II.

ON the coasts of COROMANDEL and MALABAR, the Brachmans, or Bramins, a peculiar race, who boast of a Divine descent, are the theologians and philosophers of the country. They resemble, in many particulars, the ancient Therapeutæ of Egypt. It is probable, that the Bramins received their institutions from the Egyptians, at the time when Egypt came under the power of Greece, especially as the learned language of this race abounds with Greek words. These Indian priests claim the sole charge of religion, the law of which is contained in a sacred book called the Veda, which no laic is permitted to touch.*

Among the Malabars is a singular sect of Bramins called the theoretical, who, laying aside all idolatrous worship, give themselves up entirely to the most rigorous mortification; affect enthusiastic ecstasy and quietism, and hope to resemble the Divine nature, by putting off all animal passion, and remaining, as long as possible, in a state of perfect inaction, both of body and mind. Other sects approach, in different degrees, towards atheism.

The Malabars have some practical knowledge of astronomy; which they appear to have derived from the Egyptians, as they call the signs of the zodiac by the ancient Egyptian names.†

The substance of the Malabaric theology is, that the Essence of Essences, or the Supreme Infinite Substance, wants figure, and cannot be comprehended or moved; that it fills all things; possesses the highest wisdom, truth, knowledge, and purity; is infinitely good and merciful; creates and supports all things; and desires the happiness of man, which will be attained if this Great Being be truly loved and revered; that he cannot be represented by any image, and his attributes alone can be expressed; that he is only to be contemplated in a state of entire abstraction and tranquillity of mind; and cannot be worshipped but through the medium of inferior divinities; that, in creating the world, God separated the active and passive virtues which had hitherto remained absorbed within himself; that the two principles, *Tschiven*, the masculine or active virtue, and *Tscaddi*, the feminine or passive virtue, were the parents of the other subordinate gods; that the souls of brutes and men have the same origin, and after being confined in one body for a time, pass into another; and that, on account of their common origin, it is unlawful for men to kill inferior animals.‡

These, and many other tenets held by the Malabarian Indians, evidently coincide with the ancient Oriental doctrine of emanation. The morality which sprung from this source is deeply tinctured with fanaticism and enthusiasm.§

* La Croze Hist. Christ. Ind. l. vi. Roger. Jan. Nat. ad Gentil. Ziegenbalg. et Soc. Mission. relat. Malab. Burnet, Archæol. p. 541. Bayle, Brachm. Fabr. Diss. de Brachm. Syllog. Opusc. p. 333.

† Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes. Rec. x. Rel. Miss. t. i. p. 200. 1022.

‡ La Croze, p. 586—611. Roger, p. 249. 283. &c. Relat. Miss. p. 354. 604. 895. &c. Burnet, Arch. App.

§ Barthrouherri, Sententiæ Bramanæ.

III.

FOHI was one of the first and most celebrated legislators of China; but little is known of the methods by which he civilized his country. An ancient book, called Yekim, which is still preserved in China, is ascribed to Fohi; but it is written in hieroglyphics, and no one has been able to give a satisfactory explanation of its contents. The most probable conjecture is that of Leibnitz, that it was intended to teach the art of numeration. Several successive emperors carried forward the work of civilization, particularly by means of moral allegories, fables, and poems. The ancient Chinese wisdom is contained in two distinct collections called *U-kim*, "The Five Books," and *Su-cu*, "The Four Books;" which, besides the enigmatical book of Fohi, contain laws, precepts, poems, memoirs of princes, and institutes of rites and ceremonies. These have been commented upon by Confucius, Mencius, and other philosophers.*

To this first period of the Chinese philosophy succeeded another, in which it assumed a more artificial form, under LI LAO KUIN, or LAO-TAN, who flourished six hundred years before Christ. He delivered many useful precepts of morality, and obtained great authority both among the Chinese and Japanese.

The most celebrated ancient philosopher of China is CON-FU-CU, or CONFUCIUS. He was born of an illustrious family, in the reign of the Emperor Lu, about five hundred and fifty years before Christ. At fifteen years of age he engaged in the study of the ancient learning of his country, and discovered such uncommon wisdom, that he was early advanced to the office of minister of state. Finding all his endeavours to reform the corrupt manners of the court ineffectual, he retired from his public station, and instituted a school, in which he is said to have had several thousand disciples, to whom he taught morals, the art of reasoning, and the principles of policy. His life is said to have been in every respect worthy of the character of a philosopher. He lived to the age of seventy-three.†

By his sage counsels, his moral doctrine, and his exemplary conduct, he obtained an immortal name as the reformer of his country. After his death, his name was held in the highest veneration; and his doctrine is still regarded among the Chinese as the basis of all moral and political wisdom. His family enjoys, by inheritance, the honourable title and office of Mandarins; and religious honours are paid to his memory. It is, nevertheless, asserted by the missionaries of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, that Confucius was either wholly unacquainted with, or purposely neglected, the doctrine of a future life, and that in his moral system he paid little regard to religion.‡

Confucius was followed by Mem-ko, or MEMCIUS, (who flourished about three hundred years before Christ,) and other philosophers, who wrote books

* Fouquet. Tab. Chron. Sin. Kortholt. de Phil. Sin. Leibn. App. advers. Germ. Theodic. Reimann. Sciagraph. Phil. Sin. Spizelius de Re liter. Sin. Bulfinger Specim. Doct. Vet. Sin. Grap. de Theol. Sin. Navarett. de Regno Sin. Renaud. et Minorell. Observ. ad Errores Juvencii de Reb. Sin.

† Couplet. Diss. pr. ad Confuc. S. Bayer. Mus. Sin. t. ii. p. 214. 246. Kempfer. t. ii. l. iii. c. 6. p. 67.

‡ Spizel. de Rebus. lit. Sin. p. 31. 119. Ep. Leibnitz. v. ii. p. 283. Buddæus de Superstit. de Mort. apud Sin. Anal. Phil. p. 287. Hist. Cultus Sinen. Col. 1700. Ant. de S. Maria, v. ii. Ep. Leibn. p. 275. Arnold. Prax. Mor. Jesuit. t. 3. 6, 7. Leibnitz. Præf. noviss. Sin. Clerici Silv. Phil. c. ii. sect. 7.

of popular and useful learning. But in the third age after Confucius, the Emperor Chi-hoam-ti, or Ching, ordered all philosophical books to be burned, and inflicted death upon many philosophers. A few remains of Chinese wisdom were, however, preserved; and, in the more enlightened dynasty of Han, were brought to light. The destruction of ancient writings under Chi-hoam-ti, renders all Chinese records doubtful which are of earlier date than two hundred years before Christ.*

The third period of the ancient Chinese philosophy commences from the time when the doctrines of Fœ, already dispersed through India, passed over to China. This happened about sixty years after the birth of Christ, when the idol Fœ, under which the memory of Xekias is worshipped, was brought among the Chinese. This new superstition was accompanied with doctrines of morality, and with mystical precepts, which inculcated fanatical quietism as the only way to perfection. This fanaticism of Fœ overspread the whole country like a deluge, and continues to this day. In the third century, a peculiar sect arose, who gave themselves up entirely to the contemplation of the First Principle of Nature, and who thought, that the nearer they approached to the perfect inaction of inanimate bodies, the more they resembled the Deity.†

About the tenth century, two philosophers, CHEM-CU and CHIMCI, appeared, who introduced metaphysical doctrines nearly resembling those of the Stoics; whence a new sect arose, called Ju-Kiao, or the Sect of the Learned.‡

This was the state of the Chinese philosophy when the Jesuit missionaries, French mathematicians, and other Europeans, in the sixteenth century, visited China; and for a long time obtained much attention and respect. The Emperor Kam-hy encouraged the study of European learning, particularly mathematics, anatomy, medicine, and astronomy. He himself, for several months, received daily instruction in astronomy from the mathematician Verbiest. European philosophers had free access to his empire and court; but since his time little indulgence has been shown to Christian travellers.§

The obscurity of the ancient Chinese books, the dubious credit of the reports brought to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries, and the imperfect acquaintance of Europeans with the Chinese language and writings, render it difficult to ascertain the present state of opinions in China. Their notion of Deity has been a subject of much dispute. Some assert that their Xang-ti signifies a supreme creator and ruler of the world; others ascribe to the Chinese a system of nature nearly approaching to atheism; whilst others maintain their doctrine to be, that there is in the visible heavens a living and powerful nature, (like the soul in the body,) who has produced other secondary divinities, the rulers of the world, through whom the Supreme Deity is to be worshipped. Leibnitz is of opinion that the Li of the Chinese is the chaotic soul of the world, and their Taikie the soul of the formed universe; in fine, the Deity of the Stoics.||

The moral and political philosophy of the Chinese, as derived from Confucius, consists of detached maxims and precepts for the conduct of life.

* Carpzov. de Memcio. Sin. Lips. 1743. Martinii, Hist. Sin. l. vi. p. 240. Spizel. l. c. p. 40.

† Couplet. l. c. Minorelli, p. 147.

‡ Leibn. Ep. ad Remond. Ep. t. ii.

§ Leibn. noviss. Sinica. Dentrecolles, Lettres edifiantes, Rec. 17. 23.

|| Martin. Hist. Sin. l. i. c. 9. p. 16. Wolf. de Sapientia Sinica. Renaudot, Diss. Act. Phil. v. ii. p. 785. Minorell. contr. Juv. p. 126. Kortholt. Præf. Du Halde, Hist. Chin.

IV.

THE JAPANESE nation appears to be of equal antiquity with the Chinese. The first period of the history of both is equally fabulous. Fohi, the Chinese legislator, is also celebrated by the Japanese as one of the founders of their monarchy. They honour the memory of Confucius. At the time when the doctrine of Xekias was introduced into China, the book Kio, containing the institutes of his philosophy, was brought out of India into Japan by a Xekian priest. The Jesuit Vilela, in 1562, writes from Japan, that the Japanese superstitions are the same with those of the Indian Bramins, and were received from an Indian teacher of the kingdom of Siam; and that their temples are similar to those which he had seen in the island of Ceylon; which confirms what was before observed concerning the origin of Xekias.*

If the Japanese superstitions be compared with those of Egypt, it will appear exceedingly probable, that they originated with the Egyptian priests, and passed over from Egypt to India, and thence to China and Japan.

* Acosta de Rebus a Soc. Jes. in Oriente Gest. Dilling. 1571, 8vo. Epist. Japan. a Maffei edit. Crasseti, Hist. Eccl. Jap. Kempfer. Hist. Jap. Bayle, art. Japan.

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